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The Right Hon.ble

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY,

From the original Painting by Mark Garrard.

In the possession of

The most Noble The Marquis of Exeter.

London, Published by Saunders & Otley Conduit Str.t 1828.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE AND ADMINISTRATION

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM CECIL, LORD BURGHLEY,

SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD VI. AND

LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

CONTAINING AN

HISTORICAL VIEW

OF

THE TIMES IN WHICH HE LIVED,

AND OF THE MANY EMINENT AND ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONS WITH WHOM HE WAS CONNECTED;

WITH EXTRACTS FROM HIS PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE,

AND OTHER PAPERS,

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ORIGINALS.

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BY THE

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PREFACE.

MANY things having concurred to render it expedient, though far from desirable to the Author, to allow the First Volume of this work to appear before the Second, it is, perhaps, necessary that some account should be given of the undertaking generally.

It was as long ago, as in the month of March, 1825, that in the course of correspondence with his learned and highly respected friend and relation, *Archdeacon Nares*, the Author had intimation given him, that a Life of Cecil, Lord BURGHLEY, had been spoken of, in his (the Archdeacon's) presence, as a desideratum in historical literature; and with a very fair allusion to the office the Author has the honour of holding under the Crown, in the University of Oxford, it was further held out to him, as a subject deserving his attention. Mr. Lodge, in his Portraits of Illustrious Persons, it was remarked, had spoken of it, as an extraordinary circumstance, that a Life of this great Statesman, at all commensurate with the extent of his political fame, had never yet appeared; adding, that "the materials for such a work were so abundant,

and the theme one [illegible] such mi[illegible]t, that a Life of this Minister, combining, [illegible] an amp[illegible] namely, thentic facts and judicious reasonings, would s[illegible]pply [illegible]t degree most important deficiency in the whole circle of our [illegible]*rious* reig[illegible]rature."

Having devoted many years of rather a long life to literary pursuits, principally in theology, biblical criticism, &c. as more immediately connected with the duties of his profession, he thought it might be little less reasonable, in virtue of his Academical appointment, to turn his thoughts, upon the opportunity suggested, to a subject of such very interesting historical research. He might, indeed, with great truth and propriety, have adopted the words of Burnet, in his great work on the Reformation, and have said, "The person that did engage me chiefly to this work, was on many accounts much fitter to have undertaken it himself;" but knowing *his* determination to be otherwise, the Author was induced to take the task into his own hands, though not at that time at all aware of the immense labour which he has since found it imperatively to require.

In the first public notification of the design, not penned by the Author, the following view was taken of the general importance of such a work.

"When it is remembered that to this great Statesman almost every question of government was referred, during the long and brilliant reign of ELIZABETH, and that he in consequence virtually directed most of the leading measures of that important period, there can be little doubt, but that his history, when fully developed, by the aid of his exceedingly numerous and valuable

Manuscripts, will be [redacted] of the most interesting subjects of contemplation that [redacted] cted, especially when historically considered."

This notification [redacted] eserves the credit of at least speaking the truth. What is said of Lord Burghley during the reign of Elizabeth, is undoubtedly most true; and the numerous and valuable Manuscripts, still existing, most of them collected and arranged by Lord Burghley himself, may certainly be said to present "one of the most interesting subjects of contemplation, that could be selected, especially when historically considered."

Upon the last words of this notification, we shall, for a short time beg leave to dwell.

We have found it utterly impossible to treat of the Life of Lord BURGHLEY, otherwise than "historically." He seems to us to have been a public man, almost from the very beginning. Of his early life we have been able to collect but little, except that at the University his intercourse with learned and eminent persons, with many indeed, who, as well as himself, in after times, and at very trying periods, occupied high and responsible situations under the Crown, may be said to have commenced while he was as yet *but a youth*. From the first moment of his manhood, we may safely say, he was engaged in Public life; he was in, or about the Court, and constantly connected with it, either by friendship, by alliance, or by Public and Official Appointment.

At the commencement of our investigations, indeed, we had,

it must be acknowledged, nearly fallen into the mistake into which others seem to have fallen; [redacted] of supposing Lord Burghley to have been, in a grea[redacted]known, before the commencement of Elizabeth's *glo*[redacted], as it is very commonly, and certainly not without good reason, called. To Elizabeth's reign we therefore first directed our views; and so far from the Second Volume of this work being actually unwritten, it is only the want of time required for the mere manual operation of preparing it for the press, that retards its publication: the materials collected exceeding our utmost power to arrange in time.

But, it was not very long before we discovered, that though there might be comparatively but little to be said of Lord Burghley before the reign of Elizabeth, *that little* demanded very great attention. In carrying back our views beyond the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, we found that he had not only rendered himself conspicuous in the reign of her father, King Henry VIII., but that he had been Secretary of State to her brother, Edward VI.; high in the confidence of that very amiable, but short-lived Monarch, and though in no great favour with Queen Mary (much to his credit), that he had, upon a footing of conscience, declined a high post in her administration, and probably been instrumental in saving the Princess Elizabeth, not only from persecution and perhaps death, but from every projected removal of her, under pretext of marriage or otherwise, from the seat of that government, over which she was, in the view of Providence, destined for so many years to preside. Had she

once quitted England, she had been lost; and if, remaining in England, she had not been ruled and governed by the most prudent advice, she had, it may be presumed, undoubtedly fallen a victim to th more than *Machiavellian* policy of that bloody and unhappy reign.

Finding also, that very late in Elizabeth's reign, when Lord Burghley, by his extreme care and vigilance, had frustrated all the efforts of the Pope's emissaries, to overset the Protestant Government of England, and dethrone or destroy his Sovereign, he had so exposed himself to the anger and wrath of her enemies, as to become a marked object of Romish obloquy and malice, and to be accused, in notorious libels, of much misconduct under Edward and Mary,—we judged it to be strictly incumbent on us, to probe such calumnies to the bottom, and to look into the course of his public life, much before the period fixed upon as the æra of his greatness. In fact, we found it almost necessary to revert to the reign of Henry VIII., and to trace all the circumstances we were able to discover of his very earliest years.

We had not, indeed, proceeded far in our inquiries into his political character, before we discovered, that to do him but common justice, as to most of the transactions in which he was engaged, it was essentially necessary to consider, not cursorily, but with close attention, the history of Europe from the very commencement of the sixteenth century; or, at the least, from a few years before the birth of Lord Burghley. During the whole course of his long life, a grand revolution is known to have been on foot; and ENGLAND, it may be safely affirmed, was

never more implicated, from the beginning of the world to the present day, in all that was passing, from the extreme northern point of Scotland, to the southernmost extremity of Italy, than at that period. Scarcely one political movement could be said to be so isolated and detached, as to have no bearing upon preceding circumstances, no connexion with the general fate of Europe. There was constantly a *train* of events to be traced, conspiring to one great end, and dependent, in various ways, the one on the other. The life of a statesman is not like that of a hero; it does not shine forth in a few splendid actions, limited and circumscribed in point of time and locality; it may be fairly said to be a life constantly occupied in great affairs,—constantly engaged, and constantly at work. It is a life in short of no leisure; being as busily employed often, in observation and reflection, as in action; as much in privacy and retirement, as in the public discharge of official duties. The following remarks of the able Author of the Law of Nature and Nations, Sir James Mackintosh, may help to explain this; "The causes," says he, "which the politician has to consider are, above all others, the most multiplied, mutable, minute, subtle, and, if I may so speak, evanescent; perpetually changing their form, and varying their combinations; losing their nature while they keep their name."

In the following pages of this first, and necessarily detached Volume, we would wish to apprise our readers, therefore, that Lord Burghley will sometimes appear to be comparatively unoccupied; being of course less frequently ostensibly engaged, as a public character, during the first three Reigns under which he

[illegible] than under that of Elizabeth; we may still, however, consider him as bearing a part, and no subordinate one, in the great transactions of those times, even under *Mary*, though not always in any absolutely public or official situation.

The Life, or rather History of Lord Burghley, has, in short, been found to be, interwoven with the history of the grand revolution going forward in all parts of Europe, during the sixteenth century, as to tempt us almost to say of him, with the difference only of one word, what *Florus* has said of the Roman people, "*Ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius* viri, *sed generis humani facta discant.*" We have certainly felt, that we had as strong a plea to urge, for the quantity of general history introduced into the following pages, as the elegant author of the Life of Leo X., to whose able vindication of himself upon this particular point, we would wish, if it should be necessary, to refer our readers. Some allowances, at all events, we hope will be made, for rather a singular circumstance, and one for which the Author could not expect to be prepared. He had proceeded some way in his researches appertaining to the Reign of Elizabeth, as well as to the Life of Lord Burghley generally, when a cause arose, or was judged to have arisen, in the Parliamentary question on Catholic Emancipation, to induce other authors of no small fame and celebrity, to revert to those precise times and great public transactions, in which Lord Burghley is known personally to have borne so great a share. We allude, it may be concluded, to the many learned books and pamphlets, which, in the compass of the last two years at the utmost, have appeared on the express subject of the Reformation, or of the disputes still on foot between

Romanists and Protestants, involving of course all that relates to the conduct and character of our early Reformers, in which number Lord Burghley must always be included; for though indeed he did not suffer martyrdom in the cause (it was never required of him), yet he was the particular friend and co-adjutor of those who did, *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Hooper*, &c.: and was assistant to them in all their endeavours to settle and advance the Protestant Church of England, and this long before Elizabeth came to the Crown; at which time indeed he had to restore it (unaided by them), after the Marian persecution had come to an end. Those who have read Mr. Charles Butler's Book on the Roman Catholic Church, Mr. Southey's able reply to it, in his *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*; Mr. Townsend's Accusations of History, &c.; Dr. Phillpott's (now Dean of Chester) powerful Letters to the late Mr. Canning; Mr. Blanco White's Preservative against Popery, and other works; Mr. Croly's Popery and Popish Question; Mr. Faber's Difficulties of Romanism; Mr. Todd's Introduction to his republication of *Cranmer's* Defence of the true Doctrine of the Sacrament; Dr. M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy; Mr. Hallam's Constitutional History of England; to which may be added, Mr. Soames's History of the Reformation under Henry and Edward, and Mr. Turner's first part of his History of the Reign of Henry VIII.; almost every one of which appeared long after the Author's labours had commenced, will easily believe how necessary it must have appeared to him, to review those scenes in which Lord Burghley was in active co-operation, and close connexion, with the leading parties; with the *Fathers*, in short, of the *English*

Reformation. Much indeed of the present work was absolutely written before several of the works alluded to were published; he has therefore found himself under the necessity of multiplying his notes much beyond the extent to which he wished to have confined himself. They are generally, he is willing to admit, great interruptions, but as books can only be read as they come to hand, and always in succession, the Author who finds in the course of his reading, continually new things to say, cannot be expected to alter his text at every moment, to give them admission, as the reader might otherwise reasonably desire for his own convenience. One other circumstance deserves to be noticed; the statesmen of those days, but Lord Burghley very particularly, had generally as much to do with Ecclesiastical as with Civil affairs. We need but open *Strype's* Annals of the *Reformation*, or his *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, to be entirely convinced of this. King Edward VI. in his Journal, speaks of the *Eucharist* as the subject of *Parliamentary* discussions. The reader should be aware of this, before he enters upon the perusal of the following pages. He may otherwise be surprised to find that, as Secretary of State under Edward VI., Lord Burghley was often consulted, even by Cranmer, as an able *Theologian*, particularly while the Liturgy and Church Articles were in preparation.

Independent of the necessity that seemed to arise, from the circumstances mentioned above, for the Author's going rather largely into the history of the first three Reigns in which Lord Burghley lived, and which therefore may be said to have drawn him aside from the researches necessary to the completion of his Second

Volume, it may be alleged, that the history of Queen Elizabeth's reign, during which Lord Burghley was constantly engaged, has been found to be a history abounding in perplexities. The contrarieties to be found in different Authors, the alleged or undoubted partiality of some who stand high on the list of historical writers, the continual controversies going forward between the Romanists and Protestants, between Lutherans, Calvinists, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians, between French and English, and more particularly, as more than all perhaps to be lamented, between the English and the Scots, involving the whole of the melancholy history of Mary Queen of Scots, still a controverted topic, have occasioned a necessity of reading so much on both sides of every question, that for the Second Volume alone, the Author can confidently assert, that he found that he had done but *little* when he had carefully read and examined for purposes of reference, more than fifty-nine thousand closely printed pages.

But if the labour of reading printed books were great, the task became still more appalling, when account came to be taken of the overwhelming amount of documents and materials for such a history, still existing in Manuscript in our several public repositories; as the State Paper Office, the British Museum, the Libraries of the two Universities, the Inner Temple Collection of Petyt MSS. the Herald's Office, and many others too numerous to mention. The public in general, we are assured, can scarcely be aware of the immense amount of these historical treasures. Among the Lansdowne MSS. in the Museum, that portion of the Collection alone, which bears the name of Lord Burghley, and

which seems to have descended from him, through his secretary, Sir Michael Hickes, amounts to one hundred and twenty-two volumes folio; exclusive of those which are to be found in the Harleian and Cottonian Catalogues, and above all in the State Paper Office,—a Collection which owes its origin to Lord Burghley himself, and his son the first Earl of Salisbury.

It may easily be supposed, that a vast abundance of these papers have been examined by others, and that many had been printed before this work was contemplated; the indefatigable *Strype*, who is known at an advanced period of his life to have made considerable progress in collecting materials for the work on which we are now engaged, appears long to have had in his hands the Burghley Papers; besides which, in the Collections of *Haynes*, *Murdin*, *Forbes*, *Birch*, and *Lodge*, much had been done. *Burnet* and *Collier* had many facilities afforded them for examining such Collections, as may be seen in their prefaces; so that, though much remains to be explored, yet by the aid of the very valuable Catalogues printed for the use of the public, the labours of an Author are certainly greatly facilitated.

It is true, when doubts and difficulties occur, he may not always be on the spot to make these researches. Public repositories are of course in public places, and nothing is more requisite, generally speaking, to the labours of literary persons, than quiet and retirement—and yet it is indispensably necessary, sometimes, that an historian should see things with his own eyes. A *fair copy* of an *interlined original*, may greatly mislead him, or at all events, not resolve his doubts. Some remarkable instances of this will be

found in the following pages, two however deserve, and may almost be said to require to be mentioned here.

It was long before we could decide whether the subject of these Memoirs, Lord Burghley, was born in the year 1520 or 1521. These years being severally to be found in different authors, whom it is unnecessary to particularize; but they are all of repute. We had found in the *Calendarium Cecilianum* in the Museum, an entry in his own hand to the following effect;—Sept. 13. *hoc die natus sum IV. Cecyll* A° 1521 13. H. 8. This might have been thought sufficient to decide between the two years. All accounts seemed to agree in his being born on the 13th of September, a month clear of all confusion arising out of the difference between the civil or legal and historical reckonings. At length, on examining more particularly the entries to be found in what is commonly called his Private Journal, we discovered, that in fact, he had mistaken the year of his own birth. That he had originally begun the Journal thus:—"a° R. H. 8 13, 1521 13 Sept. *Ego Gulielm' Cecill' nats sum apud Burne in Com. Lincolnj.*" Afterwards he discovered that he was, in fact, born in 1520; he therefore put *this* date above the date of 1521, added a° 12. H. 8. erased the 13th of September in the former entry, and inserted it above, connecting it again by a stroke with the *concluding* part of the former entry; and which is singular, in order to leave some fact to answer to the year 1521, he inserted this entry, 6° *Junij Carolus Cesar Londini*, which was quite true; the Emperor Charles V. being in London on that day, as we have ourselves ascertained. This will be seen in the *Fac simile* we have given of the Journal, but in the original

a difference in the colour of the ink, renders the correction more marked. We afterwards found that the same thing had struck the compilers of the Catalogue, but nothing could be so convincing as our examination of the Original for the purposes of this work.

The second difficulty that occurred was as to the spelling of his name, or rather Title; Burleigh being quite as common among historians as Burghley. It may be conjectured that we could be in no want of an authority for the proper spelling, having the privilege of access to the present possessor of the Title, the Marquess of Exeter, Baron Burghley (a title by courtesy at present transferred to his Lordship's son and heir). We were actually told by antiquaries that the most certain authority was to be looked for in the Rolls' Chapel; by the indulgence of the present Lord Chancellor, then Master of the Rolls, this reference was made, and it proved rather in favour of Burleigh. The *various* ways in which it was spelled in common, in Lord Burghley's own days, could determine nothing; such varieties being notoriously the fashion or negligence of the age. Indeed, a letter is still extant, from an ancestor of Lord Exeter, in which the title of Burghley is spelled one way, and the date from his well-known seat another. As we had from the first, made up our minds to adhere to the spelling sanctioned by the present Marquess, with whom we had the honour of some communications on the subject, we must confess we were much gratified in the course of our researches in the Museum, to find a formal commission from Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Treasurer, in which the name being originally written Burleigh,

had been carefully corrected into Burghley by *Lord Burghley* himself—of this correction, therefore, we have also given a *Fac simile*.

In the beginning of Camden's Introductory Address, prefixed to his History of Queen Elizabeth, there is a passage so remarkably applicable to the task we have ourselves undertaken, as far as regards the examination of MS. documents, that we cannot refrain from transcribing it:

"Above eighteen years since, William Cecyll, Baron of BURGHLEY, Lord High Treasurer of England (when full little I thought of any such business), imparted to me, first his own, and then the Queen's Rolls, Memorials, and Records, willing me to compile from thence, an historical account of the first beginnings of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; with what Intent I know not, unless, while he had a desire to eternize the memory of that renowned Queen, he would first see an introduction thereunto by my pains in this kind. I obeyed him and not unwillingly, lest I might seem either to neglect the memory of that most excellent Princess, or to fail his expectation, and (which I prized as dear as them both) the truth itself. For in these papers, if anywhere, I had confident hopes to meet the real state of passages lodged, as it were, in so many repositories.

"But at my very first entrance upon the task, an intricate difficulty did in a manner wholly discourage me, for I lighted upon great files and heaps of papers and writings of all sorts, reasonably well digested indeed in respect of the times, but in regard of the variety of the arguments very much confused.

In searching and turning over whereof, whilst I laboured till I sweat again, covered all over with dust, to gather fit matter together (which I diligently sought for, but more rarely found than expected), that noble Lord died, and my industry began to flag and wax cold in the business."

We shall observe, though merely in passing, that an eminent Scottish Historian has remarked upon the last passage, that the untimely death of Lord Burghley, appears to have given a wrong complexion to Camden's History, when it afterwards appeared. The remark is not without foundation, as we shall probably have occasion to shew. At present we would rather wish to revert to the "files and heaps of papers and writings," which appear so much to have dismayed and discouraged that very celebrated Antiquary. They are all still in existence, augmented, however, by innumerable additions since the days of Camden. They are now dispersed, indeed, in various places, but fortunately subject no longer to the chances of public or private sales, instances of which, in regard to these very papers, may be seen in Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, Art. *Strype*. Many certainly must have strayed from the archives of *Burghley* and *Hatfield*, having been borrowed and not returned, and now appear, not so *naturally*, under other names. Great praise and credit, however, are still due to the collectors and wealthy purchasers, under whose names they have been, at length, safely delivered to the public. The Documents in the State Paper Office, are, generally speaking, distinct from the others; most of them probably having been there deposited, as we have already hinted, by Lord Burghley

himself, or his son Lord Salisbury; and never therefore exposed to such accidents.—The amount of all these Collections is really incredible.

As to the style of the following work, and some difficulties common to all such undertakings, little need be said; the Author, being long convinced that one of the chief characteristics of good writing is perspicuity, especially in regard to matters of fact, he has aimed at nothing higher, than to render his own ideas perfectly intelligible, and he hopes they have never been so confused, as to make his language appear very perplexed or very obscure. He has certainly never gone out of his way, to round a period, or appear rhetorical, to the sacrifice, perhaps, either of sense or truth. Upon some points, indeed, he may be found to have transgressed the more precise rules of writing; he is aware that he has spoken often in the following pages, of Lord Burghley, before he actually was Lord Burghley, and called him so, perhaps, in some instances, where he had just before designated him otherwise, as *Mr. Cecil*, *Cecil*, or Sir *William Cecil*; but considering, that throughout the work Lord Burghley's name appears at the top of the pages, he has judged it not improper, occasionally to anticipate the Title, as the last designation by which he was known, and as being most familiar to the ears of all who have come after him.

The spelling of names has been another difficulty in which he may not perhaps be found to be always uniform. It is generally known, that in the sixteenth century, as has been already hinted, persons spelled their own names very differently at diffe-

rent times. Lord Burghley himself wrote his own name, or rather Title, in many different ways; we have shewn how, in all probability, he most wished to have it spelled. But there are many names, at that particular period, which still admit of various spellings, as Bonner, or *Boner*; Throgmorton, or *Throckmorton*; Courtney, or *Courteney*; Guildford, or *Guilford*; Beaton, or *Bethune*; Hethe, or *Heath*; Fecknam, or *Feckenham*; Wiat, or *Wyat*; Benefield, or *Bedingfield*, or *Bedinfield*; Fox, or *Foxe*; Tunstall, or *Tonstal*; Poole, or *Pole*; with many others, not forgetting Shakspeare, or *Shakespeare*. We have endeavoured to select the most proper, without attempting to proscribe any other modes of spelling. What is said of the names of *persons*, applies equally, of course, to the names of *places*; but it is not necessary to say more upon this head at present.

We have in various instances reluctantly adhered to the common distinction of *Catholics* and Protestants, though we well know how little right the Romanists have to assume the former name or designation, as in any manner exclusively their own; but the distinction has been of too long existence to be easily laid aside, though wherever we have judged it to be peculiarly proper, or necessary, we have entitled the subjects of the Pope, either Papists or Romanists; esteeming the Protestant members of the Church of England, the most true Catholics.

As to the Author's own principles, a consideration of some weight in a work where controversial topics were in no manner to be avoided, he is ready to declare that he has not sought to qualify himself for an historian in the negative manner pre-

scribed in a motto prefixed to the Memoirs of Horace Walpole; "*Pour être bon historien, il ne faudroit être d'aucune religion, d'aucune pais, d' aucune profession, d' aucune parti.*" Believing such negations to be no securities against dangerous prejudices, but perhaps quite the contrary, he acknowledges, that he prides himself upon being an Englishman; an English Protestant; a Church of England man; a Divine. And he is the more ready to say so, that if he himself should be found to have written under the influence of too strong prejudices, the reader may not be hastily betrayed into wrong conclusions. As a controversialist, if necessarily obliged to consider himself as such, he sincerely hopes, he shall be acquitted of all uncharitable sentiments; he has, as fairly as he could, sought only to combat misrepresentations by counter-statements; to set aside false imputations by discoveries of truth, and to defend his own principles against those of others, by a comparison and appreciation of fruits and consequences.

It is usual, in Prefaces of this nature, to make an acknowledgment of obligations to persons rendering assistance, by any description of auxiliary attentions. The Author has certainly many attentions of that nature to acknowledge. He has already expressed his obligations to the Most Noble the Marquesses of Salisbury and Exeter; but to the former he feels that he is greatly indebted in being permitted to examine the Hatfield MSS. at his own house. An indulgence, which has afforded him particular convenience, and he is anxious that his Lordship should be fully assured of the high sense he entertains of the

confidence reposed in him. He is obliged to his Lordship also, for the sight of the splendid Family Pedigree.

To Mr. Secretary Peel, the Author is highly obliged for admission to the State Paper Office.

To Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord High Chancellor, the Author is obliged, for permission granted by his Lordship, while Master of the *Rolls*, to examine (or commission friends to examine in his absence from London) certain records in the Rolls Chapel.

It seems almost a matter of supererogation to notice the attentions of the several gentlemen, to whose especial care are committed the immense historical treasures in our public repositories. But the Author cannot refrain from expressing his particular thanks to Mr. Ellis, principal Librarian of the British Museum, to Mr. Faber, &c. to Dr. Bandinel, Dr. Bliss, and Mr. Cox, of the Bodleian Library; to the Rev. Mr. Todd, the author of many valuable works well known to the public, and Keeper of the Manuscripts belonging to the Lambeth Library. To Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office, and his very obliging son, Mr. Lemon, jun., the Author feels that he has particular thanks to return, for the permission allowed him, not only of inspecting papers under their care and charge, with the sanction of his Majesty's Commissioners, but of referring to them, when at a distance, for the resolution of certain doubts arising in the course of his undertaking; and he has similar obligations to acknowledge to Mr. Nicholas Harris Nicolas, author of many important publications, particularly one of great use to historians, the *Notitia Historica*, London, 1824.

To Dr. Barrett, of St. John's, Lambeth, the Author has also to return thanks, for his kind offer of the use of a very valuable portrait of Lord Burghley.

Finally, the Author is anxious to acknowledge the particular kindness of many valuable neighbours in Kent, and other friends, for the loan of scarce Books, not included in the extensive collection provided for this undertaking by his respectable Publishers.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM CECIL,

LORD BURGHLEY.

CHAP. I.

Reflections—Birth of William Cecil, Lord Burghley—History of his Family—His Life, by a Domestic—His Education at Grantham and Stamford—Entry at St. John's College, Cambridge.

POLITICAL biography may reasonably be held to differ as widely and as essentially from simple biography, as political economy from the domestic arrangements of a private family. The very terms, indeed, are calculated to shew that the former is by no means to be brought within that line of distinction which authors have continually endeavoured to draw, and in all instances, perhaps, too straightly, between biography and general history, but that the latter must always be expected of necessity to constitute a part, and a very material part, of that description of biography to which the term political, as a term of distinction, has been generally applied. A learned writer, speaking of what he calls the "*severe* rules of biography," and the unreasonableness of them, observes, that if a biographer were to write his own life, the importance of a man to himself, might make the rule of "having his

subject always in view," and of "never losing sight of it," agreeable enough to the writer, but the general unimportance of the subject would be likely to recommend it but to few readers, and the author must expect to circulate it only among his friends.

To political, it is true, as well as to simple biography, limits must always be assignable, though varying according to circumstances; according to the amount, that is, of general history, absolutely requiring to be incorporated with it: and which will, of course, be found in all instances to depend on the particular sphere of action, in which the person whose life is to be recorded, may have had to move, as well as on the nature, extent, and complication of interests or concerns he may have had to attend to, balance, or control.

Political biography differs also from simple biography in this; that though it may profess to confine its views as much as possible to the life, actions, or opinions of an individual, it may seldom be in the power of the biographer to describe the *man* in his true, natural, or proper colours. A statesman is an individual, perpetually liable to be turned aside, by some accident or other, from the pursuit of his own plans, thwarted or interrupted in the execution of his own purposes and designs, debarred of accomplishing, in any straight-forward manner, the ends either of public or private justice, and compelled to adopt but half or suspicious measures, where the fullest and most complete, as well as the most just, were anxiously contemplated. He is an individual, whom, with the best possible intentions, we must expect to see driven from his course occasionally, by opponents of a totally different character, or even by colleagues of less judgment and discretion; and though, morally speaking, no truly honest man should feel himself bound to continue in a situation, which may lay him under any obligation to do violence to his own fixed principles or rules of action; yet there are undoubtedly public stations, in which to take the

hand suddenly from the helm, or to neglect to bear up against adverse winds or currents, would be no less than to abandon the vessel in charge, with all its crew, its cargo, and its contents, to inevitable loss and destruction: to deliver it over, as it were, under a premature abandonment of all hope, and of all help, and all clearing up of the atmosphere around, to the fury of contending elements, or the casual visitation of temporary disturbances.

It is almost necessary to make these remarks before we enter upon the life and administration of the very eminent and illustrious subject of these memoirs.

The critical times in which he lived; the extraordinary persons with whom, or under whom, he had to act; the important interests he had to guard and protect; the many threatening dangers he had to avert from his sovereign and his country; the rights he had to secure, and the national improvements he had to advance, were such, it is not too much to say, as at no other period in the history of the world, could be shewn to have been so invariably submitted to the counsel, judgment, wisdom, prudence, and discretion of any one man, and for a great length of years, as, in his particular instance, was undoubtedly the case. Times, embracing, to say the least, some of the most striking, most momentous, and perplexing events and transactions, that ever occurred, to agitate, disturb, or embarrass many of the greatest states of Europe. First, the Reformation, as it has been generally called,* of the Church and of Religion; on the Continent primarily, but afterwards in

* Misnomers should always be avoided where they can. *Reformation* is not the proper term for the object in view, on the part of the anti-Romanists, in the 16th century. Their object was not so much to reform as to *restore*, not so much to *mend* as to *revive*. Mr. Turner, in his recent History of Henry VIII. in a note admirably designed to clear up one misnomer, namely, that of appropriating to the Romanists the designation of Catholics, ends with saying, that Protestantism is Catholic Christianity reformed from its papal corruptions: would it not have been better at once to call it Catholic Christianity *restored*? this would have saved it from all imputation of *novelty*, and put things upon their true and proper footing.

England, began by Henry VIII., forwarded greatly by Edward VI. his son, interrupted by Mary and her husband Philip II., resumed, perfected, and consummated by Elizabeth. Secondly, the affairs of Scotland, most intricate and most perverse, as regarding the peace, the happiness, and the highest interests both of England and Scotland, but tending continually, by a most fatal combination of circumstances, to a catastrophe, which will never cease to be deplored by every feeling and sensible mind. Thirdly, the grand struggles between Philip II. king of Spain, and his Flemish subjects, terminating in the independence of seven of the revolting provinces, the liberty of all, and the establishment of the reformed religion in the *United* States. Fourthly, the religious and political struggles in France; the intrigues of the Guises; the persecutions of the Hugonots; the efforts of the League; the accession of Henry IV.; his abandonment of the Protestant Religion; the edict of Nantes. Fifthly, the last efforts of Rome to keep England and Scotland in subjection to the Papal See; to stifle the Reformation; to keep up and foment all quarrels and dissensions among Protestants, by intrigues as subtle as they were disgraceful, and as mischievous as they were subtle.

Such were the scenes, amidst which the illustrious subject of these memoirs, the GREAT CECIL, as very grave and judicious writers have been used to call him, was destined to pass nearly all the days of his long life, and with regard to which, without one exception, as a statesman and a minister, it may literally be said, "*Quorum pars magna fuit.*"*

* These times are so well described in the dedication of the life of one of Lord Burghley's earliest and most intimate acquaintances, Sir Thomas Smith, by that celebrated and generally correct memorialist, Strype; that we cannot forbear copying the passage, as equally applicable, as far as it goes, to the eminent statesman whose life we are entering upon. "He was a person that lived in very critical times, occasioned by court factions, and the frequent alterations of religion, and the various dispositions and interests of the Princes whom he served, so that he could hardly keep himself always upon his legs: but by his great wisdom and moderation,

As it has been the good fortune of this great man, to have had his honours, titles, and wealth regularly transmitted, and continued through his immediate descendants, to the present day, to be perpetuated, as it may be hoped, in the two most noble houses of SALISBURY and EXETER; we shall not judge it necessary to give farther notices of his descent and family, than may appear to be absolutely necessary, to guard the reader against mistakes as to his birth and parentage; of which, notoriously false accounts, fabricated by his enemies, are known to be still extant; and which, of course, will be duly noticed in the course of our history, when occasion requires it.

He was unquestionably born, then, according to a corrected memorandum,* in his own hand-writing, still to be seen in the British Museum, on the 18th day of September, 1520, in the 12th year of the reign of King Henry VIII. in the parish of Burn or Bourn, in the county of Lincoln.

The author of Biographia Britannica, as well as Mr. Chalmers in his Biographical Dictionary, supposes him to have been born in the house of his paternal grandfather, David Cecil, Esq.; but it is much more probable that it was in the house of his *maternal* grandfather, William Heckington, Esq. of Bourn, to whom his mother was sole heiress, and that from him he derived his Christian name, being baptized also at Bourn, as may be seen in Dugdale's Baronage. Mr. Peck, in his Desiderata Curiosa, adopts the *latter* opinion.

"There is no doubt," it has been justly observed, "that he was descended of a very ancient and honourable house, and therefore

though he sometimes fell, he fell softly, and fell to rise again with more glory. This may make his history the more pleasant and useful; especially being mixed with many occurrences in his time, wherein he bore a great part, both in the UNIVERSITY, in the CHURCH, and in the COMMONWEALTH, where such things may be read, which perhaps are not to be met with elsewhere."

* See Fac-simile.

there was no need that he should be flattered with a fabulous descent from an old Roman family;" and the remark seems particularly to refer to the conceit of Verstegan in his Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities; in which he states, that he had found very probable reasons to induce him to think that the family of the Cecils was derived from the Roman *Cæcilii.** But the conceit of the Roman origin of the family seems to be older than Verstegan, a letter being still extant among the Lansdown Manuscripts, in the British Museum, addressed to Lord Burghley, by one *Gulielmus Lunsdanus, Scotus et Leg. Doct.* as he styles himself, in which he insists, that the name *(Cecil)* shews it to be Roman, "cum sit neque *Britonum*, neque *Saxonum*, neque *Danorum*, neque *Normannorum*, sed *vera vox Romana* et *Latina;*" and he appears to have prided himself upon being the *first* discoverer of this foreign connexion, "Cum nemo ante me quod sciam, hæc aut notaverit aut animadverterit." This was written in the year 1597, the very year before Lord Burghley died; and it seems the more noticeable on this account, that it appears to discharge Lord Burghley entirely of the credit of the *invention*, which had been, as we may have occasion to shew, most *calumniously* and *absurdly* reported of him. So far, indeed, was he from particularly countenancing such a conceit, as at all redounding to the honour of his family, that though sometimes in his Latin correspondence he might write his name *Cecilius*, as others did, yet he more commonly wrote it *Cecill;* and among the public records of the university of Cambridge, of which he lived to be a long time chancellor, his name appears in faculties *Willielmus Cecill.*

The probability is, that contrary to the expressed opinion of the

* So I find it in the *Desiderata Curiosa*, with a reference to the same edition of Verstegan (viz. 1628), which is now before me. The only difference is, that Verstegan does not particularly mention the *Cæcilii*, but simply the probable descent of the honourable house of Cecil from the Romans, as connected with Wales, where the Romans had rule for nearly five hundred years.

writer of the above letter, the original of the family was decidedly British or Norman, or at all events, if Verstegan be right, derived from the Romans, through the ancient Britons; and that the very eminent statesman, whose life we are entering upon, was, as Camden and others insist, of the same lineage as the *Sitsilts* of Monmouthshire in Wales, the ancestor of whom, Robert Sitsilt, so early as in the reign of William Rufus, anno 1091, appears to have had lands assigned him in Wales, by Robert Fitz-Hamon, in requital of his services and assistance in the conquest of Glamorganshire. This is the account to be found in Collins; and it is farther corroborated by a pedigree of the family, at present at Hatfield House, in the possession of the most noble the Marquess of Salisbury, to whom I am indebted for a sight of it, traced, in the year 1580, at the herald's office, for the first Lord Salisbury, and duly signed and attested by Robert Cooke Clarencieux, King at Arms, and R. Glover, Somerset herald. The pedigree itself is richly emblazoned, and, having respect as much (if not more) to the origin of the family *arms*, as to the most remote traces of the family itself, commences, not with Robert, the first ancestor according to the account above, but with *James* (*Jacobus* Sitsilt, Armiger),* the son of the said Robert, styled in the pedigree *Pater Hypotheticus*, and who, being slain at the siege of Wallingford Castle, in the reign of King Stephen, bore on his body a vesture, whereon was wrought in needle-work his arms or ensigns, the same that afterwards, in the reign of Edward III., were claimed by the family of *Fackenham*, but upon reference confirmed to the *Sitsilts*: the arms of the

* By the favour of the same noble Lord, however, I have had it in my power to examine a MS. copy of an old roll on parchment, supposed to have been written in the end of the reign of King Edward IV. beginning with Robert Sitsilt, 1091, and having on its margin, throughout, the notes and remarks of Lord Burghley in his own hand-writing; this extends only to Richard Sitsilt, "him that died," as the MS. states, "the 24th yere of the reign of K. Hen. VII." viz. 1508. A copy of the will of this Richard Sitsilt is to be seen in the same volume of the Hatfield MSS. By the aid of this MS. I have been able to clear up two mistakes

Fackenhams (or Facknaham) being nearly the same, or, as it is written in the very words of the pedigree, "aliquanto diversa ab iis, quæ Joannis Sitsilt gestaverat." James Sitsilt, who stands at the head of the present family pedigree, is there styled "Dominus Halterennes in Ewyas in comitate Herefordensi, ac etiam de Beauport," which estates he obtained, as it appears, by marriage.*

In process of time, the name came to be variously spelled; as

in Collins, which might tend to embarrass matters a good deal; he has represented the descent to be as follows—

Sir Thomas Sitsilt = Margaret Winston
‖
Richard
‖
Philip
‖
Philip = David.

Whereas it should be, according to the MS.

Sir Thomas Sitsilt = Margaret Winston
‖
Philip
‖
Richard
‖
Philip = David.

This very properly makes RICHARD the great grandfather of Lord Burghley through David his son; the elder brother of David, Philip, inheriting, or transmitting to his heirs, the Monmouthshire and Herefordshire estates. He seems to have died before his father Richard, having married Margaret Vaughan, and leaving a son, John, who had a son, William, living in Lord Burghley's time, and mentioned by Francis Thin below. In this branch the Alterennes estate settled, and continued during Lord Burghley's life. The corrected pedigree, therefore, would stand thus, as added to the MS. in the hand-writing of Lord Burghley himself—

Richard Sitsilt (spelled in the will, Seyceld) died 1508.

‖

Philip de Alterennes [died, it would appear, before his father] — David de Stamford [died, according to Lord Burghley's memorandum, 1536, according to Collins, 1541]

‖ — ‖

Joannes — Richard de Burghley married the heiress of Heckington

‖ — ‖

William. — William, LORD BURGHLEY.

* Collins. Barnes' Hist. of Edward III.

FAC SIMILE OF PEDIGREE, WITH NOTES, &c. IN THE

From the original in the possession of the Most Noble The Marquis of Salisbury.

Thomas — Margaret fil. et heres Gilberti de winston

Thomas Sitsilt wedded Margaret daughter and heyre oss Gilbert oss wynston and had by her Phillip Sitsilt and David

David

Phillip — Margaret fil. Johis Phillips

Phillip Sitsilt wedded Margaret the daughter oss John Phillipes and had by her Richard John and Margaret

John

Margaret

Richard — Margaret fil. Phillippi Vaghan

Richard Sitsilt or Sicell wedded margaret the daughter oss Phillip Vaghan and had by her.

Phillip

Margaret

John

David

James

r. testamentu Ricardi. phillipp seycell ao 1505. 24. H. 7.

Phillip Sicell
Margaret Sicell
John Sicell
David Sicell
James or Jenkyne Sicell

Here endeth ye old Roole in pchment

The contynuance of ye lyne in ye heyres males unsill this yere 1565.

Richard sitsilt

Phillipp sitsilt

Margaret de

David cecill de stamford

Richard cecill de bingh

fia et heres hedgton

Wm

Wm

FAC SIMILE FROM A WARRANT OF QUEEN ELIZABETH TO LORD BURGHLEY, WITH THE NAME CORRECTED IN HIS OWN HAND WRITING.

Burghley

right well-beloved counsailor William Baron oss Burleigh

Sitsilt, Sicelt, Seycil, Seisel, Cycele, Cycyl, Cicil, &c.* but, indeed, it would be difficult to assign the period when it came to be uniformly spelled, even by those who were in immediate communication or correspondence with the family, it being to be found differently spelled in different parts of the same letters addressed particularly to Lord Burghley, and still in existence.

In the Biographia Britannica, a conjecture is thrown out, that the present spelling of the name is derived from Polydore Vergil; the author or editor of that able work having first met with it in an epistle addressed by him to Lord Burghley himself; but we should rather suppose, that Polydore Vergil knew better than most of those who wrote in Latin, how the family itself spelled the name in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., since it seems to be capable of proof, that the two immediate ancestors of Lord Burghley had already discarded the SS, while the generality of his foreign correspondents, or others who wrote in Latin, approached much nearer to the old way of writing the name—Sycilius, Syscelius, and Sicilius, being common with them.

Polydore Vergil certainly began his letters "Optime Cecilli," which comes as near as possible to the present spelling of the name, and agrees exactly with Lord Burghley's own signature, when Secretary of State; but Polydore Vergil was not singular in his mode of address. *Valerandus Pollanus*, who also wrote in Latin at the same period, addressed his letters, sometimes *Domino Cicello;* at others, *Domino Cecillo.*

But it is not to be doubted that Lord Burghley himself did make a change in the writing and spelling of the name, since we have the testimony of his own son, Lord Exeter, to the fact, in a letter preserved in the British Museum, and addressed to a relation then at Burghley; though there still seems to remain some difficulties in the case. Part of the letter is as follows, "My lord, my

* To which we may add *Seyceld*, as in the will referred to.

father's altering the writing of his name, maketh many that are not well affected to our house, to doubt whether we rightly descended of the house of Wales, because they write their names Sitselt, and our name is written Cecyll; my grandfather wrote it Syssell." We cannot dispute the latter fact, because it is notorious, that in those days they varied continually in the writing of their own names; but we must observe, that Collins states the signature of Lord Exeter's great-grandfather to his own will, to be, David Cyssell; and among the Cottonian MSS. Vespasian, F. xiii. there are to be seen at this day, two letters from the said David, in which the signatures manifestly differ, one appearing to be spelled Cecyll, and the other Cyssell.

Still there is no reason to question the correctness of the genealogies which connect the present family with the Sitsilts of Wales, for the father of David spelled the name Sicelt, as did his eldest son and heir, Philip; though the son of the latter, who died possessed of the estate of Alterennes in Herefordshire, originally derived from James Sitsilt, who lived in the time of King Stephen, wrote it Sycill, which was a very near approach to the subsequent changes that took place, till it was fixed and settled as we find it at this day. We must however add, as some illustration of the identity of the names, under all the variations to which it has been subject, that Mr. Aubrey, in his history of Surrey, mentions that he had seen in *Monmouth* church, in the year 1656, an old escutcheon belonging to the family of Sitsilt, which name, he adds, is now vulgarly pronounced Seycil; which perhaps, in sound, is nearest of all to the present name.

To what has been already said of the family, we cannot help adding the testimony of a contemporary of Lord Burghley, Francis Thin, Herald, who, in a list or catalogue of the Lord Treasurers of England, drawn up in the year 1585, introduces the pedigree of the *Sitsylts*, ending with Lord Burghleie (as it is there spelled), with

this note, "These pedigrees and discents I gathered faithfullie out of sundrie auncient records and evidences, whereof the most part are confirmed with seales autentick thereunto appendent, manifestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth thereof; which remaine at this present in the custodie of the Right Honourable Sir William Cecill, Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, Lord Burghleie, and Lord High Treasurer of England, who is lineally descended from the last recited Richard* Sitsylt, father to David Cecill, grandfather to the said Sir William Cecill, now Lord Burghleie. And at this day, William Sitsylt, or Cecill, Esquier, cousen german to the said Lord Burghleie, removed by one degree onlie, is possessed of the foresaid house of Halterenness in Ewyas land, as the heire male of the house of Sitsylts, and is descended of Philip Cecill, elder brother to the said David. This Sir William Cecill Lord Burghleie living at this instant in the yeare of Christ 1586, to the great support of this commonwealth, dooth worthilie injoy the place of the Lord Treasurer of England, of whome (for avoiding the note of flatterie) I may not say that good, which we the subjects of England doe feel by his meanes, and all the world dooth see in his rare and wise government; and therefore leaving what may be said of him for his honourable deserts, from his countrie, his prince, and his countriemen, as well for rare government at home, as for grave management of the matters of state abroad, I beseech Almightie God to lengthen his years, with perfect health, and happy success of all his good desires, to answer the worth of those his honorable deserts."

We should have thought it quite unnecessary to enter so minutely into these particulars, considering the care that has been since bestowed upon the subject by heralds and antiquaries, in

* (Philip) Collins. But I apprehend it should decidedly be Richard, and that Collins makes another mistake in the same page, which I have already endeavoured to clear up, by the aid of the MS. still existing at Hatfield House.

fixing the pedigrees of the noble houses of Salisbury and Exeter, were it not for the reasons alleged in the letter of Lord Burghley's own son, referred to above, and still preserved, namely, that the altering of the writing of the name had induced many who were not well affected to the family, to question the credit and antiquity of their house; the fact is, that not only such doubts were raised, but in the cases both of the Lord Treasurer and his son Lord Salisbury, made the grounds of some of the most opprobrious slanders, and calumnious aspersions, that ever, perhaps, occurred in the history of parties, particularly reflecting on the immediate progenitors of Lord Burghley, his father and grandfather; though nothing can be more certain, than that they were both of an elevated rank in life, possessed of fair estates still in the family, and held many offices and places of trust under the crown; offices of much greater importance then, than they may appear to be at this time.

Leaving it then to others to satisfy the reader, as to the several connecting links of the genealogy of this very distinguished family, as they are to be found in our books of heraldry, peerage, &c. I shall conclude it to be sufficient for our present purpose, to collect what I find most to be relied upon, as to the more immediate ancestry of Lord Burghley; beginning with his great-grandfather Richard* Sicelt, who had, by Maud, daughter and heiress of William Philip Vaughan, of Tilliglase, grand-daughter on the mother's side to Sir Thomas Barry, of Castle Scalt, in Herefordshire, and great-grand-daughter of Richard Lord Talbot, two sons, Philip and David. The youngest of whom, *David*, was grandfather to Lord Burghley, which David Cecil, having purchased a fair estate in Lincolnshire, in 22 Henry VII.† as appears by the

* *Philip* (Collins), see before.

† This must have been between August 1506 and August 1507, about a year before his father died, according to the will before-mentioned.

patent rolls, founded a chantry in St. George's church in Stamford; and in the 3rd of Henry VIII. was constituted Water-bailiff of Wittlesey-mere in the county of Huntingdon, and Keeper of the swans there, and throughout all the waters and fens in the counties of Huntingdon, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Northampton, for the term of thirty years. In the 5th year of the reign of Henry VIII. he was made one of the King's serjeants of arms; and having this employment at court, obtained for Richard, his son and heir, the office of a page of the crown. In the 8th year of the same reign, he obtained a grant to himself and son, of the Keepership of Clyff park in the county of Northampton, and in the 15th year of Henry VIII. he was constituted Steward of the King's lordship of Coly-Weston, in that county, and Escheator of the county of Lincoln, on the death of Sir William Spencer, Knt. In the 23rd year of the same reign, he was made Sheriff of Northamptonshire, for the remaining part of that year; and having been three times Alderman of Stamford; departed this life in the year 1541, according to Collins, but from the entry in Lord Burghley's MS. Diary, it would seem to have been five years earlier. "*Anno* 1536. *David Cecill, avus meus, mortuus est.*"

The son and heir of David Cecill, Richard, the father of Lord Burghley, was, in the 8th year of the reign of King Henry VIII. through his father's interest at court, made one of the King's pages, as has been shewn; and in the 12th year of that monarch, the very year in which the subject of this memoir was born, waited on him at the celebrated interview between His Majesty and the French King, Francis I., which took place between the towns of Calais and Guesnes: being, in the 22nd of Henry VIII., Groom of the Robes, he obtained a grant of the office of Constable of Warwick Castle, then in the Crown; and not long after, being one of the Grooms of the Wardrobe, he had a grant of the office of Bailiff of the King's water, called Wittlesey-mere, and the custody of the

swans, and of those waters called Great Crick, and Mery's, in the counties of Cambridge, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Northampton, for the term of thirty years, after the expiration of the term granted to David Cecill his father. In the 31st of Henry VIII. he was Sheriff of Rutlandshire, in the 32d, he had a grant made to him, his heirs, and assigns, under the name of Richard Cecyll, of Burley, in the county of Northampton, Esq., of the scite of St. Michael's priory near Stamford, and the church, and 299 acres of arable land lying in the parish of St. Martin's, in Stamford.* While Yeoman of the King's wardrobe, he was made Steward, for life, of the royal manors of Nassington, Yarwell, and Upton, in Northamptonshire; and, in a few years afterwards, purchased the manor of Esyngdon, then also in the crown, as parcel of the Earl of Warwick's lands. In the 37th of Henry VIII. he surrendered his custody of Warwick Castle, but continued Yeoman of the Robes, both to King Henry and his son, and dying March 19, 1553,† left issue by Jane his wife, daughter and heir of William Heckington, of Bourn, Esq., one son and three daughters, William, the subject of this memoir; Margaret, married to Roger Cave, of Stamford, Esq.; Elizabeth, married first to Robert Wingfield, of Upton, in the same county, Esq., (afterwards Sir Robert Wingfield, one of the ancestors of the present Viscount Powerscourt), and secondly, to Hugh Allington, Esq.; and Anne,

* See as to the surrender of the monastry of St. Francis, in Stamford, in the 30th of Henry VIII.—*Collier*, ii. 159.

† On the family monument in St. Martin's, Stamford, Richard Cecil is stated to have died on the 19th of May, 1552; but there are many documents extant tending to shew that he died in the year 1553, and on the 19th of March instead of May. In fact, Lord Burghley's own memorandum of his father's death shews this, though we can conceive it to have been very possible to have mistaken both his letters and his figures—19 M^rtij 1552 looking not much unlike 19 Maij 1552. The death of his father in March, his own illness at Wimbledon in June, and the King's death in July, are all placed together, and by a line referred to the year 1553—and by comparison the contracted *March* and figure of 3, agree with other entries.

married to Thomas White,* Esq., of Tuxford, in the county of Nottingham.

Of the early years of the life of Lord Burghley, no very minute account remains; it seems certain that he received the first rudiments of his education in the grammar school at Grantham, whence he was removed to Stamford, but in what year does not sufficiently appear.

Amongst those who have already treated of the life and actions of this great and very extraordinary man, few have neglected the testimony of a faithful attendant, who, having lived in the house with him during the last twenty-five years of his life, and being present at his death, was induced to draw up a narrative, long preserved by the Earls of Exeter in the archives of Burghley, and which, from the originality of its style, and the great credit it has obtained, seems highly deserving of being, to a certain extent, incorporated

* In the MS. life by a Domestic, this sister is put first, and her husband called John White, Esq. Mr. Peck has corrected both these errors. Her *son's* name was *John*, as may be seen in the account of his monument in the church of Tuxford, in Thoroton's Nottinghamshire. Though there would still seem to be some mistake, as he is there called the son and heir, Thomæ White, Arm. (servi quondam Philippi et Mariæ regis et reginæ Angliæ) et *Agnetis* Cecill, sororis Willielmi Cecill, &c. her name was *Anne*, not Agnes. Before I quit the genealogist's account of the family, it may be a matter of curiosity to notice some other papers, put into my hands by the most noble the Marquess of Salisbury. The enemies of the great Lord Burghley, had, during his life, in a most extraordinary manner, endeavoured to vilify and degrade his origin, representing him to have been no better than the son of an innkeeper at Stamford; but, in less than a century, it seems to have been a great object to claim alliance with his posterity. In the time of James, the third Lord Salisbury, viz. 1679, a memorial in the French language appears to have been presented to him, and which I have carefully perused, endeavouring to establish the fact of the family being descended from one of the same name in Burgundy; of this MS. it may not be amiss to give some account, though it is impossible to give credit to the main fact, which would make David, the grandfather of Lord Burghley, to be a foreigner, and to have passed into England at such a period, as would make him much more than a hundred years old when he is known to have died. The title of the MS. is as follows: "Veritable origine, Tige. et source commune des Messieurs CECILE, tant des Sgñrs. *Cecile* établis en Angleterre dèz 140 ans, que des *Ceciles* restès, en la Bourgoigne, leur Patrie; et des Sieurs *Cecile* s'établissant pñtent en Espagne."—*See Appendix*, No. I.

with the present work; its testimony, indeed, upon many points of great importance, is scarcely to be passed over. The celebrated antiquary, Mr. Peck, has preserved it in his valuable work the *Desiderata Curiosa*, and the great herald and genealogist, Mr. Collins, having the original manuscript entrusted to him by Brownlow, Earl of Exeter, it being then very old and much decayed, copied it *literâtim*, and published it, anno 1732. Mr. Peck, however, was at the pains to divide it into chapters and sections, to supply some words that seemed missing, and to add several explanatory notes, many taken from Lord Burghley's own diary: a few corrections were also found to be necessary.

As it is constantly cited as the narrative of a *Domestic*, it may be proper (to obviate any misapprehensions in regard to the credit it deserves) to notice, that under the term *domestic*, in those days, were oftentimes included many persons of family and reputation. It was, indeed, customary for all persons of rank, or high public stations, to have about them, by royal licence, a certain number of what they called *retainers*, which were persons not always in attendance as menials, but only upon special occasions, when they were distinguished by badges or particular dresses, denoting the connexion. Henry VII. reduced the number of these retainers considerably: in Mary's time they were increased again; Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, being allowed two hundred, and the Earl of Arundel as many. These licences were often granted to lords and gentlemen, for maintenance of quarrels, upon the old feudal principles. In the life of Sir Ralph Sadler, by Sir Walter Scott, it is observed, "that the lesser gentry of that period sought not only emolument, but protection, and even honour, by occupying, in the domestic establishments of the nobles, those situations, which the nobility themselves contended for in the royal household." In a book pretended to have been written by Lord Burghley himself,*

* Strype's Memorials, Chap. XVI. the book was probably written in Queen Anne's time.

"The Memorial against Favourites," it is affirmed, that in Wolsey's family or household, there was one earl, nine barons, and about a thousand knights, gentlemen, and inferior officers. Though this book was probably not written by him, yet in Lord Burghley's own time, Sir John Cheynie, who died lord warden of the cinque ports, in the first of Elizabeth, had two hundred and five servants to whom he gave liveries, and for whom he kept so bountiful a house, that it is said, "Well was that nobleman's sonne, gentleman's sonne, or other, that happened to be preferred into his service."

Of Lord Burghley's own establishment, when he came to be Lord Treasurer, we have a very particular account in the narrative of which we have been speaking; and as it particularly states, that amongst his retainers there were many men of quality and stability, (most of the principal gentlemen in England seeking, as in the case above of Sir John Cheynie, to prefer their sons and heirs to his service), we may conclude, that the author of the narrative, though called only a domestic, was one of that quality, very capable of appreciating the high attainments of his lord and master, and above flattery. The work itself, of which we cannot avoid to make considerable use, appears to have been written some time between Lord Burghley's death, which happened August 4, 1598, and the death of Queen Elizabeth, March 24, 1602-3.*

The Proem to this interesting narrative, may give us some idea of the character of the great man, the particulars of whose life will be the subject of these Memoirs, as it appeared to one who was a close observer of his ways and manners for a long succession of years, and personally witnessed, as it is very generally supposed, the close and termination of a life, constantly and incessantly occupied in the most important businesses of state.

"To write the vertuous lives of worthie men, hath in all ages

* Peck.

and contries byn usual and commendable, both for a memorable praise of their actions and good examples for others to imytate;

"Wherein some for feare, others in flattery, have often written many notable thinges of most unworthy men;

"But myself, respecting only truth, am the bolder to write this true declaration of the most memorable life and happie death of the Right Honourable, wise, and famous Counsellor, William Lord Burghley, late Lord High Treasurer of England.

"A man justlie worthy, and worthily just; in his religion, truly zealous; in his gravitie and integritie, most commendable; to his Prince loyal, to his contrie pretious, kind to his friendes, and yeldinge to his enemyes, charitable to all, envying no man's fortune, nor proud of his owne, alwaies pittifull to the poor man's petition, and never partiall to the riche, ever readie to do good against evil; and a man, rather to be admired for his wisdome, than followed in his flowinge vertues, which are ever most valuable, where they are most plentifull.

"Whose fame in all nations, so long and largely divulged, can never die; though envie of his foes, or negligence of his friends, maie, in a sorte, obscure, or seme to forget the same;

"Who being so famous in other contries (raised onely by report), it weare a shame for his contrie men and frendes, and a wronge to himself, to burye his vertues in oblivion, in his owne native contrie, which these forty yeres together, hath, in experience tasted the fruites of his wisdome, travaile, and truth, in so long a tyme of peace and plenty, as hath seldome byn sene, or never enjoyed.

"Which though some maie saie, came not by his industrie, but by Gode's goodness, yet maie I justlie aunswer, that next to Gode's goodness, his skilfull guydinge the helme as a perfect pilate, and his painefull carefull service (as a wise counsellor), have byn as a principall and effectual cause of the contynuance thereof: as all or most good Englishmen doe and cannot but confesse, though some

of the worst and ignorant sort, out of envy (which never saith truth), with shame maie deny it.

"I have therefore without partiallyty to him, or arrogancy to myselfe in the duty of an Englishman, presumed (as an eye-witness of his life and actions twenty-five yeres together) to set downe this testimonie of the truth, which fawlshood or envy can neither suppresse nor supplant, against so manie proofes as I am able to produce, and as all the world can witnes, his commendable deedes approve, his whole course of lyving, and his godly, christian dieing, doe also manifest to the world, if no man weare so thankful, or so charitable as to record the same, so worthely in right and justice due unto him.

"Wherein though in a rude simple phrase I shall blemish the excellent brightnes of his worthy deedes; yet have I chosen rather to note some fewe in plaine and simple truth, then to bury all in oblyvion."

It is the remark of Mr. Peck, one of the editors of this very curious old work, that "any Life may be wrote three ways: I. Apologetically; or, II. Satirically; or, III. Neither apologetically nor satirically, but with a just regard to truth; and he ranks the life, from which the above extract has been made, among such as have been written apologetically; and in truth it may be so, but since the author avows, in his introduction, his knowledge of the allegations of a contrary party, whom however he defies, we shall certainly put no greater trust in him, than facts may appear to justify. But it has appeared to us almost requisite, in the work we have undertaken, and which will we trust be found to rank in the third class of biographical writings enumerated above, to protect, in the very outset, the fame of this great man from any unreasonable and unjust prejudices, since there are still extant many accounts of him penned by his enemies, not merely satirical, but, we shall venture to say, in the highest degree calumnious, but

which will not come to be regularly noticed till late in the history of his life. He lived in times of great difficulty; in times wherein no good man could be without enemies; no honest man could escape suspicion; no benevolent man act constantly according to the dictates of his own heart; no patriot serve, much less defend his country, without the occasional use of weapons, which in times of greater purity, or against less subtle and insidious enemies, would scarcely be judged warrantable. In short, those were times, as Naunton in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, speaking of Lord Burghley's own son, the Earl of Salisbury, as tutored and instructed by his father in the businesses of courts, justly observes, that they were but so many academies of art and cunning; but art and cunning, as *defensive* weapons, and when they are abounding all around, are but other names for wisdom, prudence, and circumspection: and we expect to be able to shew, that in wielding such weapons, though things have been represented otherwise, Lord Burghley always as a minister had to act defensively; it was from the art and cunning of foreign courts, or of too jealous neighbours, that he had constantly to *protect* his Sovereign and his country, and the best interests of both. In Mr. Turner's History of Henry VIII. lately published, is an excellent note, book I. ch. xix. in which, after noticing the dissimulation and duplicity that prevailed in all courts during the first portion of the sixteenth century, he gives Lord Burghley and Sir Francis Walsingham the credit of greatly and essentially contributing to the amelioration of things. The passage, for the praise it bestows on the subject of this memoir, may deserve to be transcribed at length; "If any part of modern History can make us disgusted with dissimulation and duplicity, it must be the statesmanship and diplomacy of the first portion of the sixteenth century. Ancient History, with all the imputed falsity and perfidiousness of the 'Grecia mendax,' presents no adequate parallel to the cabinet transactions of that period, in Italy, France,

Spain, and even England, while under Wolsey's administration, But our country soon recompensed the world for his errors by presenting, in the latter part of the same age, far superior models of the sagacious statesman: honourable, active, firm, perspicacious, and disinterested, with a great diminution of trick, faithlessness, and hypocrisy in Sir Francis Walsingham, and Lord BURLEIGH (Burghley). That they should have been perfect in such an imperfect age, would have been more than human nature, without a succession of miracles, could have educed, but that they darted like their country, into an improvement of moral, political, and intellectual character, much beyond their contemporary ministers, and left examples which benefited the tact, and taste, and habits of the cabinets of Europe, will not be denied by those who study impartially the diplomatic writings and actions which preceded, accompanied, and followed their arduous, endangered, and impressive administration."

But to return to the early history of his life as depicted by his domestic.

"His Lordship, being in his infancie so pregnant in wit, and so desirous and apt to lerne, as in expectation foretold his greate future fortune, was vertuously brought up, and taught at schoole, [first] at Grantham, and [then] at Stamford, both in the county of Lincoln.

"And at the age of *fourteene* years, in May, 27 Henry VIII. [1535] he went to Cambridge, where he was a student in St. John's College."

In those days, as is well known, education began earlier than at present; or rather, perhaps, for that seems to be nearer the truth, was conducted upon principles, which sooner terminated the age of boyhood. A greater variety of things were taught, and some more immediately connected with manhood: even where there might be no precocity of genius, a youth was in the way of becoming a man as to many mental and bodily accomplishments rather sooner than at present. We have, in Harding's Chronicle, a

curious account of these things, even in his time, which was somewhat earlier than those of which we are writing. They began very early, we are told, with languages and manners; from ten to twelve were taught music and dancing, and to speak of gentleness. Then they scoured the fields as sportsmen; at sixteen were practised in mock-battles; jousting, and breaking and riding the war-horse;* and at *seventeen*, or *eighteen*, were reckoned fit to enter the world, and be entrusted with the duties of men.

We must not wonder then at the very early age of Lord Burghley when he became a member of the University of Cambridge; it is probable that he had already made great advances in the knowledge particularly of the ancient tongues, as we shall have occasion soon to shew.

But as it was one of the particular glories of his life not only to have lived at the period of the Reformation, and in the reigns of those four particular sovereigns of England, under whom the great struggle in this country was began, maintained, for a short time interrupted, but finally brought to that good issue, which terminated in the emancipation of this great nation, as well as of its sister kingdom of Scotland, from a captivity not unaptly termed by the great reformer himself, "Babylonian;" but to have been, under Edward VI. and his sister Elizabeth, mainly instrumental in accomplishing this great revolution, it is almost necessary before we go into the subject of his academical studies, which were allowedly very extraordinary for his age, to take a cursory view of the state of Europe at the period of his birth, as a sort of dissertation or critique.

* In a letter sent from Dr. Magnus and Roger Radcliffe to Cardinal Wolsey, November, 1524, the young King of Scotland, James V. then only in his thirteenth year, is described as knowing how to "stirre or manage his horses skilfully, to renne with a spere, amongye other his lordes and servants at a gloove, to sing and to danse, all whiche his princelie acts and doings be soe excellent for his age, not yet xiii yeres 'till Easter next, that in our opinions, it is not possible they should be amended."—*Ellis's Letters.*

CHAP. II.

Charles V. and Luther—Election of the former to the Imperial Throne, coincident with the Birth of Lord Burghley—One of the most important events in the History of the World—Revival of Learning, attended with consequences not foreseen at Rome—Remarkable instances of ignorance in the People at large, at the period of the Reformation.

In the very year then in which this great man was born, Charles V. was crowned Emperor of Germany, in the room of his grandfather Maximilian,* and Luther was condemned as a heretic by Pope Leo X. The Reformation in Germany had been already three years on foot, and the attention of Europe much drawn to the subject, though with very different effect in different countries; in our own, so far from receiving any encouragement from those in power, the King himself, who during the life of his elder brother has been said to have been educating for the church, had just written, or caused to be written, a book against Luther, in defence of the seven sacraments, and so strongly in support of the supremacy of the Pope, as to have induced Sir Thomas More, according to his own account in a letter to Cromwell (1533), to alter his opinion upon that point, and to conclude it to be, more than he had ever thought before, *jure divino*.†

How far the King's own pen might be actually employed in the composition of the original, seems to remain still in doubt;‡ but on its being presented to the Pope in great form by the English ambassador, it was made the occasion of conferring on Henry the

* Robertson. † Collier, ii. 99. More's Works.
‡ Burnet's Reformation, Oxford edit. 1816.

title, ever afterward borne by his successors, DEFENSOR FIDEI; fortunately, an ambiguous sort of title that might be continued after the change in Henry's sentiments; had it been, as previously suggested,* DEFENSOR ECCLESIÆ ROMANÆ, or, PROTECTOR SEDIS APOSTOLICÆ, the contradiction would have been almost ludicrous. As it was, the *title* was more complimentary than the *bull* accompanying it, since various *indulgences* were proffered to those who should be at *the pains* to *read* the book. "Librum hunc Henrici VIII. Angliæ, Franciæ Regis potentiss.: contra Martinum Lutherum legentibus, X annorum et totidem quadragenarum indulgentiam apostolicâ authoritate concessa est."† But to do the King justice, and mark the rising spirit of the times, this bribe to the readers of the book, we have reason to think, bespoke nothing so much as the alienation of the public mind from topics of that nature, since in the case of Sir Ralph Sadler, who carried the book into Scotland, where none would read it, and it lay, as an able writer remarks, "as a drug upon his hands;" it is observed, that the little notice it obtained was from no suspicion of the King's talents being unequal to the subject, but that the subject itself was becoming unpopular. After all, the title was no new title; former English sovereigns had been styled Defenders of the Faith, as may be seen in charters granted to the University of Oxford.‡

Such then may be said to have been the state of affairs at home at the period of Lord Burghley's birth. And as to the world in general, the aspect was most gloomy and appalling, had not the excitement, originating most opportunely with Luther within the confines of a Saxon university, from a spark soon spread into a flame never to be subdued, but which may be said still to be working its way wherever fresh fuel presents itself.

* Lord Herbert, 38. † Strype. Memorials, 1521.

‡ In the year 1544 this was made part of the King's title by *Act of Parliament*, and, as such, "united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of the realm of England."

The elevation of Charles V. to the imperial throne in 1520, the year of Lord Burghley's nativity, has been admirably fixed upon by an able foreign writer on the Reformation, as the precise epoch when the highest interests of mankind, civil as well as religious, hung suspended on so nice a balance, that nothing less than the most fortunate (we should rather say providential) concurrence and combination of unexpected events, could have given them the turn which may be said to have saved a large portion of Europe, if not other parts of the globe, from an alternative the most deplorable. Such indeed was the awful posture and aspect of affairs, when Charles, already King of Spain, then in a flourishing condition, master of a great part of Italy, of Sicily, of all the Netherlands, and of the wealth of America, ascended the Imperial throne, that almost the whole population of the world seemed to lie at his mercy, had not a new object been started at that particular moment, and an extraordinary *stimulus* given to the minds of men, to awaken them effectually from the deep sleep, the superstitious apathy, into which they had fallen, and in which they had been ignominiously buried for so many centuries; and to put weapons into their hands, till then carefully and studiously kept from them, or at all events never employed with any good effect before.

For it must not be supposed that learning had made no progress before the time of Luther, or that many of the worst features in the papal system had not been discovered; or even the corruptions of the clergy ably and most sarcastically exposed, previously to the actual commencement of the Reformation. Learning had been then for some time cultivated in no inconsiderable degree in the universities, particularly of Wurtzburg, Rostock, Lyons, Ingolstadt, Basil, Tubingen, Turin, Poitiers, Toledo, and even as far north as Copenhagen and Upsal; between the years 1403 and 1506, more than ten universities are said to

have been founded on German soil.* It was before the commencement of the sixteenth century that the celebrated *Aldo Manuzio* had called the attention of the world to the revival and extension of ancient learning, by means of the press, in his address to the public, describing his own motives for undertaking to print and to publish the works of the ancients. "The necessity of Greek literature is now," says he, "universally acknowledged, insomuch that not only our youth endeavour to acquire it, but it is studied even by those advanced in years. We read but of one *Cato* among the Romans who studied Greek in his old age, but in our times we have many *Cato's;* and the number of our youth who apply themselves to the study of Greek, is almost as great as of those who study the Latin tongue. So that Greek books, of which there are but few in existence, are now eagerly sought after." How much this indefatigable† and zealous man, contributed, by means of his press at Venice, to accomplish the end he had in view of multiplying copies of the ancient authors, need not be insisted on. For twenty years after the publication of his *first* work (the Aldine edition of the Poem of Hero and Leander, by Musæus), he was incessantly employed, assisted by Erasmus, in editing the works of ancient Greek and Latin writers. Between the years 1455 and 1536, it has been computed that more than 22,932,000 volumes had issued from various presses.‡

As to the corruptions of the Popish clergy, they had been the subject of banter and ridicule from the time of the Troubadours

* Butler, and see Müller, iii. 6.

† His time was so occupied, that he put an inscription over his door that is quite interesting, requesting his visitors to dispatch their business quickly and depart, unless they came, like Hercules, to give assistance, in which case, there was work enough for as many as could come. "Quisquis es rogat te ALDUS, etiam atque etiam ut si quid est quod a se velis, perpaucis agas, deinde actutum abeas, nisi tanquam Hercules, defesso Atlante, veneris supposituros humeros: semper enim erit quod et tu agas, et quotquot huc attulerint pedes."

‡ Recherches sur les Bibliotheques.

and their contemporaries, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; and had been selected by succeeding poets, as so fair a subject of satire, regularly downwards, that it is quite remarkable, that in Scotland particularly, long after the Reformation had begun, so low indeed as in the years 1535, 1540, 1554, the satirical dramas of Sir David Lindsay were allowed to be represented before a Popish court.* The early promoters of literature in Italy, on its revival, it is well known, were generally severe satirists of the clergy; as *Danté, Petrarca, Boccacio, Poggio, Burchiello, Pulci Franco*, &c. Sixtus IV. endeavoured to hinder the publication of such writings, but it could not be done effectually; he himself was the subject of several such pieces, to be found among the *Flacci Poemata de Corrupto Ecclesiæ statu*, and indeed he well deserved it.

That the grosser abuses of Romanism had been previously detected we cannot doubt, when we advert to the efforts of the Wickliffites or Lollards, in England, and the Hussites in Bohemia, but much more when we consider the still earlier differences or primitive purity of the Vaudois or Waldenses in Italy† and Spain, and of the Albigenses in France; but though remnants of all these sects might be said to exist at the commencement of the sixteenth century, particularly in Piedmont and Bohemia, yet it was in so small numbers, comparatively, that had it been possible for them all to unite together, they would have formed no great party, certainly not one so considerable as to effect any important revolution.‡ It may, indeed, be generally said, that before Luther, the Romanists

* See M'Crie's Life of Knox, particularly vol. i. note K, where there is a good account given of the influence of poets and satirists, on the rise, course, and progress of the Reformation.

† In Italy, even as low as *Calabria*, and in the fourteenth century. See an account of this settlement, which subsisted nearly two centuries, in M'Crie's recent publication on the Progress, &c. of the Reformation in Italy. Early in the thirteenth century, indeed, they had got as far as Rome, Naples, and Sicily, in dispersed parties, which exposed them to the wrath of Frederic II. who condemned them to the flames, unless the bishops chose to pardon them, *after cutting out their tongues.* Ib. 3, 4.

‡ Mosheim. Villers, on the Reformation, &c. Soames's Introduction, 84, 85.

themselves had began to see and to acknowledge the corruption of the clergy, and to allow that some reformation was become absolutely necessary,—"a reformation of church discipline," as Bossuet calls it; but by the subsequent proceedings of the Council of Trent, we may be sure that no other reformation was contemplated by that party, but such as should be entirely subject to the control of the *Head* of the church; such a reformation, as should preclude contradiction, by the authority of the very church to be reformed, "in its *head*, as well as its members;" for that was the expression that had become common since the Council of Constance. How necessary, however, it was really thought, to restore if possible, the degraded character of the Romish clergy, is shewn by the formation of the several societies of *Regular* Clerks, as the *Theatins*, the Regular Clerks of *St. Paul*, *St. Maieul*, &c. of which an account is to be seen in Mosheim, century xvi. chap. 1. sect. iii. part 1. It was expressly to ward off, if they could, a reformation from without, that they thus applied themselves to a repair of their relaxed discipline. Cardinal Julian, in his letter to Eugenius IV. written in the fifteenth century, acknowledges this. "These disorders," says he, "excite the people's hatred against the whole ecclesiastical order; and, should they not be corrected, it is to be feared lest the laity, like the Hussites, fall foul on the clergy, as they loudly threaten us." There is much more to the same purpose, but this is sufficient to shew, that whatever reformation the Romanists contemplated before Luther appeared, they meant to keep in their own hands, and that it had a view only to discipline and not to doctrine, as the Romanists themselves acknowledge. See Butler's Book of the Church, 1825, pp. 159, 160, 161. This learned author insists upon nothing more earnestly than that all the *Romish Reformists* before Luther, pleaded as strongly for the Pope's infallibility in matters of faith, as they did for the necessity of some restoration of church discipline to remove scandals; see pp. 163–4. What can this

serve to prove, but that the world is infinitely more indebted to Martin Luther, than would ever have been the case had it left things in the hands of Romish reformers, as the Popes designed and intended? Phillips, in his Life of Cardinal Pole, had long ago argued exactly in the same way; he acknowledges, that from the time of St. Bernard, in the twelfth century, to the Council of Trent, the great want of a reformation in the head and members of the church, had been matter of complaint; but "none," he adds, "ever entertained a thought of changing a single article of faith, or abolishing any part of her worship. They defended the *authority* of her *pastors*, and particularly of her *chief bishop*." Surely this is sufficient to tempt any serious person to look into the characters of those *pastors* and that *chief bishop*, in whom so great and indisputable an authority was supposed to be lodged, and for contesting of which Martin Luther was condemned as an heretic. We have then *this* testimony supplied even by Guicciardini, who writes, that in *that* age, that *depraved* age, a *Pope* obtained the character of an honest man, if he chanced not to be a greater villain than the rest of the world. "In nostris depravatis moribus, tunc in Pontifice probitas laudatur, quum cæterorum hominum nequitiam non excedit." Histor. lib. xvi.

But Luther's opposition to the papal power being the boldest and most direct that had ever yet occurred, if it happened not to concur exactly in point of time with the first revival of learning, did fortunately exactly concur with the spirit of *inquiry*, which the revival of learning had stimulated and provoked. And though the latter, notwithstanding the discovery of printing, might, after all, have been stifled or checked in its course, had no higher principle than the mere desire of knowledge stepped in to its support; though the power of the Emperor and the Pope, intimately *combined*, which *might* have been the case for *such* purposes, would in all likelihood have easily found means of putting limits to the

diffusion of knowledge, on the least appearance of danger to the established authorities in church *or* state (for such intellectual thraldom is not even now at an end*); yet when called to the aid of a reformation which struck at the very root of the evil, which threatened the very foundations of a tyranny too hard to bear, and which made an appeal to the noblest faculties and highest principles of the human mind, the restoration of letters was calculated to give a surprising force and strength to the reformed party throughout Europe, by enabling it not only to hold up its head against its opponents, but to loosen, dissolve, and scatter in the air, those visionary chains by which it had hitherto been held captive, the forgeries of the canonists, the servile tenets of the civilians, and, above all, the insidious (because ingenious and plausible) subtleties and sophistry of the schoolmen, especially their casuistical morality. If, as has been well argued, the restoration of letters, beginning amongst the Romanists, brought *light*, it was Luther's Reformation that brought *liberty*.†

This is not mere matter of conjecture; the case is proved by the sudden alarm taken by the court of Rome, so soon as ever the danger of the "*New Learning*," as it was called, came to be understood. The restoration of letters appeared to have had its beginning exactly where it was most wanted, if it had but been allowed to take its *free* course there as in more favoured places. But though Italy was the country where the new light began first

* It cannot be at an end while any remnants of the Inquisition remain. How little the mere restoration of letters would have been permitted to open the eyes of the world, as to any abuses of the Romish system of religion, may be judged at once from the history of prohibited books since the very first movements of the Reformation. This great revolution had been on foot nearly a whole century, when one of the most ample indexes of prohibited works made its appearance at Madrid, under the auspices of the fathers of the Inquisition, and with the sanction of Paul V., bearing date January 26, 1612. An appendix was added 1614.—See a good account of this in *Cook's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, vol. i. 117, &c.

† See *Southey's Vindiciæ Anglicanæ Ecclesia*, 278. 1825.

to spread its rays over a benighted world, and no small progress was made there in the cultivation of literature, before other countries had began to taste of its salutary and invigorating fruits, yet it seems to have been through *an oversight* of the Popes, as far as regarded the stability of the papal throne, that it was even suffered to proceed so far. The early reformers, in their appeals to Scripture, often made use of translations that had actually been sanctioned by the Popes. "In surveying this portion of history," says Dr. M'Crie, "it is impossible not to admire the arrangements of Providence, when we perceive monks, and bishops, and cardinals, and popes, active in forging and polishing those weapons which were soon to be turned against themselves, and which they afterwards would fain have blunted, and laboured to decry as unlawful and empoisoned." Works were actually printed at Venice, with the privilege (*cum privilegio*) of the *Inquisitors*, strongly favouring some of the reformed doctrines, but which their ignorance prevented their discovering.*

There is a letter said to be still extant from Cardinal Pole to Leo X. in which, after particularly congratulating his Holiness on his success in the propagation of the sciences; the wary cardinal does not omit to remind him, that it might be of dangerous consequence to make mankind too learned. Even earlier than this, and in our own country, Rowland Philipps, Vicar of Croydon, and Warden of Merton College, Oxford, "esteemed," as Holinshed says, "a notable preacher," foreseeing the probable consequences of the discovery of the art of printing, had publicly denounced it from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral, as likely to be the bane of the Roman Catholic religion. "We must root out printing," said he, "or printing will root out us."† That Leo X. after the example of his father and grandfather, was a promoter of learning, cannot be

* M'Crie, 181.

† Fox's Martyrs.—Lyson's Environs of London, 133.

questioned; it was he who granted a special (though certainly an exclusive) privilege to Aldo, for printing and publishing the Greek and Roman authors; and though his attention was chiefly confined to the restoration and recovery of the classical writers, for which indeed he founded an academy, yet we must not deny him the credit of some attention also to the promotion of theological learning, as may be seen in the dedication of the famous Complutensian Polyglot, by Cardinal Ximenes, addressed to him in 1514. But the alarm began, not with the mere revival of ancient literature, but with what was more emphatically called, the "*New Learning;*" and the effect of this alarm was very curious. At the period of the Reformation the heads of the Catholic religion, who had at first discovered nothing in the revival of letters but glory and pleasure, or some tendency towards the refinement of manners, began to perceive their own danger, so that an opposition soon sprung up, where the rigour of Catholic policy would be employed to restrain the operations of the mind, which distinguished such countries greatly, and still do distinguish them from those in which no such interposition could avail: this will appear from comparing Italy, Austria, Spain, and the Netherlands, with Saxon Germany, Sweden, Denmark, England, and Holland. Indeed, after the minds of men in *Italy* had begun to be awakened to a sense of the corruptions of the Romish church, many political reasons led them to stand up in its defence, as the source of much wealth, drawn from all other parts of Europe.*

It would be scarcely credible, especially after what has been said above of Aldo, and the encouragement given to his valuable press, that of all the objects of alarm, as parts of this "new learning," the original languages in which the Holy Scriptures were written, appear to have rapidly become the most obnoxious; through the dread, no doubt, not merely of their being understood

* M'Crie 25-6.

by the learned, but of *translations* being made, to enlighten the unlearned.* Greek and Hebrew, however encouraged before, were soon after the reformation began, absolutely pronounced to be *heretical;* even the oriental languages, probably from their connexion with the Hebrew, became also subject to proscription.

In 1515, one year only after Ximenes' dedication of his Polyglott, Leo X. issued severe restrictions against printing and publishing any books translated from the Hebrew, Greek, or Arabic. Father Paul, in his History of the Council of Trent, gives a curious account of a more summary mode of suppressing knowledge adopted by the alarmed Catholics:—the Romish inquisitors at one time prohibited, in the mass, all books printed by *sixty-two* printers, which they denounced without any regard to their contents; adding, farther, a general prohibition to read any books issuing from the press of a printer, who, but once in his life, had printed anything produced by a heretic.

The facts in proof of this new feeling are most remarkable; we shall select but a few, as particularly connected in point of time, with the history of Lord Burghley, whose early life, as we shall

* Latymer's Letter to Hubberdine, Strype's Memorials, Oxford edit. 1816. vol. I. part ii. No. 43. See also as to Nix, Bishop of Norwich, Strype's Cranmer, b. I. ch. vii. So late in the reign of Henry VIII. as 1544, the complaint preferred against Cranmer by the Privy Council, set on, as it is thought, by Gardiner, was, that "he, with his *learned* men, had so infected the whole realm with their *unsavory doctrine*, that three parts of the land were become abominable heretics; and that it might prove dangerous to the king, being like to promote such disturbances and uproars, as were sprung up in Germany."—*Strype.* Latymer's remarks, in the letter above cited, are very pointed. "For, to begin withal; ye call the Scripture the *New Learning;* which I am sure is elder than any learning that ye wote to be the old. But if ye will say that it is not the Scripture that ye call new, but other books lately put in English; I answer, that the Scripture was the first which you and your fautors condemned; beside, that those others, for the most, teach nothing but that which is manifest in the Scripture, and also plain in the ancient Doctors: I speak not of *your old* Doctors, Duns and St. Thomas, Halyot, Bridget, &c. but of Augustine, Hierome, Chrysostome, Ambrose, Hilary, and such other, which in like manner be called *new* Doctors, as the Scripture *new learning*, as Tully *new Latin*, the text of Aristotle *new philosophy*, and likewise of all the sciences."

shew, happened to be passed amongst the first favourers and promoters of the "new learning," in this country.

In 1523, three years after the birth of Lord Burghley, and about six after the commencement of the reformation in Swisserland and Germany, the magistrates of Lucerne having ordered the house of Collinus, a learned professor, and friend of Zuinglius, to be searched for *heretical* books; it is very gravely related in the history of that celebrated reformer, by his biographer Hess, that one of the monks employed, meeting with a *Homer*, pronounced it at once to be a *Lutheran* work, and condemned it accordingly—All that is *Greek*, said he, is *Lutheran*. The works of Aristotle, therefore, of Plato, and some of the Greek poets, shared the same fate.

Similar ideas were publicly indulged and expressed even in the pulpits, as Conrad of Heresbach, a very grave and respectable writer of that period, assures us. "There is a *new* language called *Greek*, invented by the heretics," said a Swiss monk to his congregation, "and a book printed in that language called the New Testament, which contains many dangerous things, is full of daggers and poison. Hebrew is another new language: whoever learns it becomes a Jew." "Græcum est, non potest legi,"* became, we are told, a common expression about these times; or rather earlier, perhaps, for we learn from Erasmus, that it was a caution whispered into the ears of youth, at the confessionals, "Cave a Græcis ne fias hæreticus."† Pellicanus has informed us, that before the preaching of Luther, there was not one Greek Testament to be found in all Germany, though a man should have offered to give for it its weight in gold.‡

* Strype's Life of Cheke. M'Crie's Life of Knox. † Adagia. Life of Leland.

‡ Jortin's Erasmus. These things deserve to be attended to, since even to this day, the Romanists accuse the *Reformers* of having shewn themselves to be the enemies rather than the promoters of learning, because they endeavoured to banish *philosophy* from the church; and

Hochstraten, one of the Imperial Inquisitors at Cologne, solicited and obtained an imperial edict to burn and exterminate all *Hebrew* books, and would have quarrelled with that eminent philologist Reuchlin, for not allowing that the study of Greek was of pernicious consequence, or had a bad influence on the *faith* of believers. Even the faculty of theology at Paris boldly asserted before the French parliament, that religion would come to an end, if the study of Greek and Hebrew were permitted. But to come nearer home.

The study of Greek was liable to the suspicion of heresy in

some hasty expressions of Luther and Melancthon, with regard to Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero, are brought forward in proof of this. [See Butler's Roman Catholic Church, 1825, p. 181.] The *philosophy* that had been admitted into the church, through bad translations of Aristotle and other classical writers, had, in the hands of the schoolmen, done all it could to puzzle, perplex, and confound the minds of men, and we might well forgive honest Luther (for Melancthon is allowed by Mr. Butler to have retracted), if the resistance he met with, provoked him to speak sharply of *church philosophy;* of learning in general he expressed himself quite otherwise, he spoke of it as a main help to the advancement of true religion and theology. "Ego persuasus sum sine literarum peritia prorsus stare non posse sinceram theologiam, sicut hactemus ruentibus et jacentibus literis miserrime et cecidit et jacuit. Quin video, nunquam fuisse insignem factam Verbi Dei revelationem, nisi primo, velut precursoribus Baptistis, viam pararit surgentibus et florentibus linguis et literis."—*Lutheri Epist.* vol. ii. p. 307. But the question lies not here. The true question is, "Did not the Romanists, after they had discovered the probable consequences of the revival of learning, do all they could, to prevent its opening to the people the way of *truth* as revealed in the Holy Scriptures?" This is the only question with which we have to do; we dispute not, that the first efforts to revive learning were made by Romanists, but how did they deal with the *spirit of inquiry* when roused by Luther? Did they not do all in their power to stifle it? were not the *indices expurgatorii* immediately set to work? books and booksellers proscribed? and the very tongues of the opponents of the church cut out, that the living instrument of intercourse and communication might be restrained as well as the pen. These are the questions we should ask, in looking back to the original struggle between the Romanists and Reformists.—Melancthon, writing to Henry VIII., laments indeed that the religious controversies had brought an *odium* upon letters, but this *odium* certainly operated as much one way as the other. If the Protestants despised the antiquated church philosophy or sophistry of the schools, did not the Romanists affect quite as much to despise the "*new learning*," and would have stifled it in its birth if they could? and what was the *new learning*, but the way to truth through a cloud of error and spiritual darkness the most profound?

Scotland, both before and after John Erskine of Dun ventured openly to patronise it, in his school at Montrose, in 1534; four years subsequent to which, it appears that Wishart the Martyr, who probably acquired his knowledge of Greek at that very school, was actually summoned by Chisholm, Bishop of Brechin, to appear before him, on a charge of *heresy*, for teaching the Greek New Testament, and to avoid the consequences, actually fled the kingdom.* So little did the Scotch bishops at this time know of the very language in which the New Testament was originally written, that Sir Ralph Sadler tells a pleasant story of their mistaking, on his first going into Scotland, a Greek motto on his servants' coats, Μονῳ ανακτι δουλευω, "I serve the King alone," or "I am the King's servant," for a proof of their having been monks, "*monachi*," or "little monks," as they rather read it "*monachuli*," and they took offence, supposing them to have been men discharged from the abbeys and monasteries, and now degraded into serving-men. "It appeareth," says the English ambassador, very gravely, "they are no good Grecians."† Such was the blindness of those times, says Buchanan, that even priests determined to prevent the reading of the *New* Testament,‡ and offended at the

* This happened in the year 1538, at which very time Lord Burghley (then Mr. Cecil), as we shall see, was, for his own amusement, as well as the instruction of others, reading a Greek Lecture in the University of Cambridge, to which place, on his flight from his native country, Wishart retired, and where he resided for some years.

† State-papers, and letters of Sir Ralph Sadler, by Clifford, 1809.

‡ Were these the errors of the times, or of the religion? Surely of the latter; nor can we duly appreciate the careful labours and heroic fortitude of our early reformers, but by deeply considering the thraldom from which they contributed to deliver us. In popish countries, even to this very day, the ignorance in which the people are kept, fully equals all that we read of, in the history of the XVIth century. The Pope now reigning (1827), has not scrupled to prohibit the distribution of the *English* Bible in Ireland, it being no better than a means of "turning the Gospel of Christ into the Gospel of the Devil," as "a plague," a "most wicked novelty," "noxious both to faith and morals." Tradition and the authority of the church are still held in such repute, that all men are taught to believe, that Scripture alone is no sufficient rule of faith, and therefore they are naturally led to disregard it. In Ireland lately it has been

novelty of the title, actually contended that that book was written by Martin Luther, and that they should abide by the *Old*,* a matter of great amusement to foreign writers,† though we have given instances enough, we should think, of continental ignorance, that might well match it.

It is however but fair to acknowledge that, on the part of the Protestants, there was almost as much ignorance and absurd conduct displayed, as on the part of the Catholics. In the visitations of church libraries and monasteries, previous to the dissolution of the latter, "If a book had a cross on it," says Fuller, "it was condemned for popery, and those with lines and circles, were interpreted the *black art*, and destroyed for *conjuring*. Many were stripped of their sumptuous bindings, and the contents committed to the flames, as of indisputably less value,‡ and many suffered a more ignominious fate.

given in evidence before the commissioners of education, "that the peasantry could scarcely distinguish between a Testament and any other book of the same size on a religious subject. That in Connaught the peasant does not know what a Bible or a Testament is. In general they do not understand that the Bible contains the Word of God, the history of our Saviour, the history of the creation and the redemption of the world." Another (Captain Pringle), witnessed, "that he had met with a great many who never saw or heard of the Scriptures; some did not know what he was speaking about when speaking of the Bible; at last they cried, Oh, yes, you are speaking about the *black book*. Some of them think *that Luther was the author of it*." "Some were afraid to touch a Protestant Testament, because they thought it an *heretical* book." "Children affirmed, that the priests had told them, that if they read the *black book* (Bible), they would be visited with thunder and lightning."

* B. xv. vol. ii. 204. edit. 1752. Cook on the Reformation in Scotland. The last author says this opinion was *very prevalent*, but this has been judged to be too strong an expression. See Brit. Critic, old series, 1812. 225. The learned Critic, however, does not question the story of Forrest, and the bold acknowledgment of the Bishop of Dunkeld, "I thank God I have lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New Testament."

† M'Crie, vol. i. note C.

‡ See Life of Leland. And *Collier*, ii. 166. Soames' Reformation under Henry VIII. ii. 281, &c.

CHAP. III.

State of England, at the commencement of the Reformation, with regard to Learning—Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey patrons of letters—A Greek Lecture founded by the latter at Oxford—Occasions great disturbances—Lectures at Cambridge—Mr. Cecil entered at St. John's College—Reads a Sophistry Lecture there at the age of sixteen, and a Greek Lecture at eighteen years old, without remuneration—Regius Professorships founded at both Universities—Order of Jesuits.

In England, in the meanwhile, it must be confessed, things were proceeding much more respectably; the King's literary attainments were certainly far from contemptible, and long before his rupture with the Pope, he and his ministers had shewn a very creditable disposition to promote learning, by providing better means and opportunities of education. Even with the consent of the Pope, some monasteries had been dissolved, before his quarrel with Henry, for the express purpose of founding schools, &c. &c.*

* Of the King's personal attainments, a good account may be found in Mr. Turner's recent History of the Reign of Henry VIII. The testimonies he cites are much too respectable to be controverted, after every allowance to be made for the flattery of princes, b. i. ch. ii. § 3. We may refer to the same learned author for a distinction that should generally be attended to: in estimating the character of this extraordinary prince, those vices and failings, which have blackened his reputation beyond redemption, were chiefly confined to the last ten years of his life and reign; before that, to use an expression of his great calumniator, Pole, he appears to have been "altogether king-like." The virtues in which he *shone*, are by the same pen, declared to have been piety, the cultivation of religion, a great love of justice, a nature not averse from clemency, and a bountiful liberality. It is melancholy to think, that such virtues should have declined into the very opposite vices, and cast such a stigma on the first monarch of England, who bent towards the reformation of the church, as to induce the Romanists, to connect the reformation itself with his particular vices; but two things are remarkable in their bitter and sarcastic reproaches, first, that Henry is really indebted to the Romanists, and them alone, for advancing something in extenuation of the grossest and most inexcusable act of his

It was, no doubt, to Cardinal Wolsey and Sir Thomas More that the University of Oxford was indebted for the first encouragement given there to the study of Greek, where learned Englishmen who had been to Italy to study it, as *Grocyne*, *Linacer*,* and others, or eminent foreigners, as *Vitellius*, *Matthæus Calphurnius*, and more particularly *Erasmus*, were enabled, or invited to display their abilities in teaching it. So early, indeed, as 1519, one year before the birth of Lord Burghley, and the very year in which the second edition of Erasmus's Greek Testament appeared, Wolsey had founded a Greek Lecture at Oxford.† This, however, did not happen without exciting such disturbances as drove Erasmus to Cambridge. The scholastics, alarmed at the loss of credit they might sustain by the encouragement of more liberal studies, vehemently opposed the introduction of the Greek into Oxford; and to mark the more strongly the particular aim and object of their opposition, they took the general name of *Trojans*, and in allusion to the Homeric heroes, attacked the Grecians, under the assumed names,

whole life, the merciless execution of Queen Anne (Boleyn), by vilifying that unhappy female to such a degree, as to render her almost worthy of the scaffold; and secondly, in continuing to give currency to these most notorious slanders, to this very day, though so often contradicted and refuted. See Todd's reprint of Cranmer's Catechism, and Wrangham's British Plutarch. Art. *Cranmer*. As Romish writers have conspired to tarnish the fame of Queen Anne, so have they, oddly enough, in one instance at least, depreciated the *attractions* of the repudiated Catherine. "Catherine d'Aragon," say the authors of the *Dictionnaire Historique*, "n'etoit née ni avec le talent, ni avec le *desir* de *plaire*"—"Les soins domestiques, la prière, et le travail, firent ses occupations—sa raison, et sa vertu furent sans *agrémens*, sans *graces*, sans *dignité*—elle étoit plus faite pour un monastère que pour un Cour."

* These had studied Greek at Florence, under Demetrius Cholcondylas.—*Life of Leland*, 7.

† In this very year, Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, died; the munificent founder of St. Paul's school, where, under the first High Master, the famous William Lily, Greek was first taught out of the Universities. Colet was a great encourager of the study of the Scriptures also, and connected with the learned persons mentioned in the text. See Knight's Life of Colet, and Soames's History of the Reformation, under Henry VIII. Colet was the first who had the honour of awakening Erasmus to a just sense of the futility of the scholastics; beginning even with Thomas Aquinas, the *Angelic Doctor*, as he was called.—*See his Life in the Biog. Brit.*

severally, of the defenders of Troy, leaving to the adverse party those of the Grecian camp. The conflict was so furiously carried on at last, especially by the Trojans, that the King, happening to be in the vicinity, saw fit to interpose; and having reproved a preacher who had indelicately, in the very face of the court, inveighed against the new interpreters of the Greek language, and the preacher pleading in excuse, that he had done so from an impulse of the Spirit, "Of the spirit—of folly," cried the King, "and not of your Saviour."* And so, indeed, he might well say, if we consider what the Trojan heroes were contending for. It was, in fact, to resist the introduction of the "*new learning*" brought from Italy by Linacer, Grocyne, and others; and that they might be allowed to go on in studying nothing but the logical subtleties of the schoolmen, Ptolemy's Astronomy, Aristotle's Logical and Metaphysical works, in miserable translations, and accompanied with more miserable comments; something of natural philosophy (Aristotle's probably), a little grammar, rhetoric, ethics, and in mathematics, as far as the two first books of Euclid. This was the qualification for the degree of Master of Arts. But to proceed:

These disputes at Oxford gave a sort of advantage or priority to Cambridge, where things proceeded more quietly, so that it was said of Erasmus, that what he was scarcely allowed to learn at Oxford, he taught at Cambridge.

By the royal injunctions, or rather by the supplementary injunctions of Dr. Lee, the King's Commissioner, the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge, the proctors and masters of colleges, were enjoined to furnish a Greek or Hebrew lecture at the expense of the University, the instrument bearing date, October 22, 1535.

As this was the very year in which Lord Burghley (then Mr. Ceeil) was entered a member of that University, we shall proceed to such passages of his life, by his domestic, as relate to that event.

* Turner's History of Henry VIII.

"At the age of fourteene yeres, in May, 27 Henry VIII. [1535] he went to Cambridge, where he was a student in St. John's Colledge.

"Being so diligent and painefull, as he hired the bell-ringer to call him up at foure of the clock every morninge.*

"With which [early rising, and late†] watchinge, and continuall sitting, there fell abundance of humours into his leggs, then very hardly cured, which was thought one of the original causes of his gowt.

"One [Nicholas] Medcalf, then master of that house, seeing his dilligence and towardnes, would often give him money to encourage him.

"For he was so toward, studious, and so rarely capable, as he was reader of the Sophistic Lecture, being but sixtene years old.

"And afterwards he read the *Greek* Lecture there, as a gentleman for his exercise, upon pleasure, without pension;‡ before he was nineteen yeres old.

"Which he performed so learnedlie, as was beyond expectation of a student of his time, or one of his yeres or birth, it being not usual to see a gentleman so lerned, or so painefull to perform that place.

"For, at that time, it was a rare thinge to have any perfection in the *Greek* tongue.

"His dilligent studie was [also] such, as besides his exquisite knowledge of the Greek, he was not meanely sene in all other manner of lerninge.

"Hable, judicially and lernedlie, to maintaine argument with the best lerned of treeble his standing, in any manner of lerning

* This deserves attention, as it seems to have laid the foundation for one of the most absurd and despicable calumnies of his enemies, late in the reign of Elizabeth.

† Peck.

‡ This custom of voluntary or gratis Lectures, seems to have begun with the famous Dean Colet, who, about the year 1497, on his return from Italy, read lectures of this nature at Oxford, on the Epistles of St. Paul.

or science, with extraordinary applause of his audiens; no lesse admyring his greate learning for so little time, than the excellencie of his wit, and temper of speech.

"[So] that he was [then] as famous for a schollar, in Cambridg, as afterwards for a grave and greate counsellor."

Having already spoken of the King's injunctions, as far as they regard the encouragement given to the study of Greek and Hebrew, (or one of them at least, for the expression is, in Dr. Lee's additions, a Greek *or* Hebrew Lecture); it may be well, as the date of the injunctions coincides so exactly with the period of Mr. Cecil's becoming a member of the University, to add, that, at the same time, all the students were exhorted to "recover the Christian religion to its original purity and truth;" they were commanded "to renounce the Pope entirely, and to submit to the *Regale* as the highest authority under God Almighty." They were encouraged to promote the "study of languages." They were allowed, generally, to "read the Scriptures in their studies," and as to other books, it was ordered that they should read "Aristotle, Rodolphus Agricola, *Melancthon*, Trapezuntius, &c.; and forbear from reading Scotus, Burlæus, Anthony Trombat, Bricot, Bruliferius," &c.

Upon which it may not be amiss to observe, that, in these distinctions of authors, we discern the spirit of the times, as regarded the Catholics. That they were among the first promoters of learning, must not be denied. But they had not proceeded far, before it was plainly to be seen, that the encouragement of learning in their hands differed widely from the encouragement of freedom of inquiry. We have no greater proof of this than in the case of Henry VIII., a more learned prince, certainly, than the world has often seen. That he was well inclined to promote learning to a certain extent, cannot be doubted; nor was his very extraordinary minister Wolsey less disposed to do so, as both Oxford and Cam-

bridge may witness to this day; but here we must stop.—The royal and munificent founder of no less than five Professorships, of Divinity, Hebrew, Greek, Civil Law, and Medicine, at both the Universities, had his *Index Expurgatorius* at hand, to limit inquiry, and impose restraint; so that we find encouragement checked by commands, and very arbitrary injunctions accompanying partial indulgencies. In Henry, this disposition was particularly manifested in the opposite cases of the *Regale* above noticed, and his celebrated law of the Six Articles; in regard to which, he acted with such great, but apparently inconsistent severity, as to make a foreigner exclaim, on seeing Papists and Protestants carried together to execution, "Bone Deus! quomodo vivunt gentes, suspenduntur Papistæ, comburuntur Anti-papistæ?" "Good God! how do people make shift to live here, where Papists are hanged, and Anti-papists burned?" "The King's supremacy," says Lloyd, "cut off the Papists, and the VI. Articles, the Protestants." "By a refinement in barbarity," says another writer, "the heretics and the adherents of the Pope were dragged on the same hurdle to the fires of Smithfield." See also Collier, vol. ii. 182. Dr. Swift is so offended with these things, in his letter to the B—p of Sa—m (Burnet), that he declares that nothing in history disgusts him more, than to see one of the worst princes of any age or country celebrated as an instrument in that glorious work of the Reformation; but it is very questionable, whether Swift knew the character of this English sovereign so well, as to be justified in condemning him so unreservedly, or with so little allowance, for the predicament into which he had been betrayed by the errors of the very church whose authority he was about to renounce. Neither of Henry's new Professors of Divinity, we may be certain, would have been allowed to question the truth of the VI. Articles: and while he was anxious, as it would seem, to give the *Regale* all the support of the *Civil* Law, he prohibited generally, and for the

future, all degrees in the *Canon* Law;* and this we shall find to be the case in various other instances. The case, indeed, of Sir Thomas More is a remarkable instance of Catholic apprehension and despotism, counteracting the more liberal spirit of Protestantism and general learning. After doing his utmost to encourage and promote literature, and the general dissemination of knowledge; no sooner did he find that it led to what the principles of his religion induced him to regard as heresy, merely from its opposition to the church of Rome, than he became particularly active to repress Protestantism, and restrain the freedom of the reformed party, and though all this, at the same time, was perfectly at variance with his own celebrated Romance, the *Utopia*, in which he would have no man to be molested for his religious opinions.†

As Protestantism became bold and inquisitive, Catholicism became wary, cautious, and arbitrary. The latter had gone too far to prevent the spread of learning, it could only henceforth interpose to give it a safe direction;‡ a direction, that is, not inimical to established power: this, indeed, was the very plan and object of the *Jesuits*, whose institution happened to accord exactly with Henry's foundation of *most* of the ten professorships.§ In 1540,

* The Canon Law, compiled by Gratian in 1151, was brought into England in Stephen's reign, and gradually introduced by the Italian Canonists into the University of Oxford, Vacarius being the first Professor.—*Rapin.*

† Macdiarmid, and see Soames's History of the Reformation, under Henry VIII. vol. i. 467, note (o) and on the strange contrarieties in the character and conduct of this "*too largely extolled man*," as the author calls him.—Turner's Henry VIII. pp. 581, 582. It is scarcely possible to suppose that a man who had merely contemplated the benign effects of a tolerant spirit, should have been able to write as More wrote to Cochlæus on the deaths of Zuingle and Œcolampadius. "Postrema ea fuit quam de Zuinglio et Œcolampadio scriptura misisti, quorum nunciata mors mihi Lætitiam attrahit—sublatos e medio esse tam immanes Fidei Christiana Hostes, tam intentos ubique in omnem perimendæ pietatis occasionem, jure gaudere possum."—Mosheim, iv. 394, new edit.

‡ Villers. § The Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford was founded 1535.

this very extraordinary society sprang up, to uphold to the utmost of its power, the tottering fabric of popish superstition. Its design was, systematically to comply with the ardent thirst for knowledge that had been excited, but in all possible instances to give it such a turn, as should engage men's attention another way from that by which they might be led to detect the fallacies, abuses, and corruptions of the church of Rome. "Europe had tasted of the tree of knowledge," it has been well observed; "light was diffused on all sides, and had made rapid progress. It had become impossible to oppose it directly; the most salutary expedient now was no longer to attack science, but to manage it in such a manner as to prevent its becoming hurtful; as the torrent could no longer be excluded, it was necessary to dig for it a channel in which it might fertilize, instead of *desolating* the *territory* of the *church*."*

Grammar, philology, the classics, mathematics, profane history, and polite literature, or such as is now held to be included under the term *Belles Lettres*, where the memory and imagination are gratified almost to the exclusion of thought and reason, were the studies encouraged and taught wherever the Jesuits got a footing; and none could be more busy than they were to introduce themselves into all public establishments, or private families, as tutors and instructors of the young, or spies upon those more elevated or more advanced in years.† Of every thing that fell under their notice, they gave account to the Pope, and there was no shape or character‡ they would not assume to effect their purposes of resisting the spread of Protestantism.

It is certainly very remarkable, that in so short a time as eleven years only from the date of the institution, the character of the Jesuits should have become so well known and understood, that in a sermon preached at Dublin, by the celebrated Archbishop

* Villers. † Robertson's Charles V. Villers on the Reformation.

‡ See particularly Soames's History of the Reformation under Henry VIII. vol. ii. p. 468.

Brown, in 1551,* while Loyola himself was still alive, he thus speaks of them, in a great measure *prophetically*: "There are a new fraternity of late sprung up who call themselves *Jesuits*, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes' and Pharisees' manner among the Jews; they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the Heathens a Heathenist, with the Atheists an Atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformado, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations, and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart *there was no God.* These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the councils of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts and their secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it; which will happen from falling from the law of God, and by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins."† He proceeds even to foretell what happened to them about *two centuries* afterwards; so sagacious was this great and eminent divine in tracing the path they were likely to pursue,‡ till their practices, being generally understood, should lead to their suppression. But it is sufficient for our purposes to have a just view of their character in the sixteenth century,§ when Lord Burghley, in parti-

* Harleian Miscellany, vol. v.

† Of the morality or moral system of the Jesuits, a better account cannot be given than is to be found in the *Lettres Provinciales* of the celebrated Pascal. They were answered, as well as they *could* be answered, by Pere Daniel, in his *Entretiens de Cleandre, et d' Eudoxe.* But Bayle tells us, their morality was no invention of their own after all.—See Art. *Loyola.*

‡ Mosheim, Coote's edit. 1811, vol. iv. 175.

§ It is, however, almost too remarkable to be passed over, that in our own memory the institution should have undergone many strange revolutions. In 1773, the order was *suppressed* by Clement XIV. *professedly* for the good of the Catholic church in general. In 1814, it was *revived* by Pius VII. *professedly* also for the good and security of the Catholic church, and to be put upon the footing of the order still existing in Russia; but from which very country, in

cular, had to defend his sovereign, his country, his church, his religion, and his own person, from their incessant attempts against all; exactly by such disguises, arts, and stratagems, as the Archbishop, in his very remarkable sermon, has in no manner exaggerated.

Where they had no wish to darken, they enlightened the world, and so far were of use undoubtedly; by taking youth out of the hands of the mendicant orders, the *artists*, *philosophers*, and *dialecticians* of those dull days, they were necessarily the means of opening their minds to the pursuit of more liberal studies, of relieving them from the senseless and useless jargon of the schools, and preparing them for general knowledge, whenever opportunities of pursuing such studies freely should present themselves.*

only two years after, viz. 1816, the Emperor of Russia was obliged to expel them.—See Phillpott's Answer to Butler, 1826, pp. 312, 313. The comparison of the Bulls of Clement XIV 1773, and Pius VII. 1814, for their suppression and revival, is very curious, as well as the Ukases of the Emperor of Russia, 1816 and 1820.

* Villers. Mosheim.

CHAP. IV.

State of the Universities as regarded Religion and Learning, at the period in which Mr. Cecil became a member of St. John's College, Cambridge—Number and celebrity of his principal associates and acquaintance there—Smith, Cheke, Parker, Haddon, Ascham, Bacon, &c.—Disputes about the pronunciation of Greek.

SUCH was the state of the world when Lord Burghley (then Mr. Cecil) entered on his academical life. And he could not possibly, perhaps, have gone to Cambridge at a more important period as to the society into which he happened to be thrown; for there he formed acquaintances which in a very remarkable manner may be said to have lasted him during his life, and which must have contributed largely to the eminence he afterwards attained in the service of the two first Protestant sovereigns of England, Edward and Elizabeth. It was, indeed, nearly at the very period marked in our own annals as "the dawning of the gospel in Cambridge,"* when religious conferences began to take place, and private meetings to be holden for edification in Christian knowledge, St. John's College being particularly one of those most engaged in such innovations. The Head of the College, of whom the narrative makes mention, in the phraseology of the times, Master Doctor Medcalf, being one, who, as Lloyd observes, though he could not (as Themistocles said) *fiddle*, could make a little college a great one, and breed scholars though he was none; his advice, he goes on to say, "deterred them from the rough learning of the

* Strype's Life of Parker.

modern schoolmen, and their own genius led them to the more polite studies of the ancient orators and historians." Luther's books had also found their way to Cambridge some time before this, but they were only privately read, though very effectually to the discovery of the abuses of religion,* the very place in which they held their meetings, a public house called the White Horse, being nick-named Germany. *Melancthon's* books seem, from what has been said above, not only to have been unprohibited, but publicly allowed; there might be reasons for this, as we shall hereafter have occasion perhaps to shew, and indeed it was Cromwell rather than the King, who was the author of this selection.†

Of the earliest of Mr. Cecil's college acquaintance, the first we shall mention were Smith, afterwards the celebrated Sir Thomas Smith, and Cheke, afterwards Sir John Cheke, a native of the place; both of them, on account of their great diligence and application to learning, chiefly, as it is said, through the interposition of Dr. Butts, King Henry's celebrated physician, admitted into the list of the King's Scholars, being supplied by him with money to defray the expenses of their education, and for their charges in travelling into foreign countries: a practice much to be commended, for the opportunities it afforded young men of attaining such knowledge as could not, *in those days*, be so successfully cultivated at home; which might fit them for such posts and occupations as were necessary to the service of the King and court, qualifying them to act as ambassadors, secretaries, privy counsellors, tutors to the nobility, &c. They have both been careful to acknowledge in their writings the grace and favour of King Henry, in rendering them this assistance, Cheke in his Epistle to the King, before his edition of Chrysostom's two Homilies, and Smith in his Controversy with Gardiner, of which we shall have to speak hereafter; and in both

* Strype's Life of Cheke. † Lloyd's State Worthies.

instances, the mutual friendship they bore towards each other is feelingly introduced.*

Cheke was of the same college as Lord Burghley, and immediately in the way, therefore, of benefiting by the conferences and disputations mentioned above; while Smith, who had been brought up in the principles of the reformed religion, was of Queen's College, a society which happened to have particularly favoured the tenets of Erasmus and Luther, the former of whom, indeed, had resided in that college during the time that he was Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Greek Professor there; and though not so courageous as the latter, in opposing the tyranny of the church of Rome, there can be little doubt of his having done much to expose some of the most vulnerable parts of the Romish system. Both these eminent scholars, Cheke and Smith, had been in a great measure led to apply themselves to the "new learning," in pre-

* The celebrated Leland, who appears to have been himself one of these scholars, after having studied and resided at both Universities, thus expresses his gratitude to the King, for the advantages he had received:

"Postremo *Henrici* Regis mihi gratia multum,
Profuit *Octavi*, munificæque manus.
Hinc mihi facta domus studiosa Lutetia ad unguem
Doctos qua colui sedulus urbe viros:
Budæum, Fabrum, Paulum Æmiliumque, Ruellumque,
Æternis plane nomina digna Cedris, &c.—

Leland at Paris, chiefly studied under Francis Sylvius.

Having had occasion to notice these royal appointments, it may not be out of place to observe, that the Regius Professorships of Modern History and Modern Languages, founded by King George I. in both the English Universities, anno 1724, were intended to obviate former inconveniences; and by encouraging foreign teachers and preceptors, under the eye of the Professors, to settle at Oxford and Cambridge, to enable the students, with less interruption to their other academical pursuits, to qualify themselves at home, as the charter sets forth, "as well for services of state as of the church." And it lay upon the Professors to make their report every term to the King's Secretary of State, of the proficiency of the several individuals of their classes, in the knowledge of modern history, and the use of modern languages, as recommendations for diplomatic and other courtly appointments.

ference to the barbarisms of the schools, through the encouragement and example of Dr. Redman, Master of Trinity College, who about the year 1531 had brought back with him, from Paris, a considerable knowledge both of Latin and Greek; and, what was more, a disposition to read, and to tempt others to read, such authors as Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, Aristotle, and Cicero. In 1533, two years only before his admission, Smith had began to read the public Greek lecture; and, on Mr. Cecil's entrance, the latter appears to have become one of his auditors, together with Redman, Cox, Cheke, Haddon, Ascham, Car, Tonge, Bill, Wilson, Goldwell, Watson, &c. names more or less celebrated in the history of the times, and some of whom, on account of their learning, jointly with Cranmer, Skip, and Parker, earnestly invited by Wolsey to remove to his New College, at Oxford. The following distich may serve to shew in how great repute the lectures of Smith were held:

> " Felix qui potuit *Smitho* auscultare loquenti,
> Sive illi *Græce* dicendum, sive *Latine* !*

but of his various attainments, we have another curious evidence in the lines following, by a poet of those very times—

> Quis primus Rhetor? *Smithus*. Quis maximus Hermes
> Linguarum? *Smithus*. Geometres? *Smithus* et idem.
> Summus arithmeticus? *Smithus*. Legumque peritus
> Ante alios? *Smithus*. Physicus celeberrimus? Ohe
> *Smithus* multiscius. Morumque vitæque magister
> Optimus? et *Smithus*.—[Musarum Lacrymæ.]

He had many appointments conferred upon him, as Professor of Civil Law in the University, Chancellor to the Bishop of Ely, and a benefice in Cambridgeshire; and we have a curious account of his university establishment at this time. He kept, we are told,

* Life of Smith, 14.

three servants, three guns, and three winter geldings, which, together with his own board, stood him in £30 per annum!*

Among Mr. Cecil's particular acquaintance at this time, Matthew Parker, of Corpus Christi, or Bennet College, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, deserves to be especially noticed, as well as Bacon, afterwards Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Lord Chancellor: the former, though considerably older than himself, was certainly among those with whom he a good deal associated; and the latter, in course of time, by marriage became his relation, and, in most trying times, a fellow-minister. In the Antiquities of Cambridge, the friendship, intimacy, and joint labours of these three great men, are thus recorded: "Qui ut eodem tempore, Cantabrigiæ omnes studuerunt, studiisque floruerunt maxime, ita in administranda reipub. sub clementissima nostra principe Elizabeth, eodem tempore, omnes graviter, sane et sapienter præsunt, omnibusque modis prodesse musis student."

Cheke appears to have so much assisted Lord Burghley in his studies at St. John's, as to have been accounted his *tutor*, according to the following lines written by two eminent men, and particularly addressed to Lord B. Leland writes thus in one of his epigrams, complimenting both:

> "Candidus erudiit noster TE Chæcus amicus,
> Chæcus Cecropii gloria prima gregis."

and Dixon in a poetical dedication to Lord Burghley,

> "Atque frequentabas tunc numina docta sororum,
> Sub Checo humano doctiloquoque viro."

At the time that Lord Burghley studied under Cheke, he appears to have had for his fellow-pupil, the famous Roger Ascham, tutor, in the Latin and Greek tongues, to the Princess (afterwards Queen) Elizabeth; secretary of an embassy from Edward VI. to

* Life of Smith, 28.

the Emperor; and Latin secretary successively to the two queens Mary and Elizabeth.

At the time to which we are alluding, the famous Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was the Chancellor of Cambridge, who being jealous of all innovations, except that of the king's supremacy, which, like a true *Henrician*, he was very careful to maintain and support, opposed himself warmly to the attempts making by Smith and Cheke, to introduce into the University a new pronunciation of the Greek language, principally in regard to the vowels and diphthongs; in which, however, notwithstanding the opposition of the Chancellor, and of such academics as favoured the school learning, and the jealousy of many who did not like to see the king's scholars advanced before them, they had great success. Erasmus indeed, with whom it may be said to have originated, as may be seen in his treatise, "*de rectâ Latini Græcique Sermonis pronunciatione*," was not much more of a favourite with Gardiner, than the professed friends of the "new learning." This contest, however, to the credit of the parties, appears to have been conducted, for some time, with much moderation, and due deference to the high office Gardiner held in the University; but in the end Gardiner grew angry, and the issue of the business was rather curious, for in 1542, the Chancellor issued a very sharp edict (to be seen in Strype's Memorials, vol. i. part ii. number cxvi. Oxford edit. 1816), in which he very dictatorially settles the pronunciation of the vowels, diphthongs, and certain of the consonants, and forbids any alteration upon the private judgment or opinion of any man. "Quisquis nostram potestatem agnoscis, sonos, literis sive Græcis, sive Latinis, ab usu publico præsentis seculi alienos, privato judicio affingere ne audeto.

"Quod vero eâ in re, major aucthoritas edixerit——id omnes amplectuntor et observanto.

"Diphthongos Græcas, nedum Latinas, nisi id diæresis exigat,

sonis ne diducito, neve divellito. Quæsitam usu alteri vocalium prærogativam ne adimito, sed ut marem fœminæ dominari sinito. Quæ verò earum in communione soni usu convenerint, iis tu negotium ne facessito."

After several specific directions as to the pronunciation of certain letters, the edict proceeds,

"Ne multa, in sonis omnino ne philosophator, sed utitor præsentibus ——

"Quod hic exprimitur, id consuetudini consentaneum ducito, hactenusque parato."

Then follow the penalties for disobedience, beginning, "Siquis autem, quod abominor, secus fecerit——"*

The opposition of the Chancellor was the more important, after Mr. Cecil's great friend Cheke had been by King Henry appointed his first Regius Professor of Greek, his learning and judgment being held in the highest respect by all those who had begun to explore the newly discovered treasures of classical literature. Indeed, the proposed reformation of the learned languages was at first received, in the University, with much applause and commendation; but from the higher station of his opponent, Cheke was either obliged, or induced, to resign his professorship.

The correspondence that took place upon this curious subject is exceedingly interesting, as a point of critical research. The

* He wrote afterwards very angrily to the Vice Chancellor, to see his injunctions better enforced. "The last yere, by consent of the *hole* University, I made an order concerning the pronunciacion of the Grek tongue, appoyntinge paynes to the transgressors, and finally to the Vice Chancellor, if he sawe them not executed: wherein I pray you be persuaded that I will not be deluded and contempned. I did it seriouslye and will mayntayne it. If you see the transgressors punished, I have cause to be content: but otherwise I intend in you and the procters' persons, to use myne auctorite given me by the Universite —— To be Chancellor of the Universitie is only honor, whyche by contempt is taken awaye; and I wylbe ware to give any man cause to contempte me.——I wyll withstande fansyes (innovations, *i.e.*) even in pronunciacion; and fyght with th' enemie of quyet, at the first entree."—*Ellis's Original Letters from MS. Cole*, vol. xvii. p. 419.

letters of Cheke, or rather his disputations with Gardiner, were published by *Cælius Secundus Curio*, a learned man of *Basil*, in the year 1555; in whose hands they had been placed (though not for publication) by Cheke himself.

The following story from Stripe's Life of Cheke, relating to this affair, as it was told to Lord Burghley himself, by Cheny (afterwards Bishop of Glocester), may deserve to be transcribed, as it tends at least to shew how much more right Cheke was thought to be than his learned and more powerful opponent. Cheny related, that he had lately been at Oxford (it was about the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign), where this controversy about pronouncing Greek had flown from Cambridge to that other University. There he had communication with certain learned men, among whom were Dr. Babington, Dr. Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford, and the provost of Oriel College. Discourse happening concerning the true way of pronouncing Greek, and they stiffly defending the usual manner of pronouncing it; Cheny replied, "Beware my masters, that whilst you wilfully go about to defend an untruth in this matter, you fall not into such an inconvenience, as I once knew a Bishop do." And when they would know how and where, he said, he sat once at table with a Bishop that did as you do, defend the untrue pronunciation of the letter ἦτα [that is, as ἰῶτα], and that after he had declared many absurdities that followed thereon, he desired him to read a few words written in the twenty-seventh of Matthew: the Bishop immediately called for the Testament in Greek: Cheny appointed him a line or two, where among other words he read these, Ἡλὶ ἠλὶ λαμὰ σαβαχθανῖ, "making *false Greek*," says Cheny, "*but true English;*" pronouncing plainly, "*I ly, I ly.*" Whereupon, not without mirth, Dr. Babington presented Cheny with Cheke's book of that argument.

It may be added, that this story touches upon one of the greatest corruptions they had to correct, namely, the pronunciation of vowels

and diphthongs. The old way being to pronounce ι, η, υ, ει, οι, υι, all as ιωτα, thereby "surfeiting people of more correct ears, with the perpetual recurrence of the piteous vowel I," as Smith complained; "Nihil fere aliud haberet ad loquendum, nisi lugubres sonos, et illud *flebile* ἰῶτα."

This dispute, which had its commencement in the very year Mr. Cecil was entered at St. John's [1535],* may be said not to have been terminated till the year 1549, when Cheke, being preceptor to the young King, and Smith Secretary of State, and Gardiner in the Tower, the tables were turned, and the new pronunciation entirely established.†

But it is time to turn to the next passage of Lord Burghley's Life by his Domestic.

* Strype's Life of Sir Thomas Smith. Chap. II.

† Professor Cheke projected alterations also in the Latin and English, of an orthographical nature, an account of which may be seen in his Life, by Strype, in the notes to the Biographia Britannica, and in the British Plutarch; in which latter publication are many extracts from the letters that passed between him and Bishop Gardiner, and which are become rare. His proposed innovations in the writing and spelling of Latin and English, though intended to prevent any gross violations of quantity, were never much countenanced.

CHAP. V.

Removal of Mr. Cecil from the University to Gray's Inn—His first marriage —Becomes known to King Henry VIII.—Obtains a reversionary promise of the office of Custos Brevium in the Court of Common Pleas.

"WHEN he had proceeded Master of Arts, and contynued at the University about six years, and that his friends thought his learning theire sufficient (unless he shold proceed Doctor, and professe some one studie or science, as, for his greedie desire of lerning, in short tyme he might, but that God, seeing his towardnes, reserved him for a further instrument to sett forth his glory), he left the University."

There are some mistakes in this MS. which plainly shew it could not have been written under the direction of the family. The date of Lord Burghley's birth is one, which, as is the case in many other writings, is put 1521, though Lord Burghley had corrected that mistake* himself in another place. The author here also seems to be wrong as to his having proceeded Master of Arts before he left the University, whereas, in another place, he is expressly stated to have proceeded M. A. when he accompanied Queen Elizabeth to Cambridge, in 1564, being then Chancellor of that University. In the next clause there are also some mistakes.

* He appears, however, to have really made the mistake himself, as may be seen by the Facsimile of his Journal.

"The sixth of May, 33 Henry VIII. being nineteen yeres old, he went to the Inns of Court, and was student in Graies Inne, where he profitted as before at Cambridge."

On the sixth of May, 33 Henry VIII. he must have been more than nineteen years of age; his own MS. Diary, still preserved, supplies us with a more correct account. "Anno 1541, Maii vi°. veni ad Grayes-In, cum essem natus annos xxi."

Whether this removal to Gray's Inn were for the purpose of his being bred wholly up to the profession of the law, we are not able to say, since it was no unusual thing, in those days, for young men of family or talents, who had any prospects of becoming members of the legislature, to go through a course of law at some one of our Inns of court, in order to become better acquainted with the laws and constitution of their country. It was regarded, indeed, as almost a necessary qualification.*

That law was not his only study at this Inn, we know from the testimony of his contemporaries. He engaged much in antiquarian researches, and the collecting and arrangements of pedigrees, so as in a short time to obtain the reputation of being a complete adept in heraldry;† and it is quite remarkable how early he began to make almost incessant use of his pen, noting down almost every thing that struck him as worthy of remark, or which might convey information upon the many various subjects that appear to have attracted his attention, as innumerable papers still in existence serve to shew.

It was while he was passing his time among the students of Gray's Inn, that he seems to have been fortunately struck with the danger and immorality of gaming, and not only to have been turned himself from the seduction of that mischievous pursuit, but to have been, by a playful device, instrumental in saving one of his companions from the same degrading propensity. The story

* Macdiarmid, &c. † Bacon's Works.

is humorously told by his old historian, in the quaint language of the day; and as we remember to have heard and read of similar conversions and reformations being wrought by means as harmless and accidental, we think it deserves a place in the life of this great man, especially as it will be seen that we derive it from his own mouth.

"But as his yeres and company required, he wold, many tymes, be merrie amonge young gentlemen, who weare most desirous of his company, for his wittie mirth, and merry temper. Amonge the rest, I heard him tell this meriment of himself.

"That a mad companion inticed him to plaie, where [upon] in a short tyme, he lost all his monye, beddinge, and bookes, to his companion; having never used plaie before.

"And being [afterwards] amonge his other companie, he told them how such a one had misled him; saieing he wold presentlie have a device to be even with him.

"And with a long tronke, he made a hole in the wall, nere his plaie-fellow's bede-head, and in a fearfull voice, spake thus thorough the tronke.

"O mortall man, repent! repent of thy horrible time [consumed in] plaie, cousenage, and lewdnesse, or els thou art damned, and canst not be saved!—

"Which [being spoken] at midnight, [when he was] all alone, so amazed him, as drove him into a sweate for feare.

"Most penytent and heavie, the next daie, in presence of the yewthes, he told, with tremblinge, what a fearfull voice spake to him at midnight, vowinge never to plaie againe: and, calling for Mr. Cecill, asked him forgivenes, on his knees; and restored all his money, beddinge, and bookes. So two gamesters weare both reclaimed with this merrie device, and never plaied more. Many other, the like merrie jests, I have hard him tell, to long to be here noted."

The next step in his life would be sufficient proof, if there were no others to be produced, of the grossness of the calumnies of the Roman Catholics in aftertimes, who were willing to disparage his birth, and all the circumstances of his parentage and fortune; for so early as when he was only in his twenty-first year, we find him entering into the bands of matrimony, and when indeed he was no more than a student at Gray's Inn. This must bespeak some sufficiency of means to settle in life; while the connexion he formed, appears to have been in all respects wise and honourable. The death of his grandfather David, in the same year, as some say, though Lord Burghley's own diary states it otherwise, making it five years earlier,* may probably have increased the fortune of his father, who married an heiress, and who enjoyed many appointments under the crown, with the two manors of Burley, in Northamptonshire, the old and the new, bought, as Lord Burghley himself has recorded, of Margaret Chambers, the heiress and devisee of Henry Wykes, Clerk.†

The lady to whom he was first united, in August 1541, was Mary, the sister of his great friend and fellow-collegian, Mr. Cheke, at that time Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge; a lady of good family, as has been proved, in contradiction to the rude insinuations of Sir John Hayward, who, with his usual carelessness or malice, had not scrupled to call Sir John Cheke, as well as his colleague

* Anno 1536, "*David Cecill*, avus meus, mortuus est." Lord Burghley's MS. Diary. But his will not being proved before March, 1541, leaves it still rather doubtful.

† Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, lib. iii. 1. præcipue è Collectionibus *MS.* viri cl. *Gul.* Dom. *Burley*.

Petrus de *Burley* sold the old manor of Burley to Robert Wykes, 29 Edward III. which descended to his great-grand-daughter, Elizabeth, who married John Milton, alias Laurence. This Laurence or Milton added to it by purchase the manor of New Burley, bought again at his death by his heir Henry Wyks, *Clerk*, who dying without issue, left the new manor to his great niece, Margaret, the inheretrix of the manor of Old Burley, and who married Henry Chambers. "ISTA MARGARITA VENDIDIT OMNES SUAS TERRAS RICHARDO CECILL, PATRI MEO."—Lord Burghley's MS.

Dr. Cox, a person of mean birth; whereas in fact the former was unquestionably descended from a very ancient and respectable family of that name, settled at Molston, in the Isle of Wight.*

Lord Burghley's entrance of this marriage in his diary, is in these words; "*Anno* 1541. *Aug. viii° nupsi Mariæ Cheke, Cantabrigiæ;*" which I notice the more particularly on this account; that the unclassical use of *nupsi* instead of *duxi*, stands noted in some corrections of Mr. Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, as a proof that he could not be so learned as the writer of the old MS. to which we have already often referred, has represented. The remark is as follows—*nupsi Mariæ Cheke.*] If Sir William Cecil had been so learned, as this author of his life saith he was, he would here have said *duxi* (Mr. T. B.)—Now, in such short entries in a private diary, to look for a strict attention to classical purity, we should in all cases consider as rather an idle piece of criticism. That Lord Burghley was careless in these particulars, and sometimes even playful, we can avouch from an inspection of some of his memorandums still in the British Museum: sometimes he coined words; sometimes expressed himself in terms neither English nor Latin; sometimes he registered very trifling things in English, but in Greek characters. However, to satisfy our readers that Lord Burghley had learning enough to write *duxi* as well as *nupsi*, when more attentive to the purity of his language, we may refer to the *Calendarium Cecilianum*, in the Lansdown Collection of MSS. cxviii. In that curious little book we find entries in his own handwriting of both his marriages, as follows:

1541. 8. Aug. *duxi* in uxorem Mariā Cheke.

Dec. 21. 1545, *duxi* in uxorem Mildrē Coquā.

But we are disposed to go rather farther in vindication of Lord Burghley's latinity in the occasional use of *nupsi* instead of *duxi*. His

* Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke. Lloyd's State-Worthies. Remarks on the Reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Lordship was allowedly a great herald, and *nupsi* seems to have been held to be as good *heraldic* Latin as *duxi*, though applied to the man; for in the rich and splendid pedigree of his Lordship's son, the first Earl of Salisbury, obligingly communicated to me by the present Marquess, I have found *nupsit* as well as *duxit* used under exactly similar circumstances.* The imputation cast on Lord Burghley's learning by the critic above, as though he knew not that *duxi* were the better word, is therefore incorrect, and the less to be defended, because extreme nicety or precision in such memorandums is not to be looked for.† We have ourselves read Latin letters addressed to him by some of the first scholars of that age, in reply to letters of his own in the same language, in which the purity of his style seems to be particularly commended. But that he always wrote so, is more than we should attempt to say, and much more than we should expect, considering the number of letters he manifestly appears to have written, and the overwhelming demands upon his time, as one of his most celebrated correspondents, *Tremellius*, observes: "Etsi non dubitem charissime Domine—Te semper gravissimis negociis occupavi, ac *penè obrui.*"—But to return.

In the same year that he entered himself at Gray's Inn, and married his first wife, accident seems to have introduced him, in rather a remarkable manner, to the notice of King Henry VIII. His faithful domestic thus tells the story:

* If we chose to be ludicrous upon this subject, and indeed the gravest discussion of such a matter can be little less, we might ask, whether a man who chose to compliment the lady of his own choice, might not use *nupsi* as freely as *duxi*? The latter being a mere matter of pride and superiority, as the following lines of Martial may serve to shew:

Uxorem quare locupletem *ducere* nolim,
Quæritis? Uxori *nubere* nolo mea.

That is, nolo *servire* mea uxori, as we are told in the notes.

† Burnet, in referring to *such* documents, often throws in a cautionary parenthesis, as follows; ("*I will not answer for the Latin.*")

"About the latter tyme of King Henry the Eight, Mr. Cecill, comeing from Grayes Inne to the court, to see his father, it was his chance to be in the presence-chambre, where he mett two priests, chaplaines to O'Neale, who was then in court; and talking long with them in Lattin, he fell in disputation with the priests.

"Wherein he shewed so great lerning and witt, as he proved the poore priests to have neither, who weare so put down, as they had not a word to saie; but flung away in [a chafe*] no less discontented then ashamed, to be foiled in such a place by so younge a berdless yewth.

"It was [presently] told the King, that younge Mr. Cecill had confuted both O'Neale's chaplains.

"At which the Kinge called for him. And after long talk with him [being] much delighted with his aunswers, the Kinge willed his father to find out a suit for him.

"Whereupon he became suitor for a reversion of the *custos brevium's* office in the Common Pleas. Which the Kinge willingly granted: it being the first suit he had in his life."

The visit of this great Irish chieftain, O'Neale† (as he is called in the Narrative), to the court at this time, was upon the following occasion.—To allay the disturbances in Ireland, where many of the great men of that country, who called themselves Princes, were contending for power and independence; and where the Pope was continually endeavouring to stir up mischief, giving encouragement to a party that were for inviting the King of Scotland, Henry's nephew,‡ to the sovereignty of Ireland; and where, we may add, the latter had been rather frustrated in his views of raising his illegitimate son to the crown, being timely admonished that it

* Peck.

† O'Neile, O'Nial, &c.—Names, in the several histories of these times, are so differently spelled that it would be hopeless to attempt to reduce them to any perfect uniformity.

‡ Lord Herbert.

would only be making another stepping-stone into England for France;* on all these accounts Henry resolved to lay aside the title of Lord, and to call himself henceforth KING of Ireland;† which being made known in that country, it soon obtained the sanction and consent of parliament, and he was proclaimed as such in consequence. This measure had the effect the King expected, of bringing many of the refractory chieftains to submission; who, seeing the absoluteness of his power everywhere, came over to present themselves at court, and to receive such new honours as the King was disposed to bestow upon them. Among these came Eustace, the Great O'Neale, as he was called, hitherto (as a memorial from the Irish privy council to Henry, still to be seen in the State-paper office, styles him) "the gall and poison of all government proceedings."‡ He came now to submit himself to the new

* Turner's History of Henry VIII.

† The Kings of England, from the first conquest of Ireland to this time (1541), never assumed any other title than *Lords* of Ireland, though they enjoyed regal authority and jurisdiction under that style in as full a measure as if they had been called *Kings;* yet the Irish did not pay the same reverence to the name of *Lord*, as they did to that of *King;* and those who were traitorously inclined often made use of the distinction to inveigle the common people into rebellion. This was the cause of making the statute for the new title, and it answered the end intended, by silencing all objections.

‡ The case seems to have been this: Henry VIII. having renounced the papal supremacy in England, was very anxious that his subjects of Ireland should submit to him in these respects, as well as England. The celebrated Archbishop Browne, the first bishop who embraced and promoted the Reformation in Ireland, had endeavoured, with no small hazard and danger of his life, to procure the nobility and gentry of that island to own the King as supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal. He was very instrumental, indeed, in procuring an act to be passed by the parliament that met at Dublin, May 1, 1536, to this effect; while the church of Rome was as forward and busy to prevent any alterations in Ireland with regard to religious matters, the Pope even sending over a bull of excommunication against all such as had owned or should own the KING's supremacy. A letter was even intercepted from the Pope and Cardinals to O'Neale, wherein, after commending his own and his father's faithfulness to the church of Rome, he was exhorted "for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and his own security, to suppress heresie and his HOLINESSES enemies." In pursuance of the contents of this letter, O'Neale began to declare himself the champion of Popery, and to invade the English pale, with no small symptoms of the most inveterate animosity. It was at this very period that Henry

KING of Ireland, to disclaim the title of Prince, and in reward of his proffered allegiance to be made Earl of Tyrone, or Tir-owen, as it was then sometimes written. Others of these great men submitted at the same time, and, on submission, were equally advanced; as Murroch O'Brien to be Earl of Thomond, Clanwilliam Earl of Clanrickard, and so on; all of them entering into bonds to continue henceforth firm and faithful to the English *Crown*.

It was then, while O'Neale was in the court, that the younger Cecil happened to encounter the two chaplains, who had accompanied him from Ireland, within the precincts of the palace, coming to visit his father, Richard Cecil, then Yeoman of the Robes.

The Narrative of the Domestic does not give us the subject of the dispute that ensued between these Irish ecclesiastics and the young student; but it happened to turn on the Pope's supremacy, a topic on which there is much reason to believe he had bestowed great and very early attention. That he was able so readily to carry on such a dispute, in *Latin*, with two ecclesiastics so much more advanced in years than himself, is certainly a pregnant proof of his argumentative talents and scholarship; while his signal success in the dispute redounds still more to his honour. A fairer opportunity could scarcely have been afforded him of becoming personally known to the King, or more to his advantage; while the suit obtained for him by his father, namely, the lucrative and honourable appointment, in reversion, of Custos Brevium, bespeaks certainly a high degree of influence and credit on the part of the latter: in fact, the post he held himself, in the department of the robes, is known to have been one which, at that period, must have brought him often into contact with his sovereign.

wisely adopted the expedient of declaring himself King of Ireland, O'Neale, "the champion of Popery," being actually among the first to make his submission, and which was accidentally the beginning of the younger Cecil's eminence at court.

Here then we may reasonably pause to reflect, not only on the strange accident of the meeting that took place, but on the particular turn of the dispute, which authors seem to agree in stating to have been, as I have before hinted, on the supremacy of the Pope.

CHAP. VI.

Reasonable grounds for the interest taken by Henry in the dispute which accidentally brought to his notice the talents of the younger Cecil—Extraordinary Bull of Paul III.—Mr. Cecil's first marriage tends to connect him farther with the Court—Its short duration—His second marriage—The five daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke—Their singular endowments—Remarks on the course of Female Education at that period.

CONSIDERING what had now been long passing in Europe, in regard to the Church, the conversation with the two chaplains might, we may suppose, have turned on any other point of doctrine or discipline; but had it been so, Cecil would probably have received no countenance or encouragement from Henry, for the victory he obtained: at this time, Henry, though he had taken steps towards a reformation, was any thing but a Protestant, except on the very subject that had been started. He had thrown off the usurpations of Rome, he had discharged and disincorporated the monks, who lived only like drones in a bee-hive (they are the words of Day, Bishop of Chichester, uttered in the King's presence); he had removed the idolatrous regard for images, and published the Bible in English; but as for other things, he was resolved to keep constant to the Catholic faith and customs.*

In the meanwhile, the Reformation had certainly gained ground in Ireland; and in consequence of the conversion of the famous George Brown, a monk of the Augustine order, made Archbishop

* Collier, ii. 151.

of Dublin, by Henry, 1535,* many popish abuses and superstitions had been corrected or abolished. Through his authority also, after he became archbishop, the King's supremacy was acknowledged in that nation; but as Henry, in assertion of his newly granted supremacy, had done by the church property and revenues there what he had done in England, suppressing and secularising the convents, the chief supports of the papal power,† and confiscating their revenues, we may conclude that it was rather a sore subject with the two Irish chaplains, and that in fact, as far as regarded the mere question of the *Regale*, the King might reasonably feel obliged to any person who could effectually defend his right.

It could not possibly be said, that in consequence of what had now for some time been passing on the Continent, in opposition to the Church of Rome, the Pontiffs themselves, as yet, stood corrected, or had in any manner given up the least particle of their authority, as matter of concession. Notwithstanding all the exposures of the councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle, and the spirited opposition of Luther and Zuinglius, the Bulls or edicts of Paul III., Paul IV., Pius IV., and, we may add, Pius V.,‡ were not less arbitrary and assuming than those of Hildebrand himself. Paul the Third's indignation at Henry's refusal to appear before him on his summons, remains fully recorded in his celebrated Bull of 1535 (its original date, though not issued till three years afterwards), as a most remarkable instance of the infatuation of the Pontiffs, after their throne had began to be shaken—"a throne founded entirely on opinion, and likely therefore to fall the moment opinion was with-

* In this very year Cranmer obtained great support also by the appointment of many English bishops friendly to the new opinions, as Shaxton, Latimer, Barlow, Fox, and Hilsey, severally advanced to the sees of Salisbury, Worcester, St. Asaph, Hereford, and Rochester. Goodrich, bishop of Ely, was of the same side.—Soames' Henry VIII. ii. 45. 47, 48.

† Lord Herbert. Collier, ii. 103. Lingard. Soames. Barwick on the Church, Preface to second edition.

‡ Of Paul IV. and Pius V. we shall have much to say in Queen Elizabeth's time.

drawn from it. To doubt of its rights (I am now citing the words, not of a Protestant, writing in a Protestant country, but of one who received honours for telling such truths in a Catholic country),* to doubt of its rights, was to annihilate them; to inspect its foundations, was to undermine them; to examine, was to destroy." Notwithstanding so manifest a hazard, Paul, in this memorable Bull, to use the expressions of another Catholic writer, took care to "embody every prohibitory and vindictive clause invented by the most aspiring of his predecessors,"† excommunicating Henry and all his descendants, however remote, in such terms as follow‡ (giving the kingdom of England, in the meanwhile, to the King of Scots). "Nos, Henricum privationem regni incurrisse pœnam declaramus; Filii pœnarum participes sint, omnes et singulos Henrici regis, et aliorum prædictorum filios, aliosque descendentes (nemine excepto, nullaque minoris ætatis, aut sexus, vel ignorantiæ, vel alterius cujusvis causæ habitâ ratione) dignitatibus, dominiis, civitatibus, castris privatos, et ad illa et alia in posterum obtinenda inhabiles esse decernimus et inhabilitamus. Decernimus quod Henricus Rex et complices et sequaces, necnon præfati descendentes, ex tunc infames existunt, ad testimonia non admittantur, testamenta facere non possunt," &c.§ And all this upon authority alleged to be

* Villers on the Reformation. † Lingard.

‡ See the original at length, in Burnet's Collection of Records, vol. i. part ii. no. ix. b. iii. Oxford edit. 1816, extracted from the Bullarium Magnum of Cherubini. As to the character of this Pope, which became a subject of dispute in the eighteenth century, Cardinal Quirini seeking to defend his fame against Keisling, Schelhorn, and others, in 1745, see Mosheim, vol. iv. Cootes' edition, 1811. The *modus fulminandi sententiam excommunicationis*, may be seen (we were almost tempted to say in Tristram Shandy, where indeed it is to be read in *English*), in Strype's Memorials, vol. i. part ii. 192.

§ In Holinshed, this is called a curse both upon the King and the realm, sent from the Pope, at the suit of the Lady Katherine Dowager, which being well known to be procured by her, was the cause of her being bidden to lay aside the title of Queen, and submit to a reduction of her household. And yet Cardinal Pole expressly asserts that Katherine stayed the Bull.—See Turner's Henry VIII. 615. 645. (8.)

given him from Heaven, according to the often-cited text, Jeremiah i. 10.

After such a sentence fulminated against him from the seat of power at Rome, a sentence which, the author of the Council of Trent says, neither his predecessors left him an example for, nor his successors ever imitated, we cannot wonder that Henry should be disposed to shew favour to any who should successfully assert, against such usurped authority, the Regal Supremacy; and thus far, as before in the case of Cranmer, we may attribute, probably to a most fortunate accident, the introduction of the younger Mr. Cecil into a court which he scarcely ever after quitted, and of which, it cannot be too much to say, he was the chief pillar or support for a long succession of years, especially against the power, intrigues, and enmity of the See of Rome, its adherents and confederates.

But it was not merely the issue of this dispute with O'Neale's chaplains that gave Mr. Cecil a footing at court. The King himself, we are told, had long talk with him, and was delighted with his answers. The introduction was one, therefore, in which he had an opportunity of displaying his talents generally, to a prince of no small discernment; and he had soon after other connexions with the court, which the late accident must, at least, have put him more in the way of turning to account, as we shall proceed to shew. The author of the Life of Lord Burghley thus records his first marriage.

"After he had spent *some tyme* at the Inns of Court (where though he much profitted, yet his quicke spirit [being] apter to reach at a furder fortune), [he] framed another course in the world, betakeing him to marriage.

"And the 8th of August, 33 Henry VIII., tooke to wife Mary Cheeke, sister to Sir John Cheeke, Knt., who lived with him not above a yere and a quarter.

"By whom he had his first sonne Thomas Cecill, now Lord Burghley."*

From May to August can scarcely deserve to be so expressed, "After he spent *some tyme* at the Inns of Court"— nor do we quite know what is meant by "his quick spirit apter to reach at a furder fortune, leading him to marriage," unless we may suppose, that some change in his prospects or fortune had induced him to look higher than the law.† This first union, however, it appears, was of short duration; his lady dying, *not* "a yere and a *quarter*," but a year and a *half* after her marriage, according to Lord Burghley's own memorandum: "1543. *Feb.* xxii°. *Maria Uxor, mortua est in Domino horâ secundâ nocte.*" His son had been born on the 5th of May, 1542.—"1542 *Maii* v°. *natus est mihi Thomas Cecil filius; cum essem natus annos* xxii."

In 1544, the year after the death of his first wife, her brother, Mr. Cheke,‡ "a gentleman of fair character and great learning," as one of his contemporaries styles him, was called from Cambridge to the court, to take charge of the education of the King's son, Prince Edward, to the no small loss of the University, as acknowledged by that learned body; it being subjected to another

* Peck.

† It is remarkable that Camden, who knew Lord Burghley personally, almost as well as this Domestic, should have made *many* mistakes as to the early events of the life of this great statesman: he places his *birth* wrong; he says he married his first lady in the *twentieth* year of his age, while at *Cambridge*; that she lived with him *a year or two*; and that *after he came to Gray's Inn* he married his *second* lady: but we must not wonder much at these things; inattention to dates was common with almost all the writers of those days, and it seems certain that Lord Burghley himself had occasion to correct the first memorandum of his own birth, as before shewn.

‡ The following Greek epitaph was written by Mr. Cheke, on his sister. The spelling of the name of Cecill in Greek is rather curious, considering what has already been said upon it. The commendation bestowed on her husband will not be overlooked.

Ὀστέα τῆς Μαρίας Σισέλλης ἔνθαδε κεῖται,
Πνεῦμα τελευτώσης κύριος αὐτὸς ἔχει.
Ἣ πατρὸς μητρός τ'ἀγαθοῖν, ἀνδρός τ'ἀγαθοῖο
Οὖσα, καλῷ θανατὸν καλὸν ἔθηκε βίῳ.—*Strype's Life of Cheke*, 166.

loss also of the same nature and just about the same time, by the appointment of the famous Roger Ascham to be tutor to the Princess Elizabeth. Mr. Cheke succeeded Dr. Cox, now preferred in the church (though he did not actually quit the court, being made Almoner to the Prince), and was joined with Sir Anthony Cooke in the superintendance of the Prince's studies. Of Mr. Cheke and Dr. Cox, we have the following account still preserved in the Prince's own journal, speaking of himself in the third person: "At the sixth year of his age, he was brought up in learning by Master Dr. Cox, who was after his Almoner, and John Cheeke, Master of Arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the Scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences."*

At this time Mr. Cheke† appears to have been in orders, as he

* We are told by the learned but facetious author of the State Worthies, that the Prince on a time, told Cardan, the learned foreigner, who came to see him, and who was greatly struck with his precocity of genius, and attainments in learning, that he "had two masters, *Diligence* and *Moderation*;" meaning Cheke for the former, and Cox for the latter.

† Leland, upon presenting his book of Epigrams to Sir John Cheke, has the following passage in an introductory epigram, alluding to his charge of Prince Edward.

Ad libellum, ut Joanni CHECO *Granitano placere studeat.*

Si vis Thespiadum choro probari
Fac ut consilio libelle nostro
Facundo studeas placere CHECO,
Quem Pandioneæ colunt Athenæ
Et quem Roma colit diserta multùm,
Quem Rex maximus *omniumque supremus*,
HENRICUS reputans virum probatum,
Spectatumque satis, reconditæque
Censorem solidum eruditionis,
EDVARDUM bene filium suumque
Hæredem puerum, illi ad alta natum,
Sic concredidit, utriusque linguæ
Flores ut legeret venustiores,
Exercens facili manum labore,
Et Christi imbiberet suave nectar,
Fœlicem arbitror hunc diem fuisse,
Tanto discipulo dedit magistrum
Qui talem, &c.

obtained, by way of encouragement on his coming to court, one of the canonries of St. Frideswide, or Christ Church, Oxford, newly founded by the King. He was a man, to say the least of him, in every way disposed, not only to promote learning, but to use his utmost interest, for the good of the nation, and the future advantage of his royal pupil, to advance those who were in any manner distinguished as scholars, if they were at the same time men of good character, virtuous, and religious. Bishop Ridley used to call him, one of Christ's "principal proctors," from his furthering at court all causes respecting religion and learning; and with him have been joined, as entitled to the same commendation, *Cecil*, Cooke, and Sir John Gates, the Vice-Chamberlain.*

Mr. Cecil had now a father and a brother-in-law attached to the court; and in 1545 he formed another courtly connexion by marrying Mildred, one of the five learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, of Gyddes Hall, in Essex, one of the Prince's governors, as has been before said: "Vir antiquâ serenitate," a man of primitive equanimity, as Camden, and after him, Lloyd, styles him. We have already noticed his own entry of this marriage in his Diary; it took place on the 22d of December, he being then twenty-five, and his new-married lady twenty-two. Camden has given an account of the marriages of all these celebrated and highly accomplished ladies. Besides the wife of Mr. Cecil, who appears to have been the eldest, Anne married Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper; Katherine, Sir Henry Killegrew; Elizabeth, first, Sir Thomas Hobby, who died ambassador in France, and by whom she had four children, and afterwards Lord Russel, son and heir to the Earl of Bedford; and the fifth, Sir Ralph Rowlet.† In Sir Anthony, that odd but entertaining writer, Lloyd, observes, the three things met that set up a family; first, an estate honestly gotten (by his great-grandfather) in the city; secondly, an educa-

* Strype. † See Biograph. Brit. Art. *Cooke*.

tion well managed in the university; thirdly, honour well bestowed at court.

Sir Thomas More has had the credit of being the first, in the education of his own daughters, to introduce the study of Greek and Latin as a female accomplishment;† an example soon followed by the nobility, and evidently encouraged at court, in the cases of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and their relation Lady Jane Grey, who all participated in the instructions given to Prince Edward by his very learned and diligent preceptors. This, in fact, was the way in which the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke were instructed, as Lloyd, in his usual manner, tells us: "Knowing that souls were equal, and that women are as capable of learning as men, he instilled that to his daughters at night which he had taught the Prince in the day, being resolved to have sons by education, for fear he should have none by birth; and, lest he should want an heir of his *body*, he made five of his *mind*." It was to the very daughter who married Mr. Cecil he wrote, "My example is your inheritance, and my life your portion." We have seen, in the Ανδρος αγαθοιο of Mr. Cheke's epitaph on his sister, how much that match had been to the satisfaction of the lady's family; and as to this second marriage of Mr. Cecil, it is expressly recorded of Sir Anthony Cooke, one of the best fathers ever known, by *all* the accounts we have of him, that in the marriage of his daughters, they were guided by his *reason* more than his *will*; and rather *directed* by his counsel than *led* by his authority. They were their own portion; parts, beauty, and breeding bestow themselves. *His* care was, that his daughters might have perfect husbands, and that their husbands might be happy in perfect and complete women.

It being beyond our purpose to go farther into the history of

* Erasmus, epist. 605. Macdiarmid. Strype's Life of Parker, b. ii. chap. xxv. Udal's Letter to Queen Katherine.

this extraordinary family than may apply immediately to the subject of these Memoirs, we must refer our readers, for an account of the other sisters, to the very copious and entertaining notes subjoined to the Life of Sir Anthony Cooke, in the fourth volume of the Biographia Britannica. One circumstance requires to be noticed; it has always been difficult to decide, from the diversities among authors, whether Sir Anthony had four or five daughters. The question is discussed in the concluding remarks upon the family, in the place referred to. We shall only observe farther, that the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke appeared just too late to be immortalized by the pen of Erasmus, as was the case with the daughters of Sir Thomas More, and other learned ladies of the times immediately preceding: but Sir Anthony's daughters were not without their meed of praise, such as might vie even with the commendations of Erasmus, as proceeding from scholars themselves, as well as excellent judges of the talents of others; and we must not omit to record, that Mildred, afterwards Lady Burghley, has the particular credit given her, by the famous Roger Ascham, of being one of the two best Greek scholars amongst the ladies of his time; the other being the amiable but unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. In his Epistle to *Sturmius*, in which these things are mentioned, it is added, as another happy circumstance attending this (Sir Anthony's eldest) daughter (though we must anticipate a little in introducing the passage here), that she should have "become the wife of WILLIAM CECIL, lately appointed Secretary of State; a young man, indeed, but mature in wisdom, and so deeply skilled both in letters and affairs, and endued with such moderation in the exercise of public offices, that to him would be awarded, by the consenting voice of Englishmen, the fourfold praise attributed to Pericles, by his rival Thucydides, 'To know what is fitting, to be able to apply what he knows, to be a lover of his country, and superior to money.'" Henry's last Queen, Katherine Parr, was

among the learned ladies of those days, and Lord Burghley himself, as we shall see hereafter, was at the cost and trouble of printing some of her works.*

Mr. Cecil was now, not only through his father, and by both

* Among the learned ladies of those times, Renée, Duchess of *Ferrara*, daughter of Louis XII. of France, deserves particularly to be mentioned. She was deeply versed, we are told, in the Greek and Roman Classics, besides speaking the modern languages fluently and elegantly. She was a friend to the reformed doctrines, through her family intercourse with the court of Navarre; and she made her own court an asylum for those who were rendered uneasy at home by a profession of the doctrines of the Reformation: *Clement Marot*, and the celebrated Reformer *Calvin*, were among those who received shelter from her care and indulgence. But nothing could exceed the attention she paid to the education of her daughters; from abundance of learned men, such as *Celio Calcagnini*, *Lilio Giraldi*, *Bartolomeo Riccio*, *Marzello Palingenio*, and *Marco Flamiñio*, they received the most valuable instructions; while *Chilian* and *John Sinapi*, two brothers from Germany, and both Protestants, were particularly engaged to teach them Greek. In the year 1543, Paul III. being on a visit to the court of Ferrara, the Adelphi of Terence was acted before him by the young people of the family; and the three daughters of the Duke, the eldest of whom was only twelve, and the youngest five years of age, performed their parts with great applause. The chosen companion of the eldest daughter was the celebrated *Olympia Morata*, daughter of Fulvio Peregrino *Morata*, the very learned tutor of the two younger brothers of Duke Hercules.—M'Crie, on the Reformation in Italy, 68—74.; see also Bayle, Art. *Ferrara*, Renée de France, Duchesse de. On the learning of the ladies of the sixteenth century, there are some excellent remarks to be found in the fourth volume of the Biographia Britannica, p. 100. In regard, however, to the Duchess of *Ferrara*, of whom we have been induced to say such great things because we think they have been rightly reported, we may add, that Romanists have very naturally represented the case differently; thus, as to the fruits of her great learning, "Elle ne se contenta pas de sçavoir l'histoire, les langues, les mathématiques, et même l'astrologie; elle voulut aussi étudier les questions les plus difficiles de la théologie, et *cette etude* l'engagea insensiblement dans l'*hérésie*." This worthy lady (*heretic*, if we must call her so) was once betrothed to the Emperor Charles V., and solicited for a wife by our Henry VIII. What would have been her fate or her conduct, had either of those marriages taken place, it may be vain to conjecture; but what she became, by marrying *Hercules d' Est*, Duke of Ferrara, instead, is upon record. In defence of some Protestants shut up in the castle of Montargis by the Duc de Guise, who demanded the surrender of them, she bade him come and take them, but that she would stand in the breach and see if he dared kill the daughter of a king. This was the very lady, also, who saved many Protestants (*un grand nombre*, says a *Catholic* writer), from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572. She died (*mourut dans l'heresie*), at Montargis, 1575, after having been a great benefactor to the place.

his marriages, connected with the court, but with a particular party in the court; for it was not long, before, through the introduction of his brother-in-law, he became known to the Earl of Hertford, uncle to Prince Edward, and, probably (for that Mr. Cheke knew him well is upon record), to *Cranmer*, the Prince's godfather. The former, the head of the Protestant party, in the *Court*, as the latter was in the *Church*.

It has been usual to speak of the former nobleman as the earliest *Patron* of Lord Burghley; a circumstance that would not be noticed here, if no ill consequences had followed from it. We must not anticipate too far; but the biographer of so very extraordinary a person as Lord Burghley would ill deserve the confidence or attention of the public, if he could venture to begin to write such a life, without some previous knowledge of the whole course and circumstances of it. It has happened to us in our researches, to read the most wanton and groundless attacks upon the character of this great man; they are not to pass unnoticed, when the proper time comes for exposing their malice and falsehood, but they may, we think, be the more justly appreciated, if we pause upon some of the early passages of his history, and try to place them at once in a proper point of view.

We must speak of patronage as we find it; patronage, where no possible reciprocation of services is to be looked for, is charity. It is help given to such as may appear, in other ways, and in a worldly point of view, altogether helpless. Under all circumstances it is a benefit conferred, demanding a grateful requital; and so far the person patronized, be he who he may, is certainly bound, by the strictest of moral obligations, to consider himself so involved in all that can possibly befall his patron, as never to abandon his interests, as long as those interests are, and continue to be, clearly compatible with the just rights and interests of others,

public or private. Such we conceive to be the case in all instances of simple and exclusive patronage. But where a man has *many* friends, likely to serve him to the utmost of their power; where he has *such talents* as may help others as well as himself, when called into action; lastly, when by a reciprocation of services, he may be as useful to any particular *patron*, as his patron to *him*, the obligation must be one, subject to limitations; one in which, conditions, if not actually stipulated, should at least be understood and implied, as binding upon both parties. We are not saying these things to lessen the weight of any obligations, by which Lord Burghley may have been held to be bound to the Earl of Hertford, afterwards Protector; but to obviate prejudices that might be indulged, from considering the patronage of this great and good, but imprudent nobleman, as so necessary, or so essential to Lord Burghley, as that the latter could not have risen in the court, or in the world, without his help—*with* his help, his rise may certainly be said to have *begun*, but without it, he had friends enough, and talents sufficient, we should think, to have secured his elevation. We shall explain hereafter, why we have dwelt so much on the subject of patronage, at this point of our history.

CHAP. VII.

On the Protestant or reformed party in the court of Henry VIII. towards the close of his reign—Mr. Cecil's connexion with it—Education of Prince Edward—Probability that Henry, had he lived, might have been carried farther in the Reformation of Religion—Francis I. wavering.

It was not till the first year of the ensuing reign that Mr. Cecil appears to have assumed a public character, when we shall find him accompanying the Earl of Hertford into *Scotland.* During the latter years, therefore, of the reign of King Henry VIII. we have no minute account to give of the particular transactions of his life; but we may be sure he was not idle. It is probable there never was a man less so, from the first moment he became capable of acquiring knowledge by his own attention and diligence. There remain to this day, such very extraordinary evidences of the use he made of his pen, in recording every thing worthy of notice, which occurred to him either in reading, or in the way of observation, that it would be absurd to suppose, the hours he passed in comparative retirement, could be less occupied with the affairs of the world at large, than those in which he was actually engaged in them, as a minister of state.* He was particularly disposed, as his nephew Lord Bacon has told us, to genealogical researches, heraldry, and antiquities; nor can these be said

* Many discordant dates have been, and are still adjusted, by reference to Lord Burghley's Journal and memorandums.

to have been unconnected with the public life he was destined to lead, or with the laws, customs, and institutions of his country, which his connexion with Gray's Inn, whatever the original object of that connexion might have been, must have pointed out to him as among the principal studies to which he would be expected to direct his attention.

But, the very remarkable state and circumstances of Europe at that period must, we may reasonably suppose, have been such, as forcibly to attract the notice, and engage the attention, of much duller and less observant minds, than such as had been allotted to the illustrious subject of these Memoirs. It is not, indeed, possible to imagine, connected as he was with the court in the last years of Henry VIII., that he should have been otherwise than deeply attentive to the state of public affairs. We have already said, that in his first admission to the court, he was connected with a *party;* a party of no low or narrow views, as far as regarded the best interests of the nation: it was, in short, the reformed party; the party that were preparing, to the utmost of their power, to further the emancipation of England, not only from the tyranny of the Pope, but from the corruptions and abuses of religion; a wary and prudent, but wise and learned party; a party that might have frustrated their own views by nothing so much as by being precipitate. They were not to accomplish their ends by the brute force of men's bodies, but by the enlightening of men's minds; and this must have been expected to require time. They had the young Prince in their hands, and their instructions seem very honestly to have been directed to the improvement of his mind, by that liberal course of education which was now coming into vogue, without, however, encouraging any undutiful behaviour towards the King his father. The Catholics are apt to think Henry was *deceived* in these matters; that he did not know how much inclined to the Reformation some of his courtiers really were;

the Earl of Hertford in particular; but he *must* have known much of *Cranmer's* sentiments, and yet he had chosen him to be godfather to his son, and probably left it much to *his* choice and direction to select proper preceptors; he must have known how much the sentiments of Queen Jane, the Prince's mother, had inclined that way: nor may we, with any reason, suppose that he was habitually inattentive to these things, when we have it recorded, as a very curious anecdote, by Erasmus, that the erudite used to stand round the royal table, where questions relating to the *education of a Prince* were discussed, and that the company of the palace resembled a learned *academy*.—Epist. xiii. Feb. 1519. There was, indeed, a struggle between the Seymours and the Howards, in which the latter suffered more than could be reconciled to the just principles of right and equity; and which, in the untimely fate of the Earl of Surrey, presented to the notice, concern, and commiseration of after ages, a subject of constant regret and sympathy.* But this were enough, we should think, to open rather than blind the eyes of the King; indeed, our own opinion, though Sanders, upon his own authority, pretends to say that he was inclined, before his death, to be reconciled to the See of Rome, is, that had Henry's life been spared a little longer, had there been time for Queen Katherine (Parr), after Gardiner's disgrace on her account, to acquire a fair, rational, and well-regulated influence over his mind, or could he have conferred with Melancthon, as he often wished to do, and who had freely, though respectfully, urged him, in his correspondence, to proceed further†—the Reformation might have made greater progress before the close of his reign, than turned out to be the case.‡ "As long as Queen Ann,

* See some curious anecdotes of this unfortunate nobleman, in Aikin's Court of Elizabeth, vol. i. 65, 66.

† See Collier, ii. 153, 154.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, b. iii. ch. xxxiii. See particularly what is said of the King's conference with Cranmer and the French ambassador Annebault, towards the conclusion of the chapter.

T. Cromwell, Bishop Cranmer, Mr. Denny, Dr. Butts, with such like, were about him," says the author of the Acts and Monuments, "and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the church; in exploding the Pope, with his vile pardons; in removing divers superstitious ceremonies; in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects; in putting chantrey priests to their pensions; in permitting white meats in Lent; in destroying pilgrimage worship; in abrogating idle and superstitious holidays; both by acts public, and by private letters to Boner."

In fact, if it had been possible to subdue or moderate the degree of *intoxication*, if we may so call it, into which this vain, but by no means foolish monarch was thrown, by the captivating and too exalted title of *supreme head of the church*;* had the Protestants of

* It was no unnatural mistake for the King to make, to suppose that all that had been taken *from* the *Pope*, had, with the *supremacy*, centred in himself: hence his too great interference with matters of faith and doctrine, and ecclesiastical discipline; though his competency to understand questions of that nature can scarcely be doubted by those, who have had opportunities of seeing his marginal remarks and corrections, still preserved, in papers relating thereto; but that he was inclined to go too far in spiritual concerns, and in suppressing a diversity of opinions, by his own paramount authority, is evident from his last speech to parliament, in which he urges the *clergy* to terminate the reigning discord; "or else *I*, whom *God* hath appointed his *vicar*, and *high minister* here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty; or else I am an unprofitable servant and untrue officer." See some good remarks on this, Turner's Mod. Hist. of England, reg. Henry VIII. 688. This was at all events more excusable in Henry, than in Charles the Fifth, who, without renouncing his connexion with the See of Rome, was at the very same time pretending to a sort of church authority, not admissible in any lay member of the church of Rome, and which excited great anger and resentment in the breast of the Pope. If, indeed, we look to the affairs of the continent at this time, we shall find that Henry, in his separation from Rome, was acting upon *principles*, in which Romanists themselves could set him an example; for besides the too great interference of Charles in spiritual concerns, in order to give him power against the reformists, and reduce the Lutherans to the obedience of the Holy See, Pope Paul III. not only supplied him with troops, but gave him, in 1546, express permission to sell off lands belonging to mo-

Germany humoured him so far as to let him be the head and protector of their league, upon moderated terms, and Gardiner had not done all he could very artfully to prevent it,* there can, we think, be little doubt, but that he would himself have soon been at the *head* of the *reformed party* in *England*. It was exactly the same, at the same time, with his accomplished rival or friend (for he was both), Francis I. It would seem that many times the chances were almost equal, of his turning Protestant, in a great measure through the influence of his amiable and favourite sister the Queen of Navarre; and had *he* turned, France would have followed him:† but he also stood upon his *supremacy;* he was alarmed at the political consequences that might ensue. "These novelties," said he to Brantome one day, "tend to nothing less than the overthrow of all monarchy divine and human;" alluding, not only to the Anabaptists, in all likelihood, but to the republican principles of *Calvin*, and his Presbyterian form of church government, all the French Protestants being of Calvin's school—the school, in short, of Geneva. It was the object of Calvin's celebrated

nasteries, as much as might amount to fifteen hundred thousand livres, and to have for one year the half of all the revenues of the church of Spain, on condition that he (the Pope) should have a share in the advantages of the conquests that should be made, and that nothing should be granted the Protestants, especially in matters of religion, without the Pope's consent. There was also a *secret* article, whereby Paul obliged himself to excommunicate the King of France, if he took up arms against Charles during the war. See Jurieu's History of the Council of Trent.

* See Collier, ii. 115. and Records, No. xxxiv. Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, v. 213.

† Villers on the Reformation. Mosheim. Lord Herbert's Henry VII. Robertson, in his Charles V. thinks there was no sincerity in Francis I. appearing to lean towards the Reformation: we confess we should judge otherwise. See what Collier states of the French ambassador's discourse with Henry, ii. p. 211. The reason Robertson gives for his opinion is not a good one. Bayle does not settle the question; (what question indeed did *he* ever *mean* to *settle?*) see his note on the following passage, Art. *Francois I.* "*On a grand tort de l'accuser de trop d'indulgence pour les Lutheriens.*" The very next note, as well as note Y, on the Duc d' Orleans' proposal to the Protestant princes of Germany, to allow the gospel to be preached France (1543), seem to shew that at some times he was seriously inclined to favour them, though at others, as severely set against them.

Dedication of his Institutes to Francis I. to remove these prejudices from the monarch's breast. Here also, then, was a prejudice to be overcome, that only happened never to be overcome, during that King's reign; and when he acted upon that prejudice, like Henry, he was a bigot and a tyrant; but at such moments he listened to the Pope's Nuncio.* The remarks of a very sensible writer on the nice balance on which things hung in France, at this period, are too good to be passed over. "France," he observes, "was in circumstances fully as favourable for all the happy products of freedom at the time of the Reformation as England, and the same career of prosperity and glory would in all probability have awaited her; a mixed and limited monarchy would have been established; the people would have been prosperous and contented; and all the horrible effects of the Revolution,† and all the alarm which it has created in Europe, would have been prevented."

How much Francis I. required looking after by the popish priests, may be easily conceived, from the extraordinary fact, of his having readily complied with Henry's proposal to have an *English* Bible printed at *Paris*, in the year 1538, by Grafton. The French King's letters-patent for this indulgence, so contrary to the spirit of popery, may be seen in Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. xxx.; but the purposes of both the Kings were soon frustrated, for the inquisition at Paris being apprised of what had been passing, notwithstanding Francis's royal licence, seized upon the printer Reginault, and would have done the same by the Englishman who had been at the cost and charge of the work, and Coverdale the corrector, but that the latter made their escape, leaving the whole impression, five-and-twenty hundred in number, behind, which were speedily seized, by order of the Lieutenant-Criminal, and consigned to the flames, being actually burnt, at the *place* Maubert,

* Henault. † Printed 1805.

as books heretical; a few only that had escaped the fire being sold for waste-paper, to the amount of four dry-fats full.* This incident may serve to shew, what was the opinion of the strict Romanists, of *versions* of the *Scriptures, after the Reformation* had begun; a fact always to be attended to. Protestants have been checked, and are liable to be so to this day, for dwelling too much on the translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular languages of Europe, at the period of the Reformation; and in proof that it is not the spirit of the Roman Catholic church to discourage such versions, "a circumstance," it is said, "very often and very *erroneously* charged upon Catholics," (see Butler's Book of the Rom. Cath. Church, 183. 1825.) it is alleged, that "several translations into the German, several into the French, several into the Italian, and several into the Belgic tongue, had been printed, before publications of *Protestant* versions had appeared." All this may be very true, and no doubt is very true; but *suppression* began, as soon as the Pope's infallibility to interpret Scripture came to be disputed, and what is more, when the ancient canon of Scripture began to be adopted, as the only rule and standard of faith, no reference being any longer allowed to the Apocrypha, or the pretended traditions in the keeping of the Pope.† It was after the resistance to the Pope's authority, that the danger of vernacular versions became apparent to the Courts of Inquisition, and *suppression* was decreed. It was the *liberty of interpretation*, that gave the alarm, and the imputation it seemed to cast on popish authorities; and it is no otherwise in popish countries to this day, as must be well known.

Another contemporary of Henry VIII., though the event took

* Strype's Cranmer, i. 119, 120.

† Though, in 1538, Henry could be brought to sanction the printing of an English version at Paris, only eight years before, the moderate Tonstal was at the pains to buy up all the copies of Tindal's first translation, and procure them to be burned at Smithfield.

place long afterwards, is perhaps a more remarkable instance of the effect of the Reformation on minds not fully prepared openly to renounce the Romish faith. Even Charles V. is supposed to have died a Protestant; and, indeed, the unhappy end of all the ecclesiastics who followed him into retirement, or attended upon him in his last days, seems to prove it, being all seized by the Inquisition, and committed to the flames; Augustin Casal, his preacher; Constantine Pontius, his confessor; Egidius, Bishop of Tortosa; Carranza, sometime confessor to his son Philip II. and Queen Mary; with above twenty more of less note.*

We may judge from some of these circumstances what the situation of Lord Burghley must at this time have been, as a man of observation, closely connected with the reformed party in Henry's court, during the last years of his reign. It was before the death of Henry that the Council of Trent met, of which we shall have more to say hereafter; but as an event bearing largely upon the Reformation, we may conclude also, that this must have been to him an object of no slight attention.

Nor should we pass over this circumstance; that there is very great reason to believe, that his education, and the course of his studies, and the incidents of his time, had as much fitted him for a divine, as a lawyer or a politician: in fact, the study of the law and divinity were often in those days purposely and systematically united; the clergy occupying the chief offices at court and in Westminster Hall, and the ecclesiastical courts having at least as much, or rather more power and influence than the secular. While he was at the University, English editions of the Scrip-

* Mosheim, iv. 134. Bayle, Art. *Charles Quint.* note S. Art. *Carranza,* note C.; and see very particularly the Letter from Hooper to Bullinger. Burnet, vol. iii. part ii. p. 258, 259. Robertson's account of the superstitious austerities of his last hours, seems to contradict this; but there is great probability that he wavered at times; to the great disturbance of a bigoted confessor.

tures were becoming common; between 1526 and 1541,* when he removed to London, two editions of Tyndal's New Testament had been published; Coverdale's Bible the year he entered, 1535; Matthews's in 1537, and Cranmer's great Bible in three editions. Besides these, the celebrated formularies of faith, The Institution of a Christian Man, and A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, had appeared in 1537 and 1543; and though by no means clear of the errors of popery, were certainly calculated to eradicate many false doctrines, and essentially modify such as could not be wholly done away. That he could discuss points of divinity as a dialectician, we shall be able to shew, at a more memorable period of his life; our present observations have no farther object, than to point out the very important events upon which his mind must, in the nature of things, have been early fixed, and from which indeed he could scarcely have had any power of withdrawing himself. To judge of the fruits of his education, we ought to know something of the school in which he was bred, a case not sufficiently attended to by those, who are in too much haste to pass a judgment on the people of other times, but particularly on the princes and statesmen of other times. None perhaps have suffered more from this, than Lord Burghley and several of his contemporaries, as we expect to be able to prove.†

We must, indeed, take leave to anticipate so far, as to assert, that no person appears to us to have suffered so much, from a want of attention to these things, as Lord Burghley, particularly in matters relating to Scotland, where the Reformation, as in England, may be said to have been begun, long before he was

* See Burrow's Summary of Christian Faith and Practice. Introduction, pp. xxvii. xxviii. &c. &c.

† "In passing judgment upon the characters of men," says a great writer, "we ought to try them by the principles and maxims of their own age, not by those of another. For although virtue and vice are at all times the same, manners and customs vary continually."—Robertson, Charles V. 1546, in his account of Luther.

in a capacity to interfere for her concerns. Those who have taken up the life of the illustrious subject of these Memoirs, only at the period of his becoming minister to Queen Elizabeth, as many, particularly the advocates of Mary Queen of Scots, have done, are ready to impute to him, as the ruling principle of all his actions with regard to the northern parts of our island, a settled purpose, not only of exciting disturbances there, but of aggravating all that did take place, for the sole end of keeping the Scots so employed, as to prevent their turning their arms against England, if not to keep her in absolute subjection to England: whereas, very long before Elizabeth came to the crown, it must have been obvious to any common observer, that disturbances there were quite inevitable; that from the moment the light of the Reformation began to dawn there, a tremendous tempest was to be apprehended, from the lowering and gloomy aspect of things, independent of England's interference; and also, as should be considered, that it was a tempest likely to extend over England, and against which, consequently, it must have been well in the latter, in every way to prepare.

It may be regarded as an unfortunate circumstance for Scotland, but a circumstance with which England had nothing to do, that in no country of Europe, scarcely, had the church fallen into a worse state. No country, therefore, could stand in greater need of reformation; no country could be expected to have to undergo severer discipline in the accomplishment of such a task. We are not disposed to palliate or excuse any excesses on the part of the reformed there, who took a different course, at the very beginning, from the one pursued in England; but it is impossible, we should think, to look back to those times, without being assured that things were so entirely out of order in Scotland, as to render it quite impracticable, without very rough remedies, to bring the nation into a healthy and settled condition.

In common justice, therefore, to the subject of these Memoirs, who had so much to do with Scotland in after times, and has, by certain writers, been so much blamed for what he did do, we shall think it but fair and right to take a view of things, as they stood, before he had a place at the council-board of his Sovereign.

CHAP. VIII.

State of Scotland at the period when Mr. Cecil became connected with the Court—Hazard to England from any connexion she might form with France—James V.—His uncourteous behaviour to Henry—Beginning of the Reformation in Scotland—Alarm of the Clergy.

WHATEVER previous jealousies, resentments, and untoward actions, had kept the two kindred nations of England and Scotland in a state of warfare, or unstable peace, for a long course of years, it was about the year 1541, the very year in which Mr. Cecil left the university for the metropolis, that things may be said to have been brought to a sort of crisis, which, instead of speedily uniting the two kingdoms, as it might have been hoped, terminated in a fearful rupture, which, as may be alleged, without any exaggeration, it took the whole remainder of the sixteenth century to settle and adjust, if indeed it can be said to have been fully adjusted before the eighteenth century.

James V., nephew to King Henry, the son of his eldest sister, Margaret, then reigned in Scotland, being at that time about thirty years of age. The strange circumstances of Henry's own family affairs had made him, no doubt, often look upon James in the light of a presumptive heir to his English dominions. Both his daughters had been pronounced illegitimate by the English parliament; he had lost several sons, and at the time of which we are writing, though Prince Edward was born, he was not more than four years old. Previous to the birth of a male heir, however, and before the stamp of illegitimacy had lowered the pretensions of the Princess Mary, Henry had projected a union between her and his nephew, by which the two kingdoms might have become

one: and this offer, it should be observed, for particular reasons, was made while Henry was in great power; by his fleet, master of the seas, and consequently in a state to intercept all foreign aid that might be looked for in Scotland. At this time, therefore, his offers were indisputably liberal and fair; it was represented, in order to prevent or allay any unpleasant feelings on the part of the Scots, that Mary, his only daughter, being married to James, the Scots would not by that affinity come over to the government of the English, but the English to that of the Scots. The advantages or hazards of a union with England, instead of France, were compared and balanced; in favour of an English alliance and bond of affinity, it was alleged that the English and Scots "were one people, born in the same island, brought up under the same climate; agreeable one to another, in language, manners, laws, customs, countenance, colour, and in the very make of their bodies, so that they seemed to be rather one nation than two; but as for the French, they differed from them not only in climate and soil, but also in the whole manner of their life. Besides, if France was an enemy, she could do no great damage to Scotland; and if a friend, yet she would not be highly advantageous: as for the assistance of England, that was near at hand, but French aid was much more remote; there was no passage for it but by sea, and therefore it might be prevented by enemies, or else hindered by storms."* These things were surely all reasonable, and worthy of being offered to the consideration of the Scotch nation: but the sincerity of the proposals was questioned, and the French were not backward, to cite examples of English duplicity on former occasions.† Though, therefore,

* Buchanan, vol. ii. 146.

† We are at a loss to account for the following passage in Dr. Lingard's history of this reign: "In 1532, the two crowns (English and Scotch) were unintentionally involved in hostilities, by the turbulence of the borderers: tranquillity was restored (1534, May 18), by the good

this overture was far from being generally rejected by the Scots, and was much countenanced by the Queen Mother; yet by bribery, as it has been alleged, and false representations, the French, found means to raise such objections to it, in the breasts of those who had to decide the matter, that the English alliance was abandoned, and the ancient league with the French confirmed.

Here then, undoubtedly, was a double cause given for irritation in the mind of Henry. It was not only an offence to him personally, but it was evidently the triumph of a French faction over England. But this preponderance of France became more marked and more evident, and seemed to fall in more with the private inclinations of James, though obviously against the views and wishes of his uncle, when the former, not indeed without consulting Henry, according to Lord Herbert, but going contrary to his directions, resolved to marry in France, and to seek a wife at the hands of Francis I. The first that was offered to him was a lady of the blood royal, Mary of Bourbon, daughter of Charles, Duke of Vendome; but James, having by stealth obtained a sight of this lady in her

offices of Francis, the common friend of the uncle and nephew: and James was even induced to *solicit* the hand of the Princess Mary: but it was at a time, when only a few months had elapsed since the divorce of Henry from Katherine; and the King *refused* his consent to a marriage which might afterwards lead the King of Scots to dispute the succession with the children of Anne Boleyn. This *refusal* induced James to seek a wife from some of the foreign courts, &c." In 1534, Mary of England appears to have been one of the three MARIES *offered* to James, by the *Emperor;* but though James professed to have reason for preferring Mary of England, yet, according to Buchanan, he decided upon a daughter of the King of Denmark: and in 1535, when Lord William Howard proposed, on the part of Henry, his matching with Mary, such *objections* were raised, as to excite the indignation of the English minister. Henry's first offer of Mary, to which we have alluded above, was in 1522 or 1523. Whoever will be at the pains to look into history, for the transactions of 1534, 1535, will scarcely, we think, be led to form any other conclusion, than that the Emperor, the Pope, if not the King of France, were acting against Henry, and endeavouring all they could to keep James on their side. Even the Emperor's proposal of Mary of England seems to have been insidious, and directed both against Henry and Francis. Still, James *declined* to be a suitor in *that* quarter.—*Buchanan*, ii. 170. *Herbert's Henry VIII.* 166.

father's court, and not liking her, repaired instantly to Francis, where, having captivated the sickly, but amiable daughter of that monarch, they were speedily married, though there was small, or rather no hope of her long surviving; and, indeed, she lived but a short time after her arrival in Scotland, dying of a hectic fever on the 7th of July, 1537, seven months only after the marriage. This lady was probably a great loss to Scotland, since, having been bred up a good deal under the eye of her aunt, the Queen of Navarre, she had imbibed sentiments favourable to the reformed party; and nothing can well speak more strongly in her favour, than the two facts on which Buchanan dwells; first, that the priests alone regarded her death with any complacency, having had reason to apprehend that the exemplary conduct of her life would have put an end to their luxury and lust; and secondly, that by all others of the nation, it was felt so severely, that it was the cause of their clothing themselves for the first time in mourning apparel.*

No sooner, however, was this French connexion brought to an end, than James sought out another, being, in the ensuing year, viz. 1538, married to Mary, of the high and honourable, but bigoted, House of Guise (Dukes of Lorrain), widow of the Duke of Longueville. The very lady, whom, as Lord Herbert would insinuate, Henry had intended to marry himself; but, as the same historian adds, had been put aside by Francis, on a principle of policy; that wary monarch *preferring James*, because he knew, that less states united to greater, *depend on them*, whereas the equal, for the most part, live in jealousy of their neighbours. This being the French policy, opens to us at once, the source of most of the miseries that occurred in Scotland during the rest of the century, and ought to explain, and be allowed to excuse, the counteracting policy of England, in which Lord Burghley will be found to have borne so great a share.

* Buchanan. Leslie. Cook on the Reformation.

It is easy to conceive how vulnerable the Northern frontier* of England must at all times have been, and how threatening, any close connexion between Scotland and France. It was usual, we are told, with Sir Anthony Brown, one of King Henry's best counsellors, constantly to call Scotland, "the French King's passage into England;" while others, with equal reason and propriety, called it his "stepping-stone."

But if ever this "passage," and this "stepping-stone," required to be looked to, as a matter of policy on the part of England, it must have been during the period of the religious struggles of the sixteenth century. Paul III., when he excommunicated Henry, had freely assigned over his forfeited dominions to James: the Emperor Charles V., in resentment of Henry's separation from his aunt, had been known to declare not only that he would set all Christendom against Henry, but expressly that he would avenge the cause of Katherine by means of Scotland.† Of the enmity of

* The Northern frontier was not merely vulnerable as a frontier, but constantly and incessantly exposed to attacks, from a set of people not unaptly compared, for their rapacity, ignorance, and brutality, to the Goths and Vandals, or to the Caffres and Hottentots. [See the Preface to the Memoirs of Robert Cary, Earl of Monmouth.] Almost every body must now be acquainted with the history of those formidable *borderers*, who, scarcely belonging to either nation, but occupying what was called the debateable lands, lived in a perpetual state of variance and hostility; devoted to plunder, resentful of the slightest injury, and constantly liable by a small spark to kindle a flame that might consume one or both kingdoms. Particular governors, called Lord-Wardens of the East, West, and Middle Marches, were appointed to protect at all times the English territories against these barbarians. Once a year a March Day, as it was called, was appointed, for the Scots and English to meet to adjust all the disputes and claims of either nation upon the borders, but it was seldom that any thing like a permanent peace or agreement could be concluded. Strong watches were obliged to be set in every March at small distances from each other, and the inhabitants of the smallest villages were supplied with arms to resist depredations. A frontier of this nature was not merely vulnerable, it was a continual scene of warfare, independent of all adventitious circumstances: it must, however, have served the more strongly to point out the necessity of a union of interests, and an amalgamation (so to speak) of the two nations, so soon as ever it could be brought about.

† Strype's Cranmer; and the conversation between the Chancellor of Spain and Sylvester Darius, in the year 1528, reported by Mr. Turner, in his recent History of Henry VIII. p. 593.

the Pope there could be no doubt, nor of the principles of the Guises, nor of the almost constant rivalry of France. How far Henry may be thought to have been personally responsible for the provocations he had given to all these great powers, is of no account as to the policy of England; there was not one of them, who could be expected to be less angry with the kingdom than with the King. This nation, indeed, was not yet reformed, but it was advancing rapidly towards reformation; to the great offence and indignation of the Catholic powers generally. And what was the case of Scotland, with regard to this great movement? The seeds of the Reformation had been sown there, and even the writings of Luther, in all likelihood, with Tindal's translation of the Scriptures, been transported thither so early as in 1525, to the great alarm of the Catholic clergy; who, still supposing themselves to be capable of intercepting or stifling the light which had began to burst on the world, procured a special act of parliament to be passed in that year, prohibiting the importation of any *such* writings into Scotland; "a kingdom," as the act states, "which had alwaies bene clere from all sic filth and vice."

But acts of parliament were not their only weapons of defence; in 1528, Patrick Hamilton, Abbot of Fearn, a youth of noble family, and even royal lineage,* who had in his travels visited both Luther and Melancthon at Wittenberg, and at all risks, and even against advice, returned, to impart to his countrymen the saving knowledge he had acquired, was, at the early age of twenty-four, burned at the stake in the city of St. Andrews, by a conspiracy of the priests, and of one particularly, whom he thought he had converted, but who yet betrayed him, a Dominican Friar. This man became frantic soon after, from a sense of his own treachery and wickedness, and died within the year. Young Ha-

* He was son of a sister of John, Duke of Albany, neice of James III.

milton has the honour of being accounted the proto-martyr of freedom of opinion and speech in Scotland; the freedom, indeed, of the human mind.* But notwithstanding this severity,† and though many other victims were sacrificed in the interim; before the year 1540, several of the nobles and others of great respectability, had, in defiance of the clergy, openly avowed the same principles, and they were fast spreading among the common people.

Scotland, then, under such circumstances, independent of all interference on the part of England, must have been subjected to the disturbances and convulsions arising from the re-action of Catholicism on Protestantism. This contest had already begun, and it was impossible to keep it clear from politics; the French were decidedly on the side of Scotch Catholicism, the Pope, and the Emperor. Was England, engaged herself in a similar struggle, to allow *Protestantism* to be beaten in Scotland,‡ the only barrier that seemed to present itself to her own subjection and ruin? These are questions that should in all fairness be asked at this time, and not after the feelings are excited by the miserable catastrophe§ in which they terminated; and which, if it had not, by the Catholic party, been driven to the alternative, of the sacrifice of one crown out of two, and one life out of two, might and we verily think would never have happened; as we expect to be able to shew.

We must not wonder that under the circumstances above-men-

* Buchanan. Burnet. Collier. Cook. M'Crie. His theological opinions were by no means altogether correct.

† "The murder of Hamilton," says an historian of that period, "was afterwards avenged in the blood of the nephew and successor of his persecutor; and the flames in which he expired were, in the course of one generation, to enlighten all Scotland, and to consume, with avenging fury, the Catholic superstition, the papal power, and the prelacy itself."—*Pinkerton. M'Crie.*

‡ Compare Cook, on the Reformation, i. 182, as to the patriotic views of those who supported the Reformation in Scotland.

§ Death of Mary, Queen of Scots.

tioned, Henry should be above all things anxious to procure his nephew to renounce the Pope's authority as he had done himself. For which end that able negotiator, Sir Ralph Sadler, was sent upon a special embassy to the latter in the years 1539-40. The first attempt he was to make, was to raise suspicions (very just ones, probably) in the mind of the King, as to the ambitious projects of Cardinal Bethune (or Beaton as he is commonly called), his prime minister, in purposing, through the Pope, to get into his own hands the whole power of the state; in the next place, he was to set him against the monks, and excite in him a taste for their wealth, with a view to the dissolution of their monasteries; and, thirdly, to caution him against foreign intrigues and connexions.

The instructions given to Sir Ralph to guide him in these negotiations are certainly very curious; and with regard to the second project, of exciting his cupidity so far as to give him a *relish* for the possessions of the monks, little less than ludicrous. The main object in view was otherwise fair and good. The monks were the chief supports of popery, as we have before shewn, and they were an excrescence upon the body politic, which might reasonably, *as such*, be exposed to excision. Their foundations besides, and whole state, were quite inconsistent with a proper reformation; for among the things to be reformed were these abuses, which, as Burnet has observed, "were essential to their constitution; such as, the belief of purgatory, of redeeming souls by masses, the worship of saints and images, pilgrimages, and such like." But James would not take the hint, or not follow it, if clearly understood:* he answered the ambassador, shrewdly and spiritedly, and in giving way to his constant suspicions of English friendship, greatly overlooked the dangers of his situation.

* Collier supposes, James foresaw that if he seized upon the monasteries, abbey-lands, &c. he should be expected, as his uncle had done, to convey them away to his courtiers and other secular men, whom he had no disposition to serve in that way, ii. 175.

Twice already Henry had proposed a friendly interview with his nephew; in the year 1535, particularly, and before the birth of Prince Edward, first through his chaplain, Bishop Barlow, and afterwards by Lord William Howard; in which interview, had it taken place, he meant, it has been credibly affirmed, to have offered to James the hand of the Princess Mary, with the succession to the English crown, in case of his own death without issue, proposing also to make him Duke of York, and Governor of the Kingdom.* Neither of these proposed interviews being encouraged on the part of Scotland, though James himself did not seem *decidedly* averse from them, a third was proposed in 1540, and so far accepted, as to lead Henry fully to anticipate a meeting; the engagement being allowed by James to stand unrevoked so long, that Henry actually came to York, in 1541, in full expectation of finding James there, after having caused particular preparations to be made for his reception.†

* Pinkerton seems to doubt if these offers were ever actually made, but gives no sufficient authority for his doubt.

† This is a point of history, which requires elucidation, and we cannot refrain from making some observations. That Henry came to York in the year 1541, expecting James to meet him, seems to be pretty generally allowed; but many historians have so represented matters, as to seem to affirm that he came thither with the sole purpose of meeting his nephew, according to a positive engagement to that effect on the part of James, entered into with Sir Ralph Sadler in *that very year*; implying, of course, that Sir Ralph, who was in Scotland in 1539, 1540, had been sent there again in 1541, for that end. Dr. Cook, in his History of the Reformation in Scotland, has, as we have reason to think, very reasonably questioned the fact of this embassy in 1541, though asserted by Pinkerton, Lindsay of Pitscottie, Leslie, &c. &c. Pinkerton appears to have relied upon some instructions drawn up for such a mission, the existence of which Dr. Cook does not dispute, but only supposes they were not used, Sir Ralph not having been sent. Sir Walter Scott, in his Life of Sir Ralph, prefixed to Clifford's State Papers, mentions also the embassy of 1541, but adds, "concerning which we have less distinct information." Nevertheless, at page 50, of the same work, it is expressly asserted, that in 1541, Sadler was again dispatched to Scotland by Henry VIII. which is not contradicted by the Edinburgh Reviewers; his third mission to Scotland being also there referred to the year 1541.—Vol. xvi. 448. Dr. Lingard, subsequently to all the above authorities, expressly says, that another interview was proposed in 1541, that Henry went to York, stayed there a week to receive James, and would

That such a slight, such an insult indeed, should provoke any Sovereign of England, but especially one so powerful, so nearly

scarcely condescend to hear the apology offered by the Scotch ambassadors; he cites for this, Hall and Leslie. He does not indeed say, *Sir Ralph Sadler* was sent to propose this last interview, though he gives special reasons, as well as Pinkerton, for such an interview being *again* proposed at that particular time. Mr. Soames, one of the most recent historians who has found it necessary to touch upon these transactions, seems as correct as any; he does not mention Sir Ralph Sadler's mission in 1541, he does not represent Henry as going to York solely to meet James (he had certainly other occasions to go into those parts), he does not exactly say what was the precise nature of the engagement, but he speaks truly enough of the preparations made to receive James at York, of Henry's expectation of seeing him there, of James's final resolution not to quit his own dominions, and of Henry's great displeasure and disappointment. Being inclined to think Dr. Cook right, who *designedly* omits the embassy in 1541, in his work on the Reformation, after taking great pains to explain his reasons, I took occasion to refer the matter to Mr. Lemon of the State-paper Office, a gentleman to whom all explorers of modern history are so much obliged. The following is the purport of a letter written in answer to my inquiries: "I coincide in opinion with Dr. Cook and yourself, that Sir Ralph Sadler was not in Scotland in the year 1541, as there is not in this office one single letter of his during the whole of that year; and I think, that after the termination of his embassy in 1540, he continued in the North of England, being one of the council there, and in which station he remained, till he received the King's orders (which are dated March 13, 1542-3), to repair instantly to Edinburgh, and remain there, as the King's ambassador, till farther directions.—I think there can be little doubt but that Henry VIII. went to York in August, 1541, with the object of meeting there his nephew James V. who had for the third time promised,* and as often evaded the interview; but it is certain that Sir Ralph was not in Scotland at this time, but attended the King at York; this I think is evident from a copy or rather draft of a commission, now before me, in Sir R. Sadler's writing, corrected by Secretary Wriottesley, dated September 26, 1541, the very day the King left York, on his return, directing the deputy wardens and commissioners of Northumberland to expel all the Scots out of that country, and take immediate measures for the defence of the borders. And the King, on his return, commenced those preparations for a war, which in the following year terminated in the defeat of the Scots at Solway, and the death of James V. a few days afterwards."

* Dr. Cook questions the promise; but we think Henry could scarcely have allowed preparations to be made for the entertainment of James, except upon an implied promise, to say the least. The Editor of Sadler's State Papers, says, "It would *seem* that Sadler *wrung* from him [James] a *dubious consent* to meet his uncle at York, or elsewhere in the North of England."—If this had been all, the clergy need not surely have used such great efforts, and made such great offers, to turn him aside from his purposes, as they are known to have done.—See pages 103, 104.

related, so much older, and so little prepared to put up with affronts, cannot, or ought not, to excite surprise; especially as interviews, much more strange, had taken place on the Continent, particularly between Charles V. and Francis I. which could augur no good to England. The King of Scotland indeed is said to have proposed to accede to an interview, provided the King of France might be present; a most rude, and we should say, a most unfeeling evasion of his uncle's invitation. James's imprudence, at all events, in thus provoking Henry, requires explanation, as a main feature in the Northern politics of those days; politics notoriously inimical to the interests of England and the Reformation.

"For a great length of time, the nobles of Scotland had been troublesome to the Kings, and many expedients had been adopted by the latter, but adopted in vain, to restrain their assumptions; at length James V. resolved to strengthen himself by calling the clergy to his aid and support; a body of men not only sacred in the eyes of the populace, but through the neglect or oversight of the Popes, left more dependent on the crown than in most other Catholic countries; a body of men, comparatively, in those days, much more enlightened, and more capable of business than the nobles, and possessing a very considerable portion of the national wealth. At any other time this expedient perhaps might have been tried with success, but besides the movements in favour of the Reformation, already noticed, it had, in one great and material point, been already accomplished in the Southern part of the island, and the nobles there had profited by the plunder of the church, and dissolution of monasteries. Henry was known to have endeavoured to persuade his nephew to renounce the authority of the Pope, and even to have supplied him, through his ministers, with books likely to forward his purposes. Under these circumstances it became manifestly the interest of the clergy, not

to let James have an interview with his uncle; and no means were spared therefore to instil into his mind all kinds of apprehensions, of its being Henry's intention to inveigle him into England, in order to get him entirely into his own power. Cardinal Bethune,* Archbishop of St. Andrews, nephew of the late Archbishop, whom he succeeded in 1539, having obtained the Cardinal's hat two years before,† a shrewd and provident politician, was, as it has

* The family was unquestionably of French extraction, and of the House of Bethune, a name derived from the town of Bethune on the little river of Brette, in Artois. It seems doubtful when the family first came into Scotland, but whenever that might take place, it is certain that the original French name was in time changed to Beaton, as it is commonly written. Dr. Lingard, however, keeps to the original name of *Bethune*; and Protestant writers perhaps might take a hint from his example: in fact, Francis I. wishing to keep the Cardinal (*David* Bethune) in his interests, and Scotland through him, used to encourage him to consider himself a Frenchman, and did not hesitate, with this view, to make him Bishop of Mirepoix, a very rich bishopric; and even to allow, by a special grant still in existence, that his *heirs* (and he left *many children*), though born and living within the kingdom of Scotland, should succeed to his French estates without any fresh act of naturalization. By this circumstance alone, we may judge how much the interference of England with Scotland, was in reality rather an interference against the French than against the Scots. The Archbishop and Cardinal Archbishop, but the latter in particular, were not only opposed to England as *Romanists* but as *Frenchmen*. It may be farther observed, that the *Pope* also did all he could to make David a foreigner, by giving him the Cardinal's hat, which was done on purpose that he might supersede the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, who were known to be not so forward to persecute their *heretical countrymen* as the Pope desired. We shall see that Henry, in seeking to get the Cardinal disgraced, endeavoured to impress it upon the minds of the Scots, that they should look to *him* as the author of all the mischiefs that fell upon them; in fact, when he obtained to be legate *à latere*, every thing, as far as regarded the Catholic population, was in his power. It is the more necessary to attend to these things in this stage of our history, as explanatory of public papers and disquisitions, still existing in the hand-writing of Lord Burghley, and to be noticed in their proper places hereafter. A third of the name bore a conspicuous part in politics, after the demise of his uncle the Cardinal, being Archbishop of Glasgow, and minister abroad to Mary and James—an amiable man and faithful servant.

† It is not amiss to notice this, since Hollinshed who is in general pretty accurate, represents James Bethune, or Beaton, the uncle, as very active in preventing James V. meeting Henry in 1541, though he died in 1539. David Beaton the Cardinal, was the third son of John Beaton of Balfour, and Elizabeth Monypenny, or Moniepenny, of Pitmilly; his uncle, if not altogether a more unexceptionable and better man, was a great benefactor to Scotland. The persecutions

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been said, among the first to dissuade him from entering into, or from keeping, such an engagement.

In the meanwhile, James, feeling himself to be in the hands of those of his subjects who were most intelligent, and most capable of carrying on the government with vigour and success, had learned to treat the nobles not only with neglect but disdain, and a rigour approaching to persecution and cruelty; listening eagerly to every accusation brought against them, and allowing them to be banished, subjected to forfeitures, and even condemned to death for slight offences, or without sufficient evidence. The truth is, he was in the hands of persons politically crafty, but of no good principles; and though of himself he appears to have been well inclined to cultivate the friendship of Henry, and Henry, through Sadler, gave him, in many respects, good and sound advice, yet he deviated greatly from the course he should in all wisdom have pursued. Sadler saw his infatuation, and the baleful, because overpowering influence of the clergy; and thus describes the state of things in 1540, to a member of the privy council:

"And to be plain with you, though they," the young nobles, "be well-minded, and diverse other also that be of the council, and about the King, yet I see none amongst them that hath any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience, to set forth the same, or to take the direction of things; so that the King, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and clergy, as his only ministers for the direction of his realm. They be the men of wit and policy that I see here;* they be never

that took place during his primacy, have been judged to have had rather the sanction of his *name*, than of his full consent and authority. This, however, is but a feeble excuse; if he too readily allowed his name to be used (as has been alleged) for purposes of persecution, the full charge remains against him, for "*Qui facit per alium, facit per se.*"

* To the credit of the nobility of England, at the same period, things seem to have been almost the reverse; not that Henry's bishops were unlearned, but his nobility also were men of study, talent, and information, and, if we may believe *Erasmus*, more correct by far in their con-

out of the King's ear, and if they smell any thing that in the least point may touch them, or that the King seem to be content with any such thing, straight they inculk to him how Catholic a prince his father was, and feed him both with fair words and mony, in such wise as by those policies they lead him (having also the whole governance of his affairs) as they will. The Prince being given, as he is, to much pleasure and pastime, giving small care to his own affairs, but only committing his whole trust to them: But surely, if he had one good counsellor well given, that were a man of a good stomach, and had wit, knowledge, and learning, to go

vivial meetings than the clergy in general: "*Sacerdotum ac theologorum convivia madent vinolentia, scurrilibus opplentur jocis, tumultu parum sobrio perstrepunt, virulentis obtectrationibus scatent: et ad principum mensas modeste disputatur de iis quæ ad eruditionem et pietatem faciunt.*" Epist.—In another place he says, generally, "*Apud Anglos triumphant bonæ literæ, recta studia.*" With the English *ladies* he seems to have been perfectly fascinated, and no wonder. (See Bayle, Art. *Erasmus*, note F.) "Sunt hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles—et præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus. Sive quo venias, omnium *osculis* excipieris, sive discedas aliquo, *osculis* dimitteris: redis, redduntur *suavia;* discedit abs te, dividuntur *basia;* occurritur alicubi, *basiatur* affatim; denique quocunque te moveas, *suaviorum* plena sunt omnia." After so much of the *suavia* we ought, perhaps, for the credit of Erasmus, to add, that the *learned* ladies seem greatly to have engaged his attention, of which his colloquy, "*Abbatis* et *Eruditæ*," is an admirable proof; and in which, though it is all in commendation of *female learning*, the *suavia* are not forgotten; much, however, to the advantage of the *ladies*, especially against the *monks*. The following questions of *Magdalia* are sufficient to shew this: "*Antronius.* [Abbas] Arbitror illos bene vivere, qui vivunt *suaviter.*—MAG. Sed ista *suavitas* unde proficiscitur? e rebus extrariis, an ex *animo?*—*Antronius.* E rebus extrariis.—MAG. O subtilem Abbatem sed crassum philosophum! dic mihi, quibus rebus tu metiris *suavitatem?*—*Antronius.* Somno, conviviis, libertate faciendi quæ velis, pecunia, honoribus.—MAG. Verum, si istis rebus Deus addiderit *sapientiam*, num vives *suaviter?*—*Antronius.* Quid appellas sapientiam?—MAG. Hoc est, si intelligeres, hominem non esse felicem, nisi BONIS ANIMI. Opes, honores, genus, neque feliciorem reddere, neque meliorem.—*Antronius.* Valeat ista quidem sapientia.—MAG. Quid si MIHI *suavius* sit legere bonum auctorem quam TIBI venari, potare, aut ludere aleam? non videbor tibi *suaviter* vivere?—*Antronius.* EGO non viverem.—MAG. Non quæso quod *tibi* sit suavissimum, sed quid *deberet* esse *suave.*" The whole dialogue is admirable; and, considering that Erasmus lived in the very time of the learned ladies of England, with whom the subject of these Memoirs was in so many ways closely connected, we think it quite within the scope of our undertaking to refer to it thus particularly.

through with the matter, the King himself is of a right good inclination, and so is a great part of the nobility and commonalty of this realm."

This seems to have been a most exact and just representation: but the clergy prevailed;* all interviews were prevented, and Henry declared war. But most of the Scotch nobles, we are told by Pitscottie, considered the war to be fairly provoked by James's neglect, in yielding to the dissuasions of the clergy; and were the more angry, no doubt, because they knew the suspicions that had been excited in the King's mind against themselves, through the same channel: "For the priestis, as I have showin befoir, abused the Kingis grace so, that they patt greatt dissentioun betwixt him and his lordis, and gave him to understand that they war all heretekis, becaus they red the Old and New Testament in Inglis; and thairfoir, as they alledgit, war all worthie to be brunt, and their gair confiscatte to the Kingis profeitte."† In fact, they were to be hunted down as heretics, and their estates confiscated; while the clergy offered to indemnify James, for all losses he might sustain by disappointing Henry, with an annual donation of 50,000 crowns.

* Cook's History of the Reformation. † Vol. ii. 402, 403.

CHAP. IX.

War between England and Scotland—James ill served by the Nobles of Scotland, who are jealous of the Clergy, the King's chief advisers—Battle of Solway Moss—Defeat or dispersion of the Scots army—Death of James V.—His Character—Birth of Mary, Queen of Scots.

HENRY, after these insults, was not to be pacified. He felt that he was slighted; and he must have felt, that though many of the Scots nobles were sensibly impressed, and patriotically so, with the advantages to be derived from the advice given by Henry to James, to renounce the papal authority, and unite with England, yet that his nephew was in the hands and at the mercy of a stronger, a more active, and subtle party, to which, if England submitted, the Pope must triumph, and *his* foreign enemies or rivals gain every advantage against him. These must be regarded as the true motives of the war that ensued upon Henry's disappointment;* and if its beginning were not, perhaps, such as in strict honour it ought to have been, as has been alleged (we allude to the unexpected and sudden seizure of Scotch ships), yet the breach of articles, after all, seems to have rested with the Scots;† and secresy was necessary in order to anticipate the arrival of succours from France.‡ In the motives to war, at all events, we

* Some accounts state, that on the disposition manifested by the council, &c. of Scotland to prevent an interview with Henry, Lord William Howard threatened them so roughly and so rudely with his master's displeasure, as irrecoverably to alienate them from all overtures of that nature.—*Biog. Brit.* ii. 39.

† Collier, ii. 199.

‡ Soames, ii. 510.

should not look merely to Henry's personal resentment against his nephew, but to the circumstances into which England was likely to be brought, by the influence of the Scotch clergy over the mind of James.* In the instructions Pinkerton professes to have seen, prepared for Sir Ralph Sadler, in the year 1541, and which Dr. Cook stigmatizes for their violence if true,† Sadler, we are told, was to have desired the Scottish King "not to transform himself into a brute or a stock, as the clergy would persuade him to be." The coarseness of the terms we shall not dispute,‡ but their applicability to the danger James was incurring can scarcely be questioned; and it is to this danger we are to look, not for an excuse for any excesses into which Henry's anger might hurry him, but for the policy of England, endangered by James's aversion to an English alliance.

The latter was, undoubtedly, through infatuation, not want of sense, become so much "a stock," in the hands of the clergy, that

* Dr. Lingard says, "The English cabinet now determined to accomplish by force, what it had in vain attempted by artifice and persuasion." Persuasion, we grant; the artifice was on the other side: James was deceiving Henry, by his own account, to be found in the very same page. Dr. Lingard's history tells much against James, as a man of honour and Henry's near relation, and consequently in favour of the spirited proceedings of the English cabinet.—*See Hist. Henry VIII.* ch. v.

† See these very instructions in Sadler's State Papers, by Clifford, p. 50. They are there referred to the year 1541, at which time Sadler is *said* to have been again dispatched to Scotland. The expression noticed by Dr. Cook, however, if the instructions be the same, is very different. The ambassador is only instructed to persuade James, "not to *think himself*, as perchaunce sondrie of his clergie would *have him to be*, as brute as a stock."—This was rather complimentary than rude.

‡ In 1535, when Henry, through Bishop Barlow, communicated to James the circumstance of his having resumed the supremacy, recommending the same step to his nephew, no such coarse terms were used towards James, but much sound argument against the usurpations of the Pope.—See Strype's Memorials, vol. i. Appendix, No. lxiii. N.B. The reference in Strype appears to be wrong; instead of Cott. MSS. Cleopatra, E. vi. 260., it should be 259. In the catalogue, the ambassadors' names appear to be omitted as *unknown*, but the paper was sent by the hands of Bishop Barlow and his associates, in 1535: James, however, would not read it.

instead of deigning to look at some books (the Institution of a Christian Man, &c.) which Henry had sent him by the hands of Bishop Barlow, in company with the Lord William Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, he put them immediately into the hands of those who were attached to the interests of Rome, and who, without looking at them, vouched for their being full of heresy and falsehood. At the time also that he refused to confer with his uncle, he was in the habit of receiving frequent letters from the Pope, to keep him steady to the Catholic faith; in which letters Henry was pronounced to be a heretic, a schismatic, a manifest adulterer, a public murderer, a rebel, and convict of high-treason against him, the Pope, his lord.* Sadler had instructions to tell James himself, of the hazards he ran from putting too much trust in the clergy; by observing, that "the practises of prelats and clerks be wondrouse, and their juglyng so craftie, as oneless a man be ware thereof, and as oculate as Argus, he maye be lightly led by the nose, and beare the yoke, yea and (yett for blyndness) not to knowe what he doith."

Dr. Lingard does not scruple to tell us, that James gave his assent to Paul's excommunication of his uncle, "promising to join with Charles and Francis in their endeavours to convert or punish the apostate monarch." He also tells us, that the Cardinal's

* [Buchanan. Leslie. Burnet, &c.] Soames, ii. 304. This learned author states, that James burned his uncle's finely-bound volumes, saying, "It is better that I should destroy them, than that they should destroy me." Dr. Lingard presumes, that as the "Doctrine of a Christian Man" was not published till afterwards, the books sent by Bishop Barlow were either Gardiner's Treatise *De verâ obedientiâ*, or another *De vera differentia Regiæ potestatis et ecclesiasticæ*, both of which had been printed the year before. Perhaps these *were* sent, and had James been converted by them it would have formed a curious incident in the life of Bishop Gardiner; but Dr. Lingard seems to forget that the "*Institution* of a Christian Man," appeared before the "*Doctrine* of a Christian Man." Burnet, Strype, and Collins expressly say it was the "*Institution* of a Christian Man," which Henry sent.—History of the Reformation, b. iii. and Life of Cranmer, i. 141. A good account of Gardiner's book, "De verâ obedientiâ," may be seen in Collier, ii. 138, &c.

hat was sent to Beaton to keep James steady to the see of Rome, and cites the following sentence in the Pope's instructions to Pole: "Habebit Regem Scotiæ, et hic novum creatum Cardinalem Scotum:" this was in the year 1538. Under such circumstances; if true, and it is not our business to deny them, can it be thought strange, or any sort of overbearing intrusion on the part of Henry, to have endeavoured to convince James of the prudence of throwing off the Roman yoke? in *admonishing* him to do so, because it might conduce to the "enlargement of his royal renown and authority, in an abundant commodity of riches, and unfeigned obeisance of faithful subjects, far from the cumbersome calamity of popish miserable molestations?" Was it to argue the matter too closely in the following terms, as still to be seen:* "What more intolerable calamity may there be to a Christian prince, than unjustly to be defeated of the righteous jurisdiction within his own realm? to be a king by name, but not in deed? to be a ruler without regiment over his own liege people?"

The war, however, was a very serious concern to James; it compelled him of course to turn to his offended and jealous nobles for support, where the clergy could not effectually assist him, except by their purses. It compelled him to take the field at the head of a discontented aristocracy, relying all the while upon the *counsels* of those who had done all they could do to foment and aggravate their differences. Nor was it long before he had an opportunity of discovering the extreme delicacy of his situation. The Duke of Norfolk, whom Henry was wont to call his "rod of Scotland," had entered the kingdom with his army, but being for want of provisions obliged to retire, James, anxious to follow him, was brought to a most mortifying but sure conviction of the total loss of all authority and influence over his own army, by a plain and

* Cotton, MSS. Cleopatra, E. vi. Strype's Memorials.

positive refusal on the part of his nobles (with one exception only*) to pass the boundaries of the kingdom. James, in high disdain, disbanded his refractory army, or suffered it to disperse; but it was soon wanted again, or at least his clerical advisers were willing to make him think so, in order "to rouse him," as it has been said, "from the state of sullen and angry despondency into which he seemed to have fallen." They suggested to him the propriety of attacking the English on the western border; but if the awkwardness of his situation in the former instance was great, he rendered it much more so in this, by a most thoughtless indiscretion. Unwilling now to trust any of the nobles, with the command even of their own forces or followers, not even the Lord Maxwell, who had great authority and credit in those parts, he most imprudently gave the command of his army (as many respectable authorities agree in asserting, though the extent of his commission has been questioned by some) to an unpopular minion, Oliver Sinclair, who added to the offence by using more parade and ostentation in assuming his new command, or opening his commission, than was necessary; and threw everything so much and so seriously into confusion, that though they had to contend only against a small band, comparatively, of English borderers, yet, regarding their commander as no better than a pensioner of the prelates, they not only made no adequate resistance, but allowed the flower of the nobility to be led into captivity; the commander himself, however, and two of his brothers or kinsmen, being included among the prisoners taken.† This battle, if it may

* The Lord Maxwell is generally held to have constituted this exception; but it is related of Sir John Scott, of Thirlestane, in Etterick Forest, that he, with sixty followers, offered upon this occasion to go wherever the King would lead; in reward of which, he had a new crest given him, being six lances crossed, with this motto, "*Ready, aye ready;*" that is, always ready. Which motto now appertains to his descendant, the Lord Napier, who is also said still to have the original grant written in the field, on a drum-head, and signed by the King.

† Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. i. no. xix.

be called such, took place at Solway Moss, November 24, in the year 1542.

It is melancholy to read the accounts that are given of the effect of this battle, on the too susceptible mind of the young King. By some it has been alleged, that before the action his mind was visibly disturbed; that he had been for some time liable to alarming dreams and visions, particularly after the execution of Sir James Hamilton, followed by the death of his two sons.* Certain, however, it is, that after the action at Solway, he exhibited all the symptoms of a disordered imagination, sometimes frantic with indignation and impatience, at others, sullen, gloomy, and desponding. He retired to his palace of Falkland, where, after living just long enough to receive intelligence of the birth of his daughter, the unfortunate Mary,† he expired on the 14th of December, in the thirtieth year of his age, about nineteen or twenty days only after the fatal battle.

In the Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, we are told, that the prelates were suspected of having hastened his death by poison, the King having been moved to express great indignation against them, who had given him so bad advice; the following seems to be a much truer and more reasonable account: "His death," says Drummond, "proveth his mind to have been raised to a high strain,

* "From that time forward," writes Buchanan, "the King increased in his suspicions of the nobility; and, besides, his mind was so distracted with cares, that he could not enjoy his sleep at quiet, but was tormented with dreams; of which there was one more remarkable than the rest, which was much talked of; that, in his sleep, he saw *James Hamilton* running at him with his drawn sword, and that he first cut off his right arm, then his left, and threatened him shortly to come and take away his life, and then disappeared: when he awaked in a fright, and was pondering many things about the event of the dream, word was brought him that both his sons died almost at one and the same moment of time, one at *St. Andrews*, and the other at *Stirling*."

† On being told of the Queen's delivery, he raised himself and eagerly inquired the sex of the child, and on being told it was a female, he turned himself in his bed, and mournfully observed, "The crown came with a woman, and it will go with one; many mischiefs await this poor kingdom."—*Hume.*

and above mediocrity; he could die, but he could not digest a disaster."*

He was much lamented by his subjects, especially the poorer sort, to whom he was constantly attentive, and so prone to compassionate their sufferings, and so ready to note any distress in their looks and appearance, that it is recorded of him, that in his rides, he would call such to him as seemed indigent or disturbed in mind, saying that he read a petition in their countenance, and constantly took pleasure in doing them justice, so that he enjoyed the exalted title of "The poor man's friend." He was a great patron of learning, and watchful over the administration of justice; going often in person *incognito*,† to note the proceedings of the courts.

Faults he had indeed, but how could it well be otherwise, if what is said in the Pitscottie Chronicles be true, namely, that there were about him "fals, flattering, and idolatrous bischopis, who flattered, and gave him to understand that he might safflie use his bodie at his pleasour, sayand that they would stand guid for his soul." We are sorry to say, if this were not strictly true, the dissolute lives of many ecclesiastics in those days render it so credible, as to justify our repetition of it.

* Hollinshed's account is as follows: "The King of Scots tooke such griefe and inward thought for his overthrowe, that he fell into a hot ague, and thereof died, although many reported that he was at the bickering, and received there his death's wound, and fled therewith into Scotland."

† Burnet.

CHAP. X.

Consequences of the Death of James with regard to England—Match proposed between the young Queen of Scots and Edward Prince of Wales—Favoured by the Prisoners taken at Solway Moss—The importance to both Countries of a Union.

THE death of James was far from being grateful to Henry, who had by no means given up all hope of being able, through him, to draw the Scots into a treaty of amity and affiance, offensive and defensive, and to render it apparent that such an union of interests, and, if possible, of religions, would be more advantageous to Scotland itself, than any other connexion it could form.* As to the purity of Henry's views in seeking this union, as far as regarded the independence of Scotland, we shall not attempt to give an opinion: he had in some of his negotiations, particularly before

* The account given of these occurrences in the Pitscottie Chronicles of Scotland is very interesting, and may be very true.

"When word cam to the King of Ingland, that the King of Scotland was departed, he sighed sair, saying, 'Voe is me, for I will nevir have any King in Scotland so sib to me againe, nor on quhom I favoured so weill, and desired so effectuously to have had his conference; but alase, evill and wicked counsall wold not latt him speak with me, quilk would have beine both to his joy and comfort and myne.'"—They go on to state, that when he heard of the birth of a daughter to the deceased King, "he paused long and conjectured the thyng in his mynd, quilk afterwards came to pass, that is, that the facilitie of the lordis of Scotland, and by the kirkmen's counsallis, and love that Queine Mother baire to France, that this counsall would rather consent to dispose the young Queine in the handis of the French King rather than his, albeit shoe was of his awin blood. Thairfoir this noble King sett himself be all meanis possible to labour to bring the two realms to peace, unitye, and allyance to the great proffeth of both the saidis realmes."

the war in hand, revived the old claim to a paramount authority, of which the Scots had need to be jealous;* but as to the project of a perpetual amity and alliance, it was as consistent with the real and best interests of Scotland, as of England, though the time was not arrived for this being distinctly seen by our Northern neighbours.

Scotland was now becoming an object, and an important one, in the system of balances; and there were many localities, which rendered her friendship so important to England, that besides keeping her out of the hands of France, it was much to Henry's purpose to bring about a union if possible.

It was an object indeed not to be neglected, on any grounds of policy, since the continental powers had plainly directed their views to the same end, and had been evidently tampering with James, to procure him to take measures which might impede or embarrass Henry, in any designs he might entertain against themselves; even in the times of his predecessor James IV. the importance of Scotland as a spy or check upon England, had become

* Dr. Cook, in his History of the Reformation, supposes Henry to have been insincere and treacherous in proposing the interview with James, or at least, in resenting James's neglect of it, "for," says he, "had Henry felt all the anxiety which he pretended to converse with his nephew, he could without the slightest derogation from his honour, and without at all endangering his safety, have come to Scotland." But really Kings do not, nor ever did, as we believe, visit each other in this manner. If the mountain refuses to come to them, they very seldom condescend, Mahomet-like, to go to the mountain; besides, we do not know that it could have been done, either with safety to his person, or without derogating from his honour. As to the safety of his person, our suspicions would not apply to the present state of Scotland, and need not therefore be regarded; but as to his honour, we must observe, that if Henry were really satisfied with the result of the elaborate historical researches that had been made into the question of homage, his coming half way was as much as could well be expected of him. His honour would undoubtedly, in his own mind, have been compromised, by *seeking out* his nephew in the way suggested. This point of homage is now also done with, and we should be sorry to revive so delicate a question; but as a feudal one, the evidences produced by England, were certainly stronger than most persons suspect, and Lord Burghley was one of those who unquestionably seemed to credit them.

obvious to France. It was no longer, therefore, prudent for England to overlook the danger that might arise from thence. If no union, no solid friendship could be accomplished, the only alternative remaining was a perpetual distrust, accompanied with such precautions as might at times be necessary, to prevent too great a power, by any concurrence of circumstances, being thrown into the hands of so near but suspicious a neighbour. In the meanwhile, there was cause enough for wariness and suspicion on the part of the Scotch. They could scarcely be expected very cordially, or with much unanimity, to unite themselves with England, as a *dependent* nation; though to secure themselves from the resentment of the Catholic powers, if they listened to the overtures of Henry, they must have become so. No alternative, therefore, remained to the English monarch, but to avail himself of the common feuds and divisions of that unsettled country, and by gratuities or other helps to secure a *party* in his favour; the French had long been doing the same thing. The death of James was attended with circumstances, not unfavourable to such a design. The conflict near the Frith of Solway had left in Henry's hand abundance of prisoners of no small note and consequence, whom he had an easy means of conciliating in some measure to his views, as the price of their freedom: nor was the throne of Scotland vacant; a few days only, as has already been observed, before the King died, the Queen had been delivered of a Princess, that unhappy Princess, whose reign, life, character, and misfortunes, may be said to constitute an unsolved problem in history to this day. On the 7th of December, 1542, Mary, Queen of Scots, as she soon became, was born at the palace of Linlithgow, her father dying at the palace of Falkland, only seven days after.*

* Mr. Chalmers gives Leslie the credit of being the only historian, who has been accurate in fixing the dates of the birth of Mary, and the King's demise. The first on the 7th of December, and the latter on the 14th. Buchanan, Knox, and Robertson, having all fallen into mis-

It was already a branch of the established policy of Europe, to seek to obtain by matrimonial connexions, where they offered, an accession of territories and dominions, rather than by force of arms, if the latter could be avoided. At the very period of which we are treating, Charles V., Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, was in actual enjoyment of many rich possessions, which fell to the house of Austria by five out of six of those *fortunate marriages* which have so much engaged the attention of historians, and the memory of which has been preserved in the following distich:

> "*Bella* gerunt alii! tu felix Austria, *nube!*
> Nam quæ *Mars* aliis, dat tibi regna *Venus*."

Through a succession of such alliances Charles had become the sovereign of Carinthia, and the Tyrol; Ferrette in Alsace, Silesia, and Moravia; the Burgundian Provinces, and Spain. Hungary and Bohemia had been acquired in the same manner, by Albert, and though lost for a time, recovered by the Emperor's own brother, Ferdinand.

We cannot wonder, therefore, that Henry, who had before sought to accomplish the same ends by a marriage between James V. and his daughter, the Princess Mary, should eagerly seize the opportunity, that now seemed almost providentially to present itself, of uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, by a marriage between his own son, then five years of age, and the young Queen of Scotland. Such early contracts, how-

takes, as to the one or the other. The chronology of such events has been sadly neglected by different writers: "The historians of those times," it has been observed, "writing mostly in a declamatory style, very frequently join facts of a like nature, though long spaces of time intervened between them." The old historians have naturally perplexed or misled those who followed them, as may be seen by the instance above, which is but one out of many that might be adduced, particularly in regard to the very eventful century to which these Memoirs are confined.

ever premature and preposterous in a moral point of view, being quite common as matters of policy.

But how wise and provident soever the project itself might appear, as a political measure; however pregnant of good to both nations, could it have been brought to terminate in such a perfect union and consolidation of interests as was afterwards happily accomplished, we must not wonder that it failed at that period. Henry, in some instances, had certainly been precipitate; his moral character afforded but too much ground for distrust; his claim of homage, on the part of the Scotch crown, was ill-timed, perhaps, and ill-judged; except as a bar to the interference of France; of its validity on historical grounds we shall have more to say hereafter. There were many quite as much interested in thwarting such a project, as there could be for it; many *more*, if we include foreign interests.

Nevertheless, there were means found for regularly proposing it, as a matter of consideration, to the Scotch parliament and Regency, on the demise of James. Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who had been called to the government as next heir to the crown, actually favoured the proposition; he had for some time manifested an attachment to the reformed doctrines, and the reformed preachers, two of whom were, at that time, his domestic chaplains; and, as Regent, he had sanctioned the passing of an act to allow all persons to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. He had summoned a parliament to meet in March, and it was very natural in Henry, to take that opportunity of sounding his many noble prisoners, whom the conflict at Solway Moss had thrown into his hands, as to the expediency of such a measure. They had all been well entertained in England, and permitted, according to the custom of those days, to pass their captivity in the houses of private persons of rank and consequence. The Earl of Cassilis, in particular, had been the guest of Cranmer,

at Lambeth Palace; and, as Strype observes, the Archbishop took the opportunity of "detecting to him the great errors of popery, and the reasons of those regulations that had been lately made in religion in England; and so successfully, that the Earl went home much enlightened in true religion."

Many historians have affirmed, that these captive lords actually proposed* the match to Henry; but be that as it may, the latter determined to make as much use of them as he could, and therefore offered to dismiss them all, on the security of hostages, to their own country, upon an implied or express promise, that in their attendance on the parliament, summoned by the Regent, they should do their utmost to forward the contract. Amongst the nobles, who were to receive their liberty upon these terms, were the Earls of Cassilis† and Glencairn; the Lords Maxwell,

* Stowe. Hall. Collier.

† Of this Earl of Cassilis, some contradictory accounts appear in history, which we shall briefly notice, as a guide to future historians. Lord Herbert, and, on his authority, abundance of other writers, give him the highest credit for a most honourable regard to his pledges, returning, at all risks, to England to redeem them, even after he had failed in accomplishing Henry's purposes. The King himself is said to have compared him to *Regulus*, and to have given him his liberty, as a reward of such magnanimity. Lord Cassilis's hostages upon this occasion were his uncle, Thomas Kennedy, and David and Alexander Kennedy, his two brothers. Now, it so happens, that in Lodge's Illustrations of British History, two remarkable letters are preserved, one indorsed "The Copie of L^re^ sent to th' Erle of Cassels frome his pledgs," and the other a letter from Lee, Archbishop of York, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in which the heaviest complaints are made of the Earl's great neglect of his pledges. In the first he is implored to return in all haste possible, by his near relatives, "For yf ye doo not, we shal sufre dethe and yat ryt sertly" (shortly); with much more to the same purport: and yet from the second letter we collect that they remained unredeemed for as much as seven months after, and, according to the expressions of the Archbishop, had been grossly neglected all the while, so much so as to induce the Lord Chancellor to observe to him in a letter upon the very business, "that th' Erle of Cassells dothe not remembre his honor."—*Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i. nos. xxi. xxv. Still we believe the Earl did return, and did redeem his pledges, but not so quickly as he might have done, nor till after some glaring circumstances of inattention and neglect. What redounded most to his praise and credit probably was this; that *he* returned to redeem *his pledges*, when the pledges of others were left to take their chance.—*See Burnet*, b. iii. anno 1543.

Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray. Henry also seemed to have a fair claim on the Douglases, the family of the Earl of Angus, who had married his sister, the Queen Dowager Margaret, and who, having been banished by James, had received in England kindnesses and attentions, which they seemed not unwilling to requite: all these were accordingly dismissed to attend the Regent's first parliament, after having, as some historians write, in a fond anticipation, on the part of Henry, of the success of their commission, been previously conveyed to the palace of Enfield, where Prince Edward resided, to tender their homage to the future husband of their young Quee n.

And indeed there can be no doubt but that some of them, at least, were duly impressed with the idea that the proposed alliance would be beneficial to both countries. Lord Glencairn, in particular, on his coming into Scotland, seems to have been persuaded that the proposal of Henry was for "the weall of both realmes," and that "he knewe his Highness' (Henry's) purpose was for the weall of Scotland."†

Where the contest lay between two nations of equal bravery and honour, we must look more to principles and feelings, than to the judgment of particular persons. Henry's proposals being submitted to the Scottish parliament, were, with some qualifications, received and agreed to. Unfortunately, the qualifications insisted upon by the parliament, did not accord with the views of Henry; but we must grant that they were reasonable. Henry had in the very first instance demanded that the young Queen should be immediately committed to his custody, and that during her minority he should have the government of her kingdom; the parliamentary qualification was, that after attaining the age of ten years she should be sent to reside in England. Subject to

* Aikin's Court of Elizabeth, vol. i. 59. † Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. 98, 99.

this qualification, the contract was actually concluded upon, signed and sealed in the month of August, 1543.

Henry's policy, in this extraordinary demand, was soon proved to be judicious, at least, by what followed. Though he had secured the Regent's sanction to the measure, he knew that he was too weak a man to be a match for the party opposed to him and to the English interests; the *Clergy*, with Cardinal *Beaton* or Bethune at their head; the *Queen Mother* and the *French faction*, supported by the Guises and King of France: and, in truth, he soon became a victim to their intrigues, and flew from his word, though Sadler had done all he could to prevent it, by cautioning him against evil counsel and flattery.* And not without cause, considering the little dependence to be placed in him; for it was to Sadler himself that Arran had expressed his *apprehensions* of the Cardinal, who, in the end, gained him over to his party: "If he (Beaton) might have his purposes," said Arran, "I should surely go to the fire; as when the King lived, he told him, I was the greatest heretic in the world:" and yet the Cardinal prevailed over Sadler. Henry probably, therefore, knew the necessity of the measure, when he asked to have the young Queen put into his own hands.†

That Henry felt, that in his subsequent attacks upon Scotland he was entirely provoked by the measures of the Cardinal in defeat of the treaty of marriage, concluded with Arran and the Scotch parliament, may be judged from the following passage of a letter written by Secretary Paget to the Earl of Hertford, then on the borders, and dated March 11, 1543, in Haynes's Collection: "Fynally, it may like your Lordshippe to understand the King's Majestie's opinion is, that it shalbe well done for suche as mayrodes into Scotland, to leve written uppon the church

* State-papers, i. 154.

† Lodge's Illustrations of English History, vol. i. 56, 57.; and Lord Herbert.

dore, or sum other notable place within all such townes or states, wher they shall fortune to make spoyle, these or such other like words: 'Youe may thank your Cardinal of this; for if he had not bene, youe might have bene in quiet and rest: for the contrary whereof he hath travailed as moche as can be to bring you to sorow and trowble.'"* We have shewn how reasonable it was to distinguish the Cardinal from the Scots, as rather a foreign intruder, and partisan of France, than their proper countryman.†

Henry had, in fact, much wiser and more solid reasons than the mere dictates of pride and passion, for what he did;‡ though we must forgive the Scots for not liking such demands.§ The

* Haynes, 12.; see also at p. 36. as to "open untrouth and disloyall behaviour" on the part of the Scots, alleged by the council. That the *captivity* (the plan, probably, was to have the Cardinal conveyed to England) or destruction of the Cardinal by violent means, was contemplated by the English government or council, in 1544, cannot well be doubted, after the letter preserved in Haynes, p. 32. the original of which, by favour of the Marquess of Salisbury, I have had an opportunity of seeing. It will, however, be observed, that the project originated with some Lords and gentlemen in *Scotland;* and that the law of nations was as little regarded by the Cardinal's party, as by the King's; a plan being on foot, about the same time, as appeared from the evidence of a man, sent thither "by the procurement of a Scottishe Lord called the Lord Massee," to fire the city of London, "or procure, by all ways and means, the burning and divasting of the same." Haynes, 36. Hall, in his Chronicles, speaking of the victory at the Water of Eske, writes, "This was only the hand-stroke of God, for the Cardinal of Scotland promised them heaven for destruction of England." One circumstance should not be passed over; to the first letter relative to the Cardinal, and which seems to have contemplated the burning and devastating all "the *Abbots, Bishops,* and *Kirkmen's* lands," in Scotland, the signature of Stephen Winton, the celebrated Bishop Gardiner, is still to be seen, in most legible characters. The mischief the English did in Scotland, under the command of the Earl of Hertford, in the years 1544, 1545, is a bad specimen of the mode of warfare in those days; but we must remember, that Dr. Robertson seems to admit that the Scots were as bad as the English, and, to use the proper terms, that the RAIDS of the former were no less wasteful than the FORRAYS of the latter.

† See before, p. 101.

‡ See Lord Herbert's Life and Reign of Henry VIII., 1541, 1543.

§ However rash Henry might seem to be in urging such startling claims as those of being chosen Governor of Scotland during the nonage of the young Queen, and guardian of her person in his own kingdom, yet he had cause to be angry at the prevarication practised against him by all parties: the captive lords, who forfeited their words; Arran, who deserted him;

difference of sexes, upon this occasion, happened to tell in favour of England. "Our nation," said Sir Adam Otterburn, an old and enlightened Scotch statesman, to Sir Ralph Sadler, "being a stout nation, will never agree to have an Englishman to be King of Scotland; and though the whole nobility of the realm would consent to it, the common people, the women with their distaffs, and the very stones in the street, would rise up and rebel against it."

We must admire the lofty sentiment of this venerable North Briton, though, in truth, at that period his policy was faulty. The changes that had already taken place in England, necessarily placed Scotland, to use a vulgar expression, "between two fires;" and, while her sense and feeling of independence rendered her jealous of England, she was in great danger of becoming de-

and the Queen Mother, whose dissimulation must have been extreme, to pretend, as she did to Sadler, that she approved of *all* Henry's proposals. "I found her," says that wary negotiator, "most willing and conformable *in appearance* to your Majesty's purpose, for the marriage of her daughter to my Lord Prince's Grace; *and also, that your Majesty should have her delivered forthwith into your hands and custody, which she confesseth to be for her chief surety, and wisheth, with all her heart, that it were so* She accounteth herself most bound to your Majesty, that it hath pleased the same to determine such honour and advancement to her daughter. And discoursing with her thereof, the rather to settle her in that part, she said, 'The world might justly note her to be the most unnatural and unwise woman that lived, if she could not heartily desire and rejoice of the same; for greater honour and benefit could not be offered unto her, nor she knoweth not, *throughout the world*, such a marriage could be found *so proper, so beneficial*, and *so honourable* as *this* is;' saying, 'that she cannot otherwise think but it is the work and ordinance of God, for the conjunction and union of both these realms in one; for she hath had none before but sons, and now it is her chance to bring forth a daughter, for the best purposes, she trusteth.'" She even, through Sadler, would have urged Henry, in distrust of Arran, "to stand fast upon the point" of getting the young Queen into his own hands. It would be scarcely possible to find a greater display of dissimulation than this letter of Sadler (March 23, 1543) contains. Unless the Queen really meant what she said to Sadler, her designs were most insidious; and even if she *did* mean what she said, she prevaricated with Sir George Douglas. Henry, however, appears to have been led to believe her. (See the Dispatch, March 27, 1543, p. 100.) Henry is blamed in the note there, for his violence and impatience, but was he not acting upon the very suggestions of the Queen?

pendent on *all* the *Catholic* powers of Europe (in some degree), but on France immediately and particularly; rejecting an alliance pointed out by nature, and which, in power and strength, might have defied the whole world, as has been since amply proved.*

* In 1547, on the accession of Edward VI., James Harrison, a native of the south of Scotland, a man liberally educated, endeavoured, in a treatise *De Regnorum Unione*, dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, to make his countrymen sensible of the advantages of a union with England; but to how little effect will appear hereafter. Bale calls this work, "*Elegans et mellitum opus.*"

CHAP. XI.

Review of the course of Affairs in Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation there—State of the Scottish Church during the Sixteenth Century, with Observations and Reflections.

It may seem, perhaps, that we are deviating widely from our subject, in filling our pages with matter apparently so unconnected with the life of Lord Burghley; but the politics of that great man are not fairly to be judged of otherwise. To appreciate his conduct, as a statesman, properly, we must not reserve every thing for the years in which he was actively and notoriously employed and consulted as such; it is quite necessary that we should take account of the course of things he had to contemplate and meditate upon while unemployed, when he was acquiring that knowledge, and treasuring up that information, which enabled him, to the last extremity of his life, to advance the cause and interests of England, and set her forward upon that fair course, which, with some few interruptions, she has been able to pursue, to her glory and advantage, ever since. If ever it were found difficult to draw the line between general history and biography, those who know anything of the share Lord Burghley had in the transactions of the sixteenth century, will be prepared to admit that in his case they are almost identical.

Scotland was indisputably the cause of the greatest trouble to Elizabeth and to her great minister, with which either of them had to struggle, and the cause also of the harshest censures ever passed upon them to this day. And yet, almost immediately that they were both dead, England and Scotland began to enjoy the fruits

of their labours, their steadiness, and their perseverance; for it is impossible to suppose that any sound politician on this side the Tweed could fail to see, that as long as a difference should prevail in the two kingdoms, the whole island was in danger of being disturbed from one end to the other; and that nothing could be so desirable as a *Union* of the two *Kingdoms*, if circumstances should ever seem to favour it. In James VI., that object was partly* attained, and Ben Jonson's celebrated epigram is as historical as it is witty.

> "When was there *contract* better sealed by fate,
> Or celebrated by more *truth* of *state?*
> The *world* the *temple* was, the *priest* a *King*,
> The *spoused pair two realms*, the *sea* the *ring*."

All the movements in Scotland, therefore, from the very first dawn of the Reformation there, may be said to be strictly connected with the policy of Cecil. While he did not *act*, we may conclude that he was *observing*, and it is only by taking ample

* We say partly, because the union of the two *Crowns* has been judged to be very different from the union of the two *Kingdoms*. James the First, though a Scotchman born, did not take due care to give that consequence to his native country which she had a right to expect, and which might have prevented that sense of dependence and inferiority, which, very unfortunately, the northern kingdom was for some time doomed to feel, and which, to so high a spirited people, must have borne the appearance of a most undeserved degradation. (See Somerville's History of Queen Anne.) The spirit of the Scotch Reformation may have had in it much to alienate the mind of so self-opiniated a sovereign as James was, but the *Union* of the two *Kingdoms*, which James had indeed attempted, as well as his grandson Charles II., though in vain, has so identified the interests of both countries as to leave no reasonable grounds for jealousy. It is to be hoped, indeed, that the time is come, or has long been come, though the improvements in Scotland, even after the union of the kingdoms, were gradual rather than immediate, for both nations to feel *proud* of the connexion: for a long while, the union of the *Crowns* must have appeared to be rather a union of accident than of interest; since the union of the *Kingdoms* the whole character of the connexion has been changed. Living in the nineteenth century, we would not be thought to speak of the union of the *Crowns* at the very beginning of the seventeenth, as a connexion in any way desirable to the northern portion of the island, though of infinite importance to the peace and security of the island at large, and manifestly leading to that union of the *Kingdoms* which has since been happily consummated.

account of what he had to observe before he was called upon to act, that we can rightly judge of what he *did* do, or sought to do, when the opportunity of acting arrived.

"The best education for a court," says that entertaining writer Lloyd, speaking of Cardinal Wolsey, "is in a palace. Nature made him capable, the school and university made him a scholar, but his noble employment made him a man. At Oxford he read books, at court he read men, and observed things." These remarks apply admirably to the case of the celebrated minister, whose life and administration we are endeavouring to illustrate and describe; and we have remarkable proofs still extant, of his early observations of both men and things, his MS. Journal being to this day regarded as better authority for certain facts, even as far back as 1539, and 1540 (before he left the University), than that of some of the otherwise most accredited historians.

Known at court and in the King's palace, so early as the twenty-first year of his age, and through particular friends and near relations, to say nothing at present of higher patronage, having, perhaps, almost daily access to both; devoted to study, and the acquisition of knowledge in all its branches; and engaged professionally, as it would seem, for a short time at least, in the investigation of the laws and constitution of his country; a country always struggling to be free, and in the worst times seeking to secure or recover rights, sometimes invaded, but never wholly lost sight of, as recognised in ancient books and charters; we must allow him to have had sagacity enough to discern, in his very earliest years, that he was doomed to live in times, when a grand opportunity was providentially opening to the whole civilized world, of emancipating itself from a long captivity of mind and intellect, and a large catalogue of evils, civil and religious; but in the accomplishment of which a thousand false steps might be taken, a thousand hindrances and interruptions occur; in which

dangers of all sorts were to be carefully guarded against, or boldly encountered; in which every step might be to be gained inch by inch, not in the way of fair and open conflict only, but by avoiding ambushes, defeating stratagems, and detecting artifice,* in which there would probably be as much need of passive as of active courage, and more to be gained by patience, than by impetuosity.

Had the Reformation in Scotland commenced in such a manner as to be likely to keep pace with the English Reformation, much confusion might, undoubtedly, have been avoided:

* It is a melancholy and distressing task certainly for any historian, acquainted with the better regulated policy of later times, to have to record transactions as *wise* acts of *policy*, which can never be expected to bear the test of strict morality, or undeviating integrity. But it would be very difficult to say, how a kingdom could be preserved from enemies, constantly in the habit of practising deceit, and meditating secret mischief, without recourse at times to similar practices. Ambushes and countermines are not thought dishonourable in war, to ward off dangers of a similar description. It is necessary, in order to judge fairly of the English policy in the sixteenth century, particularly during the period in which Lord Burghley was connected with the court and administration, to have a right idea of the policy and practices of the countries opposed to her. We have already spoken of the general duplicity and dissimulation of those times; and that England may not bear all the blame of a tortuous policy, or the charge of setting the example, in such a course of proceedings, we shall transcribe the following passage from the Cours d'Histoire of the Abbé de Condillac, as applicable to the very times of which we are writing. "Tout l'art de negocier," says he (dans le xvi. siècle), "consistoit à se tendre de pièges, à traiter avec mauvaise foi, et à former le projet de se servir d'un allié pour l'abandonner ensuite, ou pour l'ecraser. La dissimulation et la fausseté étoient le sublime de la politique, au point qu'on tiroit vanité d'être dissimulé et faux. Tels étoient, sur-tout, *Ferdinand* le Catholique, *Charles Quint*, et *Philippe II.*"—These are only Spanish instances, but the same were to be found in France, at Rome, &c. during the whole of Lord Burghley's long life. It was his great wisdom, as we may judge from the many papers drawn up by him at different periods, to discover the hidden views and private interests of England's greatest foes, and not to allow her to be betrayed into any false confidence, or disarmed and thrown off her guard, by any insidious cry of peace, when he knew there could be no peace. We are much mistaken, if it will not appear in the course of these Memoirs, that no greater instances of duplicity, dissimulation, and dark intrigue, could be produced from the pages of history, than are to be found in the detail of the transactions which arose out of the interference of the continent with the affairs of Scotland, England, and Ireland, during the course of the Reformation.

but nothing could begin more untowardly. In England, the first movements had been such, as to give ample warning to the Scots clergy, to prepare against any steps of the same nature in their own country; and being more wise than the nobility, they anticipated the latter, in directing the King's views, when his finances failed, to the confiscation of the estates of heretical nobles, instead of leaving the latter, as had been the case in England, to attack the overgrown revenues of the clergy.* But in preparing themselves to resist all attempts at reformation in Scotland, they had large resources to look to on the Continent; the Pope, France, the House of Austria, and the Netherlands, were all on their side, and they had only to guard against any defection on the part of the King; had he failed them their cause was lost. Hence the two Kings became personally opposed to each other; and it is impossible to deny, that the overtures of friendship and alliance were all on the side of Henry, and that James, in evading (not to say rejecting) those overtures, gave ear to the enemies of Henry and of the English Reformation. Lindsay, of Pitscottie, describes the case very properly, in the forcible language of his country: "Nottheless, the wicked bischopes of Scotland, would not thoall the King of Scotland to pass thair, but caused him send an ambassador to excuse him, that he might not win at that tyme for caussis. For the bischopes feared if the King had mett with King Harie, that he would have moved him to have castin down the abbeyis, and to have altered the religioun, as the King of Ingland had done a befoir in Ingland. Thairfoor the bischopes

* See as to the paper said to be found after the death of James V. in his own hand-writing, in which, on the suggestion of the bishops, the Cardinal particularly, three hundred reformers of distinction were marked out for slaughter.—*Soames' History of the Reformation under Henry VIII.* vol. ii. 569. But it seems, from Sadler's State Papers, to be extremely doubtful whether the memorial was authentic: "The story of the roll," says the editor, "is told by most of our historians; James rejected the accusation with abhorrence." i. 94. Consult the Biographia Britannica, Art. *Beaton*, ii.

buddit him to byd at home, and gave him three thousand pundis of yeirlie rent out of their own benefices."

These things threw the Scottish Reformation a full century behind that in England, and occasioned all that confusion which might naturally be expected to arise, from the refusal of one party to be led by the other. To reform Scotland was a great object of policy on the part of England, independent of all other considerations; but Scotland, not being prepared to follow her, became suspicious, rejected all her overtures of friendship, and compelled her to support a minority, as well against the crown, as against the clergy. Had it been possible to consider Scotland as an *independent* state this would have been wrong, but for fear of becoming *dependant* on *England*, she had manifestly thrown herself into the arms of *England's rivals* or *enemies*, and the Scottish minority became the only buckler of defence to England. It is usual to speak with disdain of Henry's gratuities distributed in Scotland. It may be well to inquire further into this, when it can be shewn that the French faction in Scotland received no bribes from the other side the water. Their countryman Buchanan expressly says it was otherwise.*

* Whoever will be at the pains to read with the careful attention it deserves, the whole history of Sadler's negotiations, in the year 1543, cannot, we should think, fail to be struck with the encouragement Henry received from Scotland itself, to proceed as he did, even in what gave most offence; namely, that of *demanding* to have the young Queen delivered up to him, and to be allowed to govern the nation in her name. The Queen Mother, as we have before intimated, actually seemed to countenance the measure, as a matter of security, against the Regency and ill-guardianship of so near a relative to the crown, as Arran; who, indeed, was regarded not only as the next heir, but who is said to have projected a marriage between the young Queen, and his own son, if the English match were to be given up; while the French were constantly at work to resist Henry's views, and turn the scales, against England. If Henry and Sadler were deceived, duped, and, to use a common expression, out-manœuvred; if, as the Edinburgh Reviewers have said, in their efforts to detach James from his connexion with France, they were "uniformly unsuccessful;" they ought, at least, to have the credit given them of being, upon this occasion, much the most open of the two parties in their dealings, and to have failed through the treachery, duplicity, or extreme weakness of those on whom

But as the Catholic church of Scotland was the principal fomenter of all angry passions between the two kingdoms, not only while James lived, but for a long time afterwards, it may not be amiss to investigate her character. Dr. M'Crie, in his admirable history of the Life of John Knox, has delineated it in such striking colours, that, comparing it with other accounts to the same effect, we shall venture to give it to our readers, almost in his own terms; especially as it has been accredited by those, who we think would have found faults in it if they could; besides, it is one of the most recent accounts, and seems, therefore, to corroborate all that had appeared before upon the subject; agreeing much with Burnet, whose reasons for interweaving the history of the Scotch church into his own account of the English Reformation, seems to apply so exactly to our own case, that we cannot refrain from copying it.

"But here," says he, under the very year 1541, the period of Lord Burghley's introduction at court, "I shall crave the reader's leave to give a full representation of the state of religion in Scotland, and of the footing the Reformation had got there. Its neighbourhood to England, and the union of these kingdoms first in the same religion, and since under the same princes—seem not only to justify this digression, but rather challenge it as a part of the history, without which it would be defective."

According to Burnet's account, indeed, footsteps of the Reformation in Scotland are to be traced back as far as the beginning of

they had placed reliance. Henry committed mistakes, no doubt, great mistakes, and sometimes in the way of arrogancy, and such an over-weening conceit of his superiority, as might well offend the Scots, and injure his own cause; but that he was more treacherous and deceitful than those with whom he had to deal, is very far from our belief. To say nothing of Scotland, he had to combat French intrigue and Italian subtlety, Popish nuncios and French negotiators. The cause of the Reformation (see Cook's History of the Reformation in Scotland, i. 248.) was not the only object at stake; his crown and his kingdom were threatened, by Popish Bulls and priestly execrations.

the fifteenth century; an unfortunate Wickliffite having been burnt there for heresy in 1407; as afterwards happened to a Bohemian and Hussite (Paul Craw) in the year 1432. But from this time to the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton nothing worthy of notice that way seems to have occurred. The state of the church, at the latter period, therefore, and before the actual secession of John Knox in 1542, is the object of our present inquiries. And though Dr. M'Crie's account may appear rather high-coloured, it is supported not merely by the testimony of the early *Reformers*, nor yet merely by the *satirists* of the age, but confirmed by acts of parliament, decrees of councils, and the confessions of Catholics themselves;* a strong instance of which we have in the Appendix to Dr. Cook's History of the Reformation in Scotland, No. iii. vol. iii., one of the most remarkable documents, perhaps, that ever was printed. The title alone is curious, considering the enormity of the offences it enumerates; it is called, "The Counsall geven be the Deyne and Chapter of Abdn (Aberdeen) to my *Lord Bischope* of Abdn, the *ordnar*, at his *Ld*^p^. *desyre*, for reformatioun to be maid and stanching of heresies, pullulant w^t^in ye Diocie of Abdne, and the order prescrivit to be observit to the samyn effect." Ann. 1559. It begins with desiring his Lordship to cause the Kirkmen to reform themselves in all their scandalous manner of living, and to remove their "oppin concubinis, as weile grete as smale;" but as the date 1559 is much below the period of which we are at present treating, we shall say no more of it, except to observe that in requiring his Lordship to correct his clergy, he is quite as earnestly exhorted to *amend himself*, in the following most remarkable terms:

* The following testimony of *Bellarmine* to the state of things previous to the Reformation, will scarcely be disputed, and will certainly add credit to the history of the Scottish church. "For some years," says he, "before the Lutheran and Calvinistic *heresies* were published, there was not (as contemporary authors testify) any severity in ecclesiastical judicatories, any discipline with regard to morals, any knowledge of sacred literature, any reverence for divine things; there was not almost any religion remaining."—Concio xxviii. Op. tom. vi.

And that "his Lordship would be sa gude as to schew gude and edificative example in speciall, in removing and dischargeing himself of cumpany of the gentill woman be quhom he is gretlie sclanderit; without the quhilk be done, divers that are pertinax sayis thai can nocht accept counsall and correctioun of him quhilk will nocht correct himself." As this paper is still, we believe, in existence, is signed by ten important persons, among whom, in particular, is to be found Leslie, afterwards the famous Bishop of Ross, a most zealous advocate of the Popish faith, and minister to Mary, it cannot be supposed, as Dr. Cook rightly observes, to exhibit the picture in too dark colours; and it is certainly also very remarkable, that though the paper is earnest to have *heretics* (that is, the reformed party) put down, no such *crimes* are imputed to the latter, as are in the document positively alleged of the Catholic priesthood.

We have noticed this document the more particularly, because if circumstances were such in 1559, and in so large and important a district as the diocess of Aberdeen, those of 1541 cannot be expected to have been better; and besides this, the very next documents in Dr. Cook's Appendix, of exactly the same date (1559), happen to be the celebrated memorials of Lord Burghley himself, on the state of Scotland, and means of restoring that realm to the "ancient weale," which we shall have to notice hereafter, but which are not less applicable to the state of affairs towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII., and might well serve to excuse our dwelling so much on these points in the present stage of our work.

After observing that the corruptions of Christianity, generally prevalent before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the western church,* Dr. M'Crie proceeds to tell us that superstition and

* For a good account of the origin and progress of the papal power, of the activity, zeal, and character of the monastic orders, of the popish system of religion generally, of its eccle-

religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of opulence and power; which were accompanied, as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion.

"The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few of their number, who had the command of the whole body; avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders; bishops and abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours; they were privy counsellors and lords of session, as well as of parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom: it was obtained by similar arts, and not unfrequently taken possession of, by the same weapons.* Inferior benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers; on dice-players, strolling bards, and the bastards of bishops; pluralities were multiplied without bounds, and benefices given in *commendam* were kept vacant, during the life of the commendatory, nay, sometimes during *several lives;* so that extensive parishes were frequently deprived, for a long course of years, of all religious service," if a deprivation it could be called, at a time when the cure of souls was no longer regarded as attached to livings originally endowed for this purpose.

"The lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness, were become a scandal

siastical dominion, and of the methods adopted by the Pope to secure its influence over mankind, as connected with the history of the Scottish church, we would refer our readers to Dr. Cook's Introductory Book, vol. i. 1—139.

* Buchanan, Hist. xiii. 44. Spottiswood, 61.

to religion, and an outrage on decency, while they professed chastity, and prohibited under the severest penalties, any of the ecclesiastical order from contracting lawful wedlock. The bishops set the example of the most shameful profligacy before the inferior clergy; avowedly kept their harlots; provided their natural sons with benefices, and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry, many of whom were so mean as to contaminate the blood of their families by such base alliances for the sake of the rich dowries which they brought.

"Through the blind devotion and munificence of princes and nobles, monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, had greatly multiplied in the nation: and though they had universally degenerated, and were notoriously become the haunts of lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds. The kingdom swarmed with ignorant, idle, luxurious monks, who, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the earth, and filled the air with pestilential infection; friars white, black, and gray; canons regular, and of St. Anthony, Carmelites, Carthusians, Cordeliers, Dominicans, Franciscan Conventuals, and Observantines, Jacobines, Premonstralensians, monks of Tyrone, and of *Vallis Caulium*, Hospitallers, or Holy Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; nuns of St. Austin, St. Clare, St. Scholastica, and St. Catherine of Sienna, with canonesses of various clans.

"The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals; even bishops (though able *politicians*, as Sir Ralph Sadler tells us) were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the Sacred Scriptures, except what they met with in their missals; under such pastors the people perished

for lack of knowledge. That book which was able to make them wise unto salvation, and intended to be equally accessible by 'Jew and Greek, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free,' was locked up from them, and the use of it, in their own tongue, prohibited under the heaviest penalties. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity.—

"The burdens which attended a state of dependence upon a remote foreign jurisdiction were severely felt. Though the Popes did not enjoy the power of presenting to the Scottish prelacies, they wanted not numerous pretexts for interfering with them. The most important causes of a civil nature, which the ecclesiastical courts had contrived to bring within their jurisdiction, were frequently carried to Rome. Large sums of money were annually exported out of the kingdom, for the purchasing of palls, confirmation of benefices, the conducting of appeals, and for many other purposes; in exchange for which, were received leaden bulls, woollen palls, wooden images, plenty of old bones, with similar articles of consecrated mummery.

"Of the doctrine of Christianity nothing almost remained but the name, instead of being directed to offer up their adorations to one God, the people were taught to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior objects. A plurality of mediators shared the honour of procuring the divine favour, with the 'one Mediator between God and Man:' and more petitions were presented to the Virgin Mary,* and other Saints, than to 'Him whom

* That curious old writer, Bale, in his *Mysterie of Iniquitie* (1542), speaking of the exaltation of the Virgin Mary by the Papists, and their "blasphemouse fablinges" about her, as that she was "without sin in her conception," &c. says, "Was not her father a sinner? was not her mother a sinner? was she not brought forth in Adam? declined she not with all other? had

the Father heareth always;' the sacrifice of the *mass* was represented as procuring forgiveness of sins to the living and the dead, to the infinite disparagement of the sacrifice by which Jesus Christ expiated sin and procured everlasting redemption; and the consciences of men were withdrawn from faith in the merits of their Saviour, to a delusive reliance upon priestly absolutions, papal pardons, and voluntary penances; instead of being instructed to demonstrate the sincerity of their faith and repentance by forsaking their sins, and to testify their love to God and man, by practising the duties of morality, and observing the ordinances of worship, authorized by Scripture, they were taught, that, if they regularly said their *Aves** and *Credos*, confessed them-

she no nede of Christ's sufferings with other? Though the Papists deny all this, yet doth the sweet Virgin affirm it; 'My soul,' saithe she, 'doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour.' What needeth he to have been her Saviour, if nothing had been in the way to condemnation against her?"

* If these were obsolete or forgotten ceremonies, we might be excused for taking an opportunity of explaining them, but as they are sanctioned among the Catholics (Romanists, i. e.) to this day, we can offer no excuse for this note, except that of marking our own surprise, that such things should still continue in any church calling itself Christian. We allude to the *worship* of the *Virgin Mary*, the *Ave*, and the *Rosary*. We make *our extract*, however, we wish to observe, with acknowledgment to the learned author, from Soames' History of the Reformation, so lately published.

"The following extract from a modern edition of the most popular book of Romish devotion (Challoner's Garden of the Soul, London, 1824), will probably be thought to justify the term 'worship,' as used to denote the manner in which the Romanists address the *Virgin*. 'A Hymn to the Blessed Virgin,' 297.

Blest mother of God,
And ever Virgin Queen,
Hail happy gate of bliss,
Greeted by Gabriel's tongue;
Negotiate our peace,
And cancel Eva's wrong.
Loosen the sinner's bands,
All evils drive away;
Bring light unto the blind,
And for all graces pray, &c.

selves to a priest, purchased a mass, went in pilgrimage to the shrine of some celebrated saint, or performed some prescribed act of bodily mortification,—if they refrained from flesh on Fridays, and punctually paid their tithes and other perquisites, their salvation was sufficiently secured in due time: while those who were so rich and pious as to build a chapel or an altar, and to endow it for the support of a priest, to perform masses, obits, and dirges, procured a relaxation of the pains of purgatory* for themselves or their relations, in proportion to the extent of their liberality.

"It is difficult to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were, which the monks delivered for sermons; legendary tales, concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the Devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, with the numbers released from it by the interposition of some powerful saints: these, with low jests, table-

"We fly to thy holy patronage, O holy mother of God, despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious Blessed Virgin."—*Litany of our Lady of Loretto*, 298.

"The *Rosary*, or beads, is composed of thrice fifty *Aves*. It may be said either all at once, or at thrice, which perhaps will be better, according to the person's devotion and leisure."—*Garden of the Soul*, 313. But as this does not fully explain the subject to those who are not conversant with the Romish forms of religion, we shall add the following from Mosheim. "The *Rosary* consists in fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, and a hundred and fifty salutations of the Blessed Virgin; while the *Crown*, according to the different opinions of the learned concerning the age of the Blessed Virgin, consists in six or seven repetitions of the Lord's Prayer, and six or seven times ten salutations, or Ave Marias," ii. 429; but for a fuller account of the *Rosary*, as part of the Romish *Hyperdulia*, or ultra-devotion to the Virgin, see Southey's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, p. 470, &c. London, 1826.

* At the time of the battle of Flodden, 1513, as Buchanan writes, many of those who were slain had left their property in the hands of the mendicant friars, to take care of for them; after the battle, as this had taken place without witnesses, the mendicants kept it as booty; some of them going so far as to allege, that the money could never be better bestowed than to be given to devout persons, that they might pray for the redemption of their souls out of purgatory.—Lib. xiii.

talk, and fire-side scandal, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible.*

"The beds of the dying were besieged, and their last moments disturbed, by avaricious priests, who laboured to extort bequests to themselves or to the church. Not satisfied with exacting tithes from the living, a demand was made upon the dead; no sooner had a poor husbandman breathed his last, than the rapacious vicar came and carried off his *corps-present*,† which he

* See, as to some of their controversies, the story of Friar *Pater Noster*.—Cook, on the Reformation in Scotland, i. 361, 362. The legendary tales of the Roman saints are now so little known in Protestant countries, that we should scarcely obtaincred it for some that we could cite, and which were, no doubt, in those days of ignorance and superstition, the most frequent and chosen subjects of pulpit oratory. We have lately been presented with some admirable specimens, in the work of a learned, eloquent, and animated writer, Mr. Southey, already referred to; we mean his *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, 1826, a work he was compelled to publish, in his own defence, that he might give his authorities for passages in his Book of the Church, which Mr. Butler, and other Catholic writers thought they might question, through the defect of references in that publication. Of the popish sermons, about the time of which we are writing, we have a good account in Burnet, under the year 1542, book iii., and which agrees so well with Dr. M'Crie's representations, that we may reasonably refer to it in corroboration of all that has been advanced in the text. It was much to the praise and credit of the early Reformers, that instead of the absurd legends, and papistical exhortations to an outward compliance with the vain ceremonies of a corrupted church, the people were, very soon after the first dawn of the Reformation, supplied with homilies admirably drawn up, to explain the Scriptures, enforce morality, and produce an inward conversion of the heart. That these homilies produced not an immediate effect, is far from surprising, considering the perverted minds on which they had to operate, and the extreme difficulty of supplying the churches with ministers qualified according to the new state of things.

† The mention of the *corps-present*, which is sometimes confounded with the mortuary, brought under regulation in this country during the very times of which we are writing, viz. 1530, induces us to venture upon a short digression, to shew the abuses of this papistical gift or exaction. In the complaints of the lower house to the King (Henry VIII.) against the exactions of the clergy, 1530, the second runs thus: "The great polling and exactions which the spiritual men used in taking of *corps-presents*, or mortuaries; for the children of the defunct should all die for hunger, and go a begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the seelie cow, which the dead man ought if he had but only one. Such was the charity then."—*Hollinshed.* Perhaps the difference between the mortuary and *corps* or *corse-present*,

repeated as often as death visited the family. Ecclesiastical censures were fulminated against those who were reluctant in

as prevailing in Scotland, is sufficiently pointed out by these terms; the former being a *gift*, the latter, by abuse, an *exaction*. The former seems to have been either bequeathed by the dying man to his parish church, in recompense of personal tithes omitted to be paid in his life-time, or by custom, founded on such bequests, payable at the time of the funeral as a particular oblation, called, the *pecunia sepulchralis, symbolum animæ*, or the *soul-scot*, which was as old as the times of Canute; and it commonly consisted of what were termed *quick-goods*, as one or more of the best beasts of the person defunct.

But what was originally a *gift*, became soon converted into a *right*, a claim being set up by the church to this oblation as the *principal legacy;* that is, by disqualifying a man from disposing of his other goods by legacy, without first assigning such mortuary to God and the church. It plainly appears to have been of the nature of the *heriot*, payable by the same laws of Canute, to the lord of the manor, and still preserved in the case of copyhold tenants.

But just before the Reformation, especially in Scotland, this right of the church, as it was then considered, seems to have been exacted most oppressively, and with the severest rigour; so that at length, upon a remonstrance made to the provincial council, the Scotch mortuary, or *corps-present*, was also brought under regulation; though not till 1558-9, nearly thirty years after it had been reduced to a certainty in England, 21 Henry VIII.; and even as low as Queen Anne, and George II. the mortuary was made a subject of statutable regulation.

Though there was much uncertainty in Scotland as to the precise law, custom, or canon by which the priests were authorised to make this demand, yet it *was* made on the goods of dying persons, extending chiefly to his best cow, and uppermost covering of his bed or person, in a manner the most distressing; as is well expressed in the following indignant lines of the Scotch satirist, Sir David Lindsay:

Schir, be quhat law, tell me quharefore, or why,
That ane vickar suld tak fra me thre ky?
Ane for my father, and for my wyfe ane other,
And the third cow he tuke for Mald, my mother.
Thay haif na law, exceptand consuetude,
Quilk law to them is sufficient and gude.
* * * * * *
And als the vicar, as I trow,
He will nocht faill to tak ane kow
And upmaist claith, thocht babis them ban,
From ane purie selie husbandman;
Quhen that he lyis for til de,
Having small bairnis twa or thre,
And hes thre ky withouten mo,
The vicar must have ane of tho,

making these payments, or who shewed themselves disobedient to the clergy; and, for a little money, they were prostituted on the most trifling occasions. Divine service was neglected; the churches were deserted (especially after the light of the Reformation had discovered abuses, and pointed out 'a more excellent way'); so that, except on a few festival-days, the places of worship, in many parts of the country, served only as sanctuaries for malefactors, places of traffic, or resorts for pastime.

"Persecution, and the suppression of free inquiry, were the only weapons whereby its interested supporters were able to defend this system of corruption and imposture. Every avenue by which truth might enter was carefully guarded; learning was branded as the parent of heresy. The most frightful pictures were drawn of those who had separated from the Romish church, and held up before the eyes of the people, to deter them from imitating their example. If any person, who had attained a degree of illumination amidst the general darkness, began to hint

With the gray cloke that happis the bed,
Howbeit that he be purelye cled;
And gif the wyfe de on the morne,
Thocht all the babis suld be forlorne,
The uther kow he cleikis away,
With hir pure cote of roplock gray;
And gif, within twa days or thre,
The eldest chyld happnis to de,
Of the third kow he will be sure,
Quhen he hes all then under his cure,
And father or mother baith ar deid,
Beg mon the babis without remeid.—CHALMERS' *Lindsay.*

The Reformation at length put an end to these abuses, as may be seen by the Book of Discipline, published anno 1561. It may deserve to be noticed, that one of the first movements against the clergy, in the days of Henry VIII., may be referred to the custom of which we have been speaking; the offence of Hunne, in the year 1514 (See Burnet, i.), being, that he had refused to give up to the clergy the beering-sheet claimed on the death of one of his children.

dissatisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, and to propose the correction of abuses, he was immediately stigmatised as a heretic; and, if he did not secure his safety by flight, was immured in a dungeon, or committed to the flames. When at last, in spite of all their precautions, the light which was shining around did break in, and spread through the nation, they prepared to adopt the most desperate and bloody measures for its extinction.

"Considerations from every quarter," says the same writer, "combined in calling aloud for a radical and complete reform. The exertions of all descriptions of persons, of the man of letters, the patriot, the prince, as well as the Christian, each acting in his own sphere for his own interests, with the joint concurrence of all as in a common cause, were urgently required for extirpating abuses, of which all had reason to complain, and for effectuating a revolution, in the advantages of which all would participate."

The learned author has many other reflections upon the state of things at that time, and the obligations by which we are bound to reverence the memory of those who helped to accomplish a revolution so necessary to the peace, and happiness, and prosperity of the world; reflections, certainly, not inapplicable to the Life we are writing. He feelingly laments, that those who have had the chief share in the accomplishment of some great benefit to the world at large, so far from obtaining the full measure of praise and fame due to their high deserts and dangerous efforts, are often made to bear the blame of all the excesses and disorders attendant upon revolutions, however unavoidable and inseparable from such momentous efforts.

CHAP. XII.

Great prudence of our early Reformers—That the English Reformation should have originated with the Crown, a point of considerable importance—Henry's strong desire to confer with Melancthon—Meeting of the Council of Trent—Its Decrees—League of Smalcald—Deaths of Henry VIII. and Luther.

THERE is nothing, perhaps, in the history of the Reformation in England, more extraordinary than the extreme prudence of those wise persons, who were, during so many years, compelled to wait for opportunities of acting; in such a manner, that is, as to accomplish in the best manner possible the great objects they had in view. In most countries the Reformation, at its beginning, bore the character of revolt as well as revolution; not merely against the nominal head of the church, but the actual rulers of states and nations. In England, on the contrary, through the accident of Henry's quarrel with the Pope, it assumed quite a different aspect. It may be said to have begun with the crown;* and there could

* The cause of the Reformation suffered greatly, no doubt, and as might naturally be expected, from the mistakes and errors of those who, looking merely to their emancipation from the galling yoke of Rome, became unwilling to submit to any other yoke; that is, upon the mad principle that "the saints should possess the earth," to any worldly *rule* or *authority* whatsoever; such was the error of the Lollards, Anabaptists, &c., connected in the eyes of the Romanists, with the ancient Manichees, and *still* cited as a reproach to the movements of the more grave and correct Reformists of the sixteenth century. (See Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, 1825. ch. xi.) It has been said that the Anabaptists were misled by an expression of Luther himself, in a book he published 1520, *De Libertate Christianâ*, to the following effect: "L'homme Chrétien est le maitre de toutes choses, et n'est soumis à personne;" but though Luther might have said this, he put a different sense upon it. (See Bayle, Art. *Ana-*

be no greater wisdom shewn, on various accounts, than to let it take that course, especially when the parliaments were so much under the control of the crown, that every truly right step, and indisputable advantage gained, in so important a cause, might be legalized at once as an act of the legislature.

There was certainly no small danger of the crown and its subservient parliaments going too far, as in many instances was decidedly the case;* but the whole political system had a reform to undergo as well as the church: and till this could also be accomplished, the co-operation of the highest powers in the state

baptistes.) The English Reformation, to say the least, could not be fairly liable to such objections. It certainly began with the *crown, council, and legislature*, and was so carried on with every possible denunciation of such anarchical principles as the *Ultra* Reformists of all descriptions professed and taught. We confess we are surprised that a person of Mr. Butler's acuteness could suppose, that the disorganizing principles of the Anabaptists constituted any part of the Lutheran Reformation; or that the respectable Anti-Romanists of any age should be made answerable for the extravagances of those who notoriously carried things to excess: at all events, we must repeat that the English Reformation was directed not against legal authorities, but positive usurpations; property, we grant, was invaded, but only by way of transfer; not upon any agrarian principles or wild notions of equality. If any equalizing doctrines were broached or advocated, it was by the puritanical or Genevan party, a party which never succeeded in England to the overthrow either of the throne or the hierarchy. The plain principle of the English Reformists was simply this, to reduce things to the standard of Holy Writ in religion, and as far as regarded the established societies of mankind, in politics also: "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." According to the anarchical principles of the Manichees, insurrectionary Lollards, Anabaptists, &c. &c. Cæsar was to have nothing; but this was not the spirit of the English Reformation, except perhaps with regard to the church-lands, where there was manifestly an invasion of vested rights, but not in the spirit of equalization, quite the contrary; what was taken from the church, went to swell the coffers of the laity. We should not have said so much of this, had it not constantly been advanced on the part of the Catholics, as a reproach to the Reformation, that it originated in anarchical principles, and a general spirit of disorganization, which was not the case—Calvin's great work, the Institutes of the Christian Religion, was principally designed to exonerate the Reformers from all participation in the *fanatical* proceedings of the Anabaptists.

* See as to the revenues of the Universities in 1545, Soames, vol. ii. 592. 597-8. and Collier on the Dissolution of Monasteries, and Alienation of Church Property, by Act of Parliament, vol. ii. 162.

was assuredly more desirable to the true friends of Reformation, than any rude, uncertain, and hazardous opposition to constituted authorities. It was a great thing to keep to the *forms* of a free government, when the substance could not yet be completely secured. It is probably to this very circumstance that we owe the subsequent settlement of that constitution, "which," as a learned Catholic writer observes, "has now for more than a century, excited the envy and admiration of Europe."*

At the period of Henry's death, nothing certainly could well be farther from *perfection* than the state of things, as concerned either the liberty of the subject, or the reformation of religion; but a beginning had been made, and had the life of that powerful and despotic, but not ignorant Monarch, been spared a little longer, it appears to us by no means improbable, as we have before hinted, that he might have been carried much farther towards an effectual reformation, than was actually the case;†

* Lingard, Henry VIII. 489.

† The Catholic writers think, or pretend to think, quite otherwise; that he would have lived only to see his errors, tread back his steps, and return (carrying his subjects with him) to the bosom of *their* church. They do not therefore, we may suppose, credit the following declaration and testimony of the Protector, in his letter to the Lady Mary, at the beginning of Edward's reign: "Did not his Grace (Henry VIII.) also depart from this life, before he had fully finished such orders as he minded to have established to all his people, if death had not prevented him? Is it not most true, that no kind of religion was perfected at his death, but left all uncertain, most like to have brought us into parties or divisions, if God had not helpt us? And doth your Grace think it convenient it should so remain? God forbid. What regret and sorrow our late master had, the time he saw he must depart; for that he knew the religion was not established as he purposed to have done, I and others can be witness, and testifie; and what he would have done *further* in it, if he had lived, a great many know, and also I can testifie. And doth your Grace, who is learned and should know God's Word, esteem true religion, and the knowledge of the Scriptures, to be new-fangledness and fantasie? For the Lord's sake turn the leaf, and look the other while upon the other side."—*Burnet*, vol. ii. Collect. of Records, No. 15. Of the opportunities the Duke had to know the King's last sentiments, we must be aware; Gardiner in disgrace; the Duke of Norfolk in the Tower; Surrey removed; and Cranmer summoned by the King himself, to receive his last breath, must all tend to shew that his last thoughts were more inclined towards

for Cranmer was certainly acquiring a great influence over him, even to the confusion of some of the highest and greatest enemies of the Reformation; and whenever Gardiner was out of the way, he seems to have had a power of inclining the King's mind, to a greater moderation of temper and principles.*

It redounds also much to Henry's credit, that besides protecting Cranmer, as he did, in some instances very remarkably, against his most bigoted opponents, he had done much to invite and entice into his kingdom, one of the most eminent and amiable of the German reformers, Melancthon. So early as in 1534, that great man writes to one of his friends, "Ego jam alteris literis in Angliam vocor;" and in a subsequent letter, but a few months afterwards, he speaks of being very earnestly pressed (et vocor et exerceor), both by letters and messengers, to pass into England: in 1536, it had nearly taken place, the Elector of Saxony having given his consent, and Luther much wishing him to go; but the tragical catastrophe of Queen Anne's death, as he writes to Camerarius, stopped him: "Anglicæ profectionis cura prorsus liberatus sum, postquam enim tragici casus in Anglia acciderunt, magna conciliorum mutatis secuta est. Posterior Regina, magis accusata quam convicta, adulterii, ultimo supplicio affecta est;" which letter, expressing the opinion of so honest and candid a man, as to the fate of that unhappy Queen, and the falsehood or suspicious character of the charges brought

the Reformists than the Papists; a change in *their* favour, therefore, had he lived, must at that time have been contemplated as the most probable; for that he died under many Romish prejudices, we cannot attempt to deny: his will proves it; but those prejudices, in a little longer time, might have been removed; the chances certainly looked that way, which is all we would be thought to insinuate. Against the Duke's assertions, we have, undoubtedly, the evidence of Sanders, who reports that the King, some little time before his death, was inclined to reconcile himself to the see of Rome: we must confess the testimony of Sanders is far too suspicious, to claim the credit, with us, of sufficient historical authority.

* Soames' History of the Reformation under Henry VIII. vol. ii. ch. xii.

against her, charges dwelt upon to this day by the Catholics, we thought too curious to be passed over; especially as Sanders in his book* (or legend, as Burnet rightly calls it), does not hesitate to tell his readers, that "foreigners did generally rejoice at her fall." *What* foreigners may easily be conjectured.

In 1538 Henry personally interposed with the Elector, writing to him to say how much he expected from the counsels of Melancthon, if he could but see him; "in cujus excellenti eruditione et sano judicio a bonis omnibus multa spes reposita est." The ambassadors who had been sent from Germany to procure Henry's accession to the Protestant league, reported on their return, according to Seckendorf, how much Henry seemed to wish to confer with Melancthon. "Sæpe etiam Melancthonis præsentiam desiderari a se testatus sit." Even Gardiner, who had at first endeavoured earnestly to check all communications between Henry and the German reformers,† was so persuaded of the King's admiration of Melancthon, that he thought it fit to pretend to think as highly of him himself; as Cranmer had afterwards occasion to remind him.

That this great reformer should have been invited into England in the succeeding reign, is nothing surprising, but it does not appear to be so generally known, that Henry had so ardent a desire to see him, and the circumstance helps undoubtedly to shew how much at that time might depend upon opportunities; and that, in the following reign, as we shall have occasion to remark, the opponents of the Reformation, and of all concerned in advancing the Reformation, had no valid reason for concluding that Henry, if he had lived, would not have carried matters farther. It is not too much to presume, that *had* Melancthon visited England before Henry died, the very compliment of such a visit might have disposed the royal theologian to listen to his arguments and adopt his reasons.

* De Schismate Anglicano. † Lingard's Henry VIII.

Henry seems, as we have observed before, to have imbibed a notion that the Pope's supremacy had, in all its circumstances, been transferred to himself; this led him, no doubt, into many other errors. It seems to be certain also, that he was not always so vicious, cruel, and capricious, as during the last ten years of his reign. There might, therefore, have been some seeds of virtue remaining in him for wise and moderate men to work upon, had his life been spared a little longer. We wish to do all the justice we can to this extraordinary personage, because his vices have been so constantly mixed up with the cause of the Reformation, and as he is still often spoken of as a very monster of wickedness: but a man who follows bad examples, cannot be so *singularly* bad, as Henry is often represented to have been. In the repudiation of Katherine of Arragon, it is seldom, if ever, considered that he had an immediate example before his eyes in the case of his contemporary, and subsequently his brother-in-law, Louis XII., "Louis le *Juste*, the *bon Roi* Louis, le *Pere du peuple*," as his subjects constantly called him. On the death of Charles VIII., he procured that real monster of wickedness, Pope Alexander VI., to dissolve his marriage with Queen Jane, the daughter of Louis XI., that he might marry the widow of Charles. The amiable character of Katherine of Arragon is allowed also to tell much against Henry: let us see then what was the character of the repudiated Queen of Louis XII. We will take it from a French historian of high repute: "Il seroit difficile (dit le P. *Berthier*), d'imaginer une princesse plus illustre, plus malheureuse et plus sainte; elle étoit née dans une cour pleine d'intrigues; et la simplicité, la candeur firent son caractère. Elle se trouva promise de l'enfance au premier prince de la maison royale, et toutes ses inclinations la portoient à la retraite, à la fuite des honneurs. Elle fut liée à un epoux qui ne l'aima jamais, et elle eut des attentions infinies pour lui. Cette Prince (Louis XII.) fut emprisonné come rebelle; et elle imagina toutes sortes de moyens

pour procurer sa deliverance; qu'elle obtint enfin par ses *larmes* et ses *prières*. Elle monta ensuite sur le trône avec ce même époux qui lui avoit tant d'obligations; et CE FUT POUR ETRE REPUDIÉE, AVEC UN ECLAT, DONT IL N'EST GUERES D'AUTRE EXEMPLE DANS L'HISTOIRE." From this instance alone, we may see how easy it was supposed to be for a King, with the help of a Pope, to dissolve the marriage-bond; and how very little the virtues of the wife were allowed to stand in the way of a papal dispensation, if other things concurred to render it obtainable.—But to return to Henry, and the course of the Reformation.

The rough manners of Luther,* and the wild excesses of the Anabaptists, had, at the commencement of the Reformation, notoriously alarmed and offended many of the potentates of Europe: in a country, therefore, where the King himself was disposed to throw off the yoke of Rome, and yet to act too despotically in the exercise of his own supremacy, it must have been obvious, that affairs could be brought to a good issue only by extreme prudence and discretion; by operating upon the mind of the sovereign, as opportunities might offer; leading where they could not drive; and modifying or softening what they found could not be immediately suppressed, or would not be very readily abandoned.

This wisdom and discretion are manifested in many parts of

* We may not lament the rough manners of Luther; rough as they were, they were honest; and as Protestants, we may, without hesitation, affirm that we could not well have succeeded without them. "Certain it is, at least," says an eminent critic, "that neither the elegant satires of Erasmus (had he even been a friend to the cause of liberty), nor the timid remonstrances of the gentle Melancthon (who was really such), would ever have been sufficient to bring about a reformation in the church. The former made many *laugh*, the latter made some *reason*; but neither of the two could make them *act*, or set them in motion. At such a crisis, bold speech and ardent resolution were necessary to produce that happy change in the face of religion, which has crowned with inestimable blessings one part of Europe, and has been productive of many advantages even to the other, which censures it."—*Mosheim*, edit. 1811. Appendix by Maclaine, No. ii.

those celebrated formularies, which were actually submitted to the correcting hand of Henry himself; and of which it has been well said, "that though several of the tenets of Romanism, afterwards abandoned as erroneous, are there to be found, yet that in many points, it may be seen by the attentive observer, that the name only of the doctrine seems to be retained, while the principle is, in fact, surrendered; and that every portion of those doctrines which had been found by experience to be productive of evil, and of dangerous influence on the moral or religious practice of mankind, is mitigated and explained away."*

This is an important circumstance in relation to the great man whose life we are writing; it marks the character of the party with which his political life may be said to have begun. The prudence, wisdom, and cautious circumspection of which we have spoken, appear to have been the ruling principles of all those eminent persons in Henry's court, with whom Lord Burghley must have been in almost daily communication, and who, not by stealth, as has been insinuated†—it could not be so, under the eyes of so wary and talented a monarch as Henry—but in compliance with their own principles, were honestly engaged in giving such instruction to his children and nearest relations, Prince Edward, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Lady Jane Grey, as might open their minds to better things, as in truth proved to be the case. We are speaking of Cranmer, the Earl of Hertford, Cox, Ascham, Cooke, and Cheke, to mention no others at present. "Reformation," says that entertaining author, Lloyd, in his account of Cromwell, Earl of Essex, "must be managed leisurely, and alteration of religion by just degrees. Instruction preceding execution, and the people's capacity growing up with their governors' regulations."

* See Bishop Lloyd's Edition of these Formularies, Oxford, 1825.

† See before, p. 80.

Nor was it possible, for the state and condition of Scotland to be separated from that of England, in any observations that were at that time making about the court. Every thing that went amiss in the former country was likely to embarrass the affairs of England, to threaten her repose under all circumstances; but, in the struggle she had entered into on the ground of the Reformation, wofully to retard her advancement, and draw on her the vengeance of foreign enemies. The battle of Solway Moss, the death of James V. and the birth of Mary, all took place the year after the subject of these Memoirs had quitted Cambridge for *Gray's Inn;* or perhaps, we should rather say, as it proved, for *London* and the *Court*. The Scottish nobility, who were taken prisoners, were, according to the "generous custom of those days,"* all lodging in the houses of the great men. Sinclair with the Duke of Suffolk, Lord Maxwell with Sir Anthony Browne, the Earl of Glencairn with the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Somerville with the Lord Chancellor, but most particularly, the Earl of Cassilis, as has been noticed, with the Archbishop Cranmer. It may be easily supposed that the affairs of Scotland were no trifling objects of contemplation and consideration at such a time, in the court; and we may reasonably conclude also, that the marriage of the two princes of England and Scotland must have been particularly desirable to all Lord Burghley's early friends, as well from the disposition and talents of Prince Edward, as from the probability that his union with the young Queen might facilitate the progress of the Reformation throughout the island. In these views and prospects, it is impossible to discover any thing that *might not* ultimately have turned out to the benefit and advantage of both people. The balance of advantage might appear on some accounts to be on the side of England; but Scotland had to contemplate the probability of a large balance of disadvan-

* Lodge's Illustrations of English History.

tage to herself, by matching her young Queen with any of the enemies or rivals of England.

The Reformation of the Church has since been accomplished throughout the whole island; but every body who reads, must know how sharply the Reformation commenced in Scotland, how unpleasantly it was carried on, how long it was about, and what dreadful occurrences fell out, on both sides, in the course of the struggle; all which might probably have been prevented, had the English plans been generally acceded to, or at all events, rejected with a less manifest and determined purpose of siding with France against England, under the sanction, also, of the Pope, England's great enemy; for it should not be forgotten that, in the year 1543, a nuncio from Rome was sent expressly to Scotland, charged not only to support the French faction there, but to use every exertion to *prevent* the marriage of the Scottish Queen with Prince Edward. Among the *atrocities* of the Scottish Reformation, we are bound to reckon the assassination of Cardinal Beaton (or Bethune) in the year 1546; a most atrocious act undoubtedly, as all premeditated murders must be, but even for this, both England and the Scottish reformers have been, we think, more blamed than is quite fair and just. Let us grant that Knox was a rough and rude reformer, yet Wishart was not so; and it was undoubtedly the death of this good man that hastened the destruction of Beaton: not that we think that Wishart was a party to the conspiracy, or that one murder can be admitted as an excuse for another; but Beaton certainly, according to the rude spirit of those days, provoked the vengeance that overtook him, by personally triumphing over Wishart's undeserved sufferings at the stake. He was beyond all doubt a relentless persecutor of small as well as great offences against the tyranny of Rome; and we must confess, we fully believe, on the authority particularly of Beza, that Knox had a very narrow

escape from assassination, through the instigation of the same Cardinal. If so, without attempting to palliate so great a crime as assassination, we may surely be allowed, even at this time, to rejoice, that of the *two*, Beaton fell rather than Knox, and to join in the sentiment of the old poet:—

> "As for the Cardinal, we grant
> He was a man we weel might want,
> And we'll forget him soon:
> And yet I think the sooth to say,
> Although the lown is weel away,
> The deed was foully done."

See M'Crie's Life of Knox, vol. i. note M. where Keith is very fairly cited to shew, that had the Cardinal's life been spared a few years longer, there was every reason to think many eminent Protestants would have been hurried out of life, to console the manes of the much injured Wishart. If Henry violated a treaty, and offended against the strict rules of policy, by assisting and countenancing the persons concerned in the murder, being subjects also, in a state of actual rebellion; we may at least conclude, that he had some foresight of the treachery that might be employed against him, and of the deceptions which the Scotch government and clergy were prepared to put in practice against those who had besought his aid; for that they were afterwards grossly deceived, under the colour of a formal treaty, cannot be denied; and what was admitted by Arran as a basis of a treaty, previously, was little better than a burlesque upon the known intolerance and bitter resentment of the Popish party. But it is not our business to defend Henry, beyond the *necessity* to which he might probably be *driven*, by having to deal with adversaries and opponents, as regardless of all ties of honour, and quite as full of mischief, as he *could be* himself: in thus seeking to account for the *policy* of Henry (not to defend any positive breach of treaty), we

are carrying on our views to the succeeding reign, where we shall find the subject of these Memoirs beginning to take an active part in the counsels of his Sovereign; and at the very commencement of which reign, the English government will be found to take up the affairs of Scotland where Henry is supposed to have left them; urged thereto, by the intrigues of a French party, and the enmity of a Popish clergy, only rendered more formidable by the death of Francis I., who outlived Henry but a few weeks.

Such then was the posture of affairs at home, at the close of the reign of King Henry VIII. In the next reign, we shall see the subject of these Memoirs admitted immediately and intimately into the councils of his Sovereign, and commencing that career of public life, which, with very little interruption, was continued through a series of no less, to say the least, than forty-seven years. But before we proceed to the reign of Edward VI., we shall take some account of the affairs of Europe in general, where the struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism was proceeding with all its force.

After many efforts to procure a council to be held, to settle the religious differences that had sprung up, and reform what was amiss, constantly against the will and wishes of a succession of Popes; after many places had been proposed for such an assembly, as Mantua, Vicenza, &c. but in no manner to the satisfaction of the Protestants, who wished for a council beyond the confines of the Ecclesiastical state, and not too much under the eye of the Pope; in 1545, a council was actually summoned to meet at Trent, a town on the borders of Italy and Germany; and it held one session, Cardinal Pole presiding as the first legate, in the course of that year. This first session, as might have been expected, from the untoward manner in which it was assembled, was chiefly occupied in discussing forms, and other preliminary arrangements; as, what dresses and ornaments the Pope's legates were to wear?

the empty places that were to be left for the Pope and the Emperor? the precedence of German bishops, who were princes also? and sundry other matters, extremely trivial in comparison with the business for which they were avowedly summoned. In January, 1546, the second session began, being attended only by Italian and Spanish bishops; the Protestant princes, states, cities, objecting strongly to a council summoned by the Pope, and holding its meetings so close to the confines of Italy.* They refused to acknowledge it to be such a general council as they had demanded and looked to, for a settlement of differences, and reformation of the church and clergy. The Pope's three legates, Pole, as we have said, being the first, presided with much state, and it was not long before they procured three decrees to be passed, which appeared to be so directly aimed at the Protestants, as to give that very complexion and character to their proceedings, which the opposite party had so loudly deprecated; namely, that their cause was to be brought before a tribunal notoriously devoted to the Pope, and therefore incapable of that impartiality which the case imperiously demanded. In Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation (vol. iii.) are to be found some very curious letters, relative to the proceedings at this council, written by Vargas, the chief adviser of the Emperor's ambassadors, in all cases of divinity or canon law, and addressed to the Emperor's chief minister at Vienna, from which, as Burnet justly observes, it may appear, how little, not only of liberty, but even of common decency,† there was to be seen in the whole conduct of that council.

* They had before objected that they would submit to no council summoned to meet *out of Germany*. Trent was so situated as to be considered to lie between Italy and Germany, or on the very confines of both.

† There is a *bon-mot* upon record, relative to this council, which we may be allowed perhaps to repeat, though we must tell the story partly in French. The Reformation of the clergy being proposed, it was asked, whether the *Cardinals* were to be subjected to any reformation:

The three decrees to which we have alluded above, and to not one of which the Protestants could conscientiously agree, were these: First, That the books commonly designated as apocryphal, are of equal authority with the Jewish and Christian canonical Scriptures: Secondly, That the *traditions* of the apostolical age, preserved in the church, and interpreted by its head (the Pope), were to be admitted upon the same footing as the written doctrines and precepts of the inspired writers: and, thirdly, That the *Latin* version of the Bible, made or revised by St. Jerome (who had, by the bye, expressly denied the divine authority of the *Apocrypha*), and known by the name of the *Vulgate* translation, should be read in churches, and appealed to as authentic and canonical. It must be admitted that these decrees were not made without some opposition, and objections of no small weight, on the part of certain individuals of the assembly, as *Anthony Marinier*, a Carmelite monk, who was against the authority of traditions being made a point of faith; *Luigi di Catanea*, a Jacobin, who was for dividing the books of Scripture into two classes, those which had never been contested, and those which had; he was also very earnest for preferring the original Hebrew and Greek Scriptures to *translations;* and objections were made to the *Vulgate* as not free from errors. It is needless to say, that these objections were overruled by a large plurality of votes.

These important, and, as we may call them, *exclusive* decrees, were passed in an assembly of only fifty-three persons—five cardinals, and forty-eight bishops, abbots, and generals of religious orders—none much distinguished for their learning,* and some

"Il y en eut parmi les vieux, qui dirent, que les illustrissimes Cardinaux n'avoient pas besoin de l'être:" but the celebrated Barthelemi des Martyrs, Archbishop of Brague in Portugal, interposed, with the following humorous remark: "Les *très illustres* Cardinaux ont besoin d'une *très illustre* reforme."

* See Soames, vol. ii. 613, note.

of the bishops without diocesses,* or merely nominal ones. Still they were proclaimed as the decisions of an infallible authority, and enforced by anathemas against all who should resist or oppose them, denounced in the awful name of the Holy Spirit of God. The reviewer of Phillips, author of the Life of Cardinal Pole, has noticed a curious anomaly in the proceedings of the court of Rome: though the council was ostensibly to be considered as proceeding under the immediate direction of the Holy Spirit, a congregation of Cardinals and church-officers was appointed at Rome by the Pope, to have direction of affairs belonging to the council. The learned author wishes to ask the disciples of the Romish church, whether they supposed the Holy Spirit assisted the council at Trent, or the congregation at Rome; and if the former, what occasion there could be for the latter? The absurdity of it was the occasion of the celebrated banter upon the proceedings of the council, that while the fathers boasted that they at Trent were governed by the Holy Spirit, they were in reality governed by the contents of a postilion's cloak-bag from Rome; a remark, not of any Protestant, but of a domestic of the first legate, even Cardinal Pole; Dudithius, the translator of the Cardinal's Life by Beccatelli. Cardinal Pole himself, indeed, it may be said to his credit, appears to have been so struck with this incongruity, as to have given a hint to his brother legates, to cause the usual hymn, at the commencement of their meetings, "Come, Holy Ghost," &c. to be omitted.†

The passing of these decrees was in fact a virtual termination of all disputes at the very beginning; since it fixed at once such standards and rules of faith, as they must have known the other party would renounce and disallow. It had been tried and as-

* Such were *Robert Venant*, a Scot, styled Archbishop of *Armagh*; *Olaus Magnus*, a Swede, called Archbishop of *Upsal*; and *Richard Pace*, an Englishman, called Bishop of Worcester.

† See Glocester Ridley's Review of Phillips, 168-9.

certained in the case of Cardinal Cajetan, before whom, when Luther appeared in 1518, and the Cardinal attacked him with arguments of school divinity, Luther disclaimed all proofs and arguments whatever, that were not drawn exclusively from Holy Writ; that is, the canon of Scripture, as acknowledged by Protestants at this day. Thus early, in the course of the Reformation, was the Protestant rule of faith decided upon; and indeed, it appears to have been understood, from the first mention of an appeal to a general council, that the Reformers would not submit to have their controversies decided, otherwise than by a sole and exclusive reference to the written Word of God. The three decrees, therefore, set aside all the conditions insisted upon by the Reformists; for if the Vulgate were exalted above all criticism, the study of the original languages of Scripture would decidedly be of no use. If the apocryphal books, which neither Jews nor Christians had hitherto acknowledged to be the writings of inspired authors, were pronounced to be a part of the canon, the Papists might claim scriptural authority for some of their worst abuses, however inconsistent with the Old or the New Testament; and if the Pope were allowed to be the infallible judge of all controversies, and tradition to be received upon a footing with the Scriptures, all appeal to the canon or rule of the Reformists would be nugatory.*

It will be seen how much of positive and arbitrary restraint was here put upon the freedom of all Biblical research and inquiry. To say nothing more of the authority given to the Apocrypha, to traditions, &c., this was clearly shewn in their selection of a particular *version* only of the Scriptures, which

* See Soames's History of the Reformation under King Henry VIII. chap. xii. vol. ii. 604. 609, where his distinction between apostolical and ecclesiastical traditions, between matters of discipline, and articles of faith, is exceedingly worth attending to; see also the authors there cited.

it could be little less than an absurdity to pronounce to be authentic, without such comparison with the originals as might satisfy all the world. But it was evidently not the intention of the Pope, or his presiding legates in the council of Trent, to encourage any such comparisons, or subscribe to the necessity of acquiring a knowledge of either the Greek or Hebrew languages. After several sessions had been holden, and much disputing taken place between the imperial and popish parties as to the mode of proceeding, whether, as the former insisted, the question of Reformation should take place of the discussion of doctrinal points or not; the legates managed to ward off, as the Pope wished, the matter of Reformation, and proceeded to discuss doctrines, decreeing many things against the Protestants, on the subjects of original sin, the immaculate conception (in which all the old differences between the Scotists and the Thomists were revived), justification and grace, the nature of works preceding grace, merit of congruity, &c. &c.; and wherever they found the Lutherans right, they turned to the Zuinglians, to rake out objectionable articles in *their* profession of faith; and thus they proceeded, wasting their time in endless disputes, and passing decrees so ambiguously worded, as to determine nothing (for, in truth, as their opponents had totally discarded the language and divinity of the schools, they knew not how to argue with them),* till the death of Henry; soon after which, to evade the pressing demands for Reformation urged by the Spanish bishops and imperial envoys, the Pope found means, under the pretence of a bad air at Trent, to remove the sittings

* Of the ambiguous manner in which the decrees were drawn up, we have a curious proof in the following facts. After the termination of the sessions in 1546, Dominico à Soto wrote three books, *de natura et gratia*, and found all his opinions in the decisions of the council; while *Andreas de Vega*, a famous Cordelier, was actually composing fifteen large books upon the same subject, and though his sentiments were quite opposite to those of Soto, he also found all his opinions embodied in the same decrees.—*Jurieu*, 135.

to Bologna. But the consequences of this measure belong rather to the next reign. In fact, the council of Trent, so far from being conciliatory,* was, as managed by the Pope's emissaries, but a mere formal declaration of war against the Reformists; while hostile preparations of a different nature as plainly evinced a disposition on the part of the Emperor and Pope, to subdue by force the refractory spirits of those who had ventured upon the offensive innovations, and the course of which they still thought themselves capable of checking; but in this they were deceived. The Emperor proceeded, indeed, with great wariness and caution, and no small dissimulation, to gain time, as well as to throw the leaders or protectors of the Protestant party off their guard, or *divide* them, in which latter expedient he was so fortunate as to succeed; but the Pope, more impatient to bring matters to an issue, intentionally as it would seem, betrayed the very secrets the Emperor was trying to conceal, by actually publishing a jubilee at Rome in the month of July, 1546, for the good success of the arms of the *Church* and the *Emperor*, united for the purpose of *reducing heretics* to their obedience by force. The Protestants

* When *Andreas de Vega*, in a discussion upon free-will, had endeavoured to shew that the Lutherans and Romanists were so nearly agreed upon one point, that something should be conceded for peace sake; that name of peace, says *Jurieu*, was odious and grating: We are not met for *that*, answered the legates; it is the business of *conferences* to *accommodate differences*, but of *councils* to *condemn heresies*.—There is to be seen in Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. 398. Oxford edition, an extract from a Dedication much to the purpose, by Bullinger, addressed to the Marquess of Dorset, in which he scruples not to affirm, that "the council was called by the Pope upon no other ends than for the confirmation of the old errors and superstition, and for the *overthrow* of the *Reformation* begun in Germany, England, Denmark, and other nations of Christendom; in express words, indeed, for the *extirpating of heresy;* Pope Paul accusing and condemning as heretics, those that professed the gospel, and required *reformation according to the Word of God.*" And for fear the Marquess and other friends to the Reformation in England, should be stayed or checked by the indiction of what the Romanists chose to call an Œcumenical council, he writes, "Go, go on in Christ's name to reform what needs reforming." This, indeed, was not written till 1551, but it applies as much to one session as another of that remarkable assembly.

were not so blinded, indeed, by the Emperor's arts, as to neglect to make preparations against the attacks they anticipated, but had little or no success in procuring the aid they sought from others. The Venetians declined interfering with the march of the Pope's soldiers through their territories; the Swiss were divided, and too much in the favour of the Emperor, to attend to their call; Francis I. was weary of war, declining in health, and incapable of great exertions; and Henry VIII. though sufficiently adverse to the papal influence, was not Protestant enough to be a hearty confederate; not Protestant enough certainly to be placed at the head of the German league, and with less power, or to occupy any subordinate station, he was not likely to enter into any close alliance with them.

They were still, however, able to raise an army sufficiently mortifying and alarming to the Emperor, though his public character gave him great advantages. As head of the empire, the confederates hesitated to renounce their allegiance while any door remained open for negotiation; so that though they were undoubtedly, through the promptitude and rapidity of their levies, in a condition to surprise him, yet, in the very month of July, 1546, at which time the Pope published his jubilee, they once more paused to address a letter to Charles, assuring him that they were contending only for religious rights, and in no manner less disposed to submit to him in all civil affairs.

But Charles paid no attention to their address; he immediately published the ban of the empire against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, the principal leaders of the reformed party, thereby declaring them to be rebels and outlaws, and degraded from every privilege attaching to them as members of the Germanic body.

In all these public papers, however, he carefully forbore to insist on their religious differences as the cause of his severity,

for fear of alienating the minds of many who were still disposed to give credit to his more friendly professions; and that his private views, indeed, did not *fully* accord with those of the Pope, is evident from the promise he made to Duke Maurice of the Electorate of Saxony, as the price of his allegiance; though the Duke was no less a Lutheran than his cousin, the Elector.

The powerful and respectable princes, so rudely outlawed, were not backward to retaliate on the Emperor; but immediately, renouncing all allegiance, homage, and duty, declared war, by a herald dispatched to the imperial camp. Unfortunately, the spirit thus displayed on the side of the Protestants failed to produce that unanimity of counsels and cordiality of sentiments, on which the main strength of the Protestant cause depended; the leaders themselves differed, jealousies arose, and though neither bravery nor zeal were wanting to bring matters to a speedy decision, favourable to the Protestants, yet the different characters, views, and plans of the Elector and Landgrave, the one brave but cautious, the other impetuous to a degree of rashness, occasioned the loss of much important time, and many admirable opportunities of preventing the junction of the Emperor's troops, collecting from various parts. Of all these errors and oversights the Emperor well knew how to take advantage, to the augmentation of his forces and concentration of his plans, in such a manner, as to prolong the time in which he could only have engaged to disadvantage, and to leave room for the formation and consolidation of a league and compact, which enabled him to contend against his adversaries in a great measure with their own weapons. Prince Maurice, who had succeeded his father Henry in the government of that part of Saxony which belonged to the Albertine branch of the Saxon family, a professed Protestant, though no party individually to the Smalcaldic league, consenting to act against his own

party, friends, and relations, upon no other motive, as it would *appear*,* than a most base desire of stripping his friend, and bene-

* We must dwell a little upon this word: we have put it in italics to give Prince Maurice every fair chance of escaping from the sad imputations naturally suggesting themselves upon a view of his conduct to this day. We shall take the account from a college friend of Lord Burghley, the celebrated Roger Ascham, and from a letter probably written for his inspection, being addressed to Hatfield, but to pass through his office in its way from Germany, where Ascham was in the suite of the English ambassadors. We must begin with the obligations Prince Maurice seemed to be under to the good Elector, John Frederick, for rescuing his father's and his own inheritance from the grasp of Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother.

"Duke George of Saxony, a little before he died, havyng no child, dyd disinherite Duke Henry his brother, by his last wil, because he was a Protestant, and gave away his whole inheritance to Ferdinando, Kyng of Romaines; but Duke John Fredericke, by force of armes, set and kept his cosin, Duke Henry, in his right; and he, dying soone after, left behynd him two sonnes, Duke *Maurice* and Duke Augustus, who lykwyse in theyr youth were defended in theyr right by the wysedome and force of Duke John Fredericke: Duke Maurice was brought up in Duke John Fredericke's house as if he had bene his own sonne, and marryed the Lansgrave's daughter. After, it came to passe, that the Emperour attempted to establish papistry in Germany with the sword; agaynst whych purpose the Lansgrave and Duke Fredericke armed themselves, not to resist the Emperour, as the Papistes say, but to kepe God's religion up, if any by violence would pull it downe; refusing never, but requiryng alwayes to referre them and theyr doctrine to a lawfull and free general councill, where truth and religion might be fully tryed in the hearyng of even and equal judges: εν ισοις και ομοιοις, wordes of Thucidides, alwayes applied to the decidyng common controversies, and that by the touchstone of God's *canonicall* Scriptures.

"Duke Maurice, in the begynnyng of his warres, was suspected neither of the Lansgrave nor of Duke Fredericke, beyng sonne-in-law to the one, and nigh kynsman to the other, and agreeyng in religion with both; yea, he was not only not suspected, but, as I heard skilful men say, he was ready with his counsell, and promised his ayde to help forwarde the enterprice, or else *Hance Fredericke*, being a prince of much wysedome, would not have left behynd him an enemie of such force.

"*Francisco*, Duke *Maurice's* agent with the Emperour, was asked, I being by, at *Augusta*, how he could excuse his master's unkyndness towards *John Fredericke*, who had bene such a father to him. He graunted that Duke Fredericke had bene a great frende unto him, and might have bene greater if he had would, and then lesse strife had followed than did: 'And troth it is,' sayd he, 'as Duke Fredericke kept my master in his right, so afterwards he put hym from part of his right, when in his young yeares he chopped and chaunged lands with hym when he listed; which thing my master complaynyng, could never obtayne remedy therein. Kyndness should rather have kyndely encreased, than so unkyndely have decayed, specially when the one was trusted with all, and the other of such yeares as he had neither wit to perceive,

factor, and nearest relation, the Elector of Saxony, of his honours and dominions, and to add them to his own.

Unfortunately, when the Elector was put under the ban of the empire, and compelled to take the field, he committed his dominions to the protection of Maurice, in whose eyes they soon became a settled object of ambition; Charles being careful to let him know, that he considered him as the next heir, and that, in fact, they were already forfeited by the conduct of his relation, and the imperial decree. Charles himself, therefore, again committed to Maurice, though only twenty years old at the time, the custody of the electoral dominions, as next heir, with such assurances of protection, and such claims on his allegiance, as made him fancy it might appear to be rather a matter of necessity and duty to side with the Emperor, than to take part with his opponents; overlooking the gross violation of principles, which thus separated him from the cause and the friends he was bound to support: this great oversight was, probably, the foundation of his guilty hopes and treacherous designs in regard to the electorate. But his youth should be considered; and it must be granted, that in siding with the Emperor he had an early opportunity of exhibiting such military talents and personal intrepidity, as might well ingratiate him with the head of the empire.*

As to religion, indeed, it has been thought that he was cajoled

nor power to amend any injury were offered unto hym. Troth alsoe it is, that my master was brought up in Duke Fredericke's house; but he hath more cause to complain on them that brought hym thether, than to thanke such as brought hym up there, where he had always plentie of drinke, and as much scant of good teaching to come to such vertue and learnyng as dyd belong to a prince of his state.'

"Now, whether this talke was altogether true, or an ill excuse was made to cover a foule fact, I cannot tell: but sure I am Francisco sayd thus."—*Roger Ascham's Letter to John Asteley*, 1552. Ascham, however, concludes he was moved by ambition, notwithstanding Francisco's vindication; and it is scarcely possible to acquit him of much deceit as well as ambition.—*See Robertson.*

* See Robertson's Charles V. b. vii. anno 1543.

by the Emperor into a belief, that the Protestant faith should receive due protection and every reasonable security under his rule, as the new Elector, when he should be once in possession of the dominions of his friend and relative. Be this, however, as it may,* there can be no doubt but that the defection of Maurice had the effect of dissolving the army of the confederates, by obliging the Elector to withdraw with his troops, in order to defend or recover his threatened dominions from the rapacious grasp of Maurice, and his subjects from the cruelty of the Hungarians, which seemed greatly to interest his feelings, and accelerate his return; and though he may be said to have succeeded at that time, it was to the confusion and dissipation of the army that had been raised for other purposes, and only to prepare the way for greater mortifications and indignities, in the ensuing year and reign, at the hands of Charles and Maurice united, as we shall have occasion to shew.

We ought not to conclude our account of this reign without noticing the death of the celebrated reformer, Martin Luther, which happened on the 18th of February, 1545–6, at the age of sixty-three.† It is remarkable that, by a very unexpected circumstance, he should have been called to Eisleben, the place of his nativity, there to breathe his last. It gave an opportunity to his fellow-citizens to manifest their attachment and high sense of his worth, by wishing to bury his remains in the place where he died; but the Elector of Saxony would not consent to have his body interred any where but at Wittenberg, where he first distinguished himself by his opposition to the cor-

* Ascham thinks he was cajoled: "He saw that Duke Fredericke's falling might be his rysing, and perchaunce was moved with some old injuries, but being of young yeares, and of nature full of desire and courage, he was a trimme prey for old practisers to be easily carried away with fayer new promises, sounding altogether to honor and profite; and so he forsooke his father and his friend."

† Born 1483.

ruptions of the Church of Rome, and the tyranny of the Pope. His death, occurring at the time of the opening of the second session of the council of Trent, so exhilarated the Catholics, as to induce them to regard it as a promising omen of the success and prosperous issue of the meeting; "that heresy," to use the words of *Jurieu*, in his History of the Council of Trent, "should be overthrown by its authority, since that in the beginning of its actions, the great Hæresiarch was fallen." And, according to the superstitious vanities of the religion they professed, various extraordinary circumstances were said to have attended his dissolution; but the most authentic account of his death states, that he died very piously and composedly, commending his soul to God, and with prayers, the most devout, for the success of the gospel, and the protection of the true church from the dangerous designs of the Trentine council.*

* For a further account of this extraordinary man, of the circumstances of his death, and the contradictory representations of his character, see Robertson's Charles V. book viii. anno 1546.

CHAP. XIII.

Accession of Edward VI.—The Earl of Hertford made Lord Protector and Duke of Somerset—The King crowned by Archbishop Cranmer—Mr. Cecil succeeds to the office of Custos Brevium—And appointed by the Protector Master of Requests—Accompanies the Protector to Scotland—Present at the memorable Battle of Musselburgh.

HENRY VIII. died on the 28th of January, 1547, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign; and was succeeded by Prince Edward, the son of his third and best beloved wife, Jane Seymour. The young King was born at Hampton Court, on the 12th of October, 1537;* "*Princeps natus ad imperium*," is the remark of Polydore Vergil, alluding to the event. "*A few days after*" his birth, to use the terms of Edward himself, in his interesting Journal, still in existence,† the Queen died: as to the precise moment of her decease, authors have differed most remarkably;‡ some making it *two*, some less than that, some *four* days after the birth of the Prince: but it now seems clear, that she lived longer than the latter term. The fact, indeed, of the young Prince having been christened with great pomp and ceremony three days after his birth, appears at once to be quite inconsistent with what is related in *some* books, of the Queen's labour and decease;§ "wherein, indeed," as a grave writer has observed, "malice more than truth seems to have

* October 17. Hayward, corrected by Strype.—*Memorials*, vol. ii. part ii. Oxford edition, 1816, p. 181.

† Cotton, MSS. Nero, c. x. ‡ Burnet, Collier, &c. § Strype's Memorials.

directed the pen;" it having been alleged, as is pretty generally known, that the Cæsarian operation was obliged to be performed, and that upon reference to Henry, to decide which of the two lives should be preserved under the difficulties of a hazardous parturition, he sacrificed the mother. There is, indeed, great reason to think, that Lord Burghley himself has most correctly ascertained the precise day of the Queen's death, in his Journal, which fixes it to the 24th of October, *twelve* days after the delivery; and with which the physicians' report of her Majesty's state, still to be seen in the British Museum,* may be very fairly judged to agree: this is farther confirmed by the authority of Lilly, and the date of her death in the Heralds' office.†

It is never too late to correct slanders, especially such as bear upon the characters of those to whom we stand indebted for the blessings of religious liberty, and the emancipation of the church from the abuses of popery: we are aware that we shall have many to notice in the course of this history, and not a few bearing directly on the individual subject of it. The whole story of the Cæsarian operation, and the call upon Henry to decide between the sacrifice of the mother or the child, are derived from authors not friendly to the Reformation. There is no want of original documents to prove, to this day, that the Queen had a safe delivery; even her own letter to the Privy Council, asserting the fact, is still to be seen, though, as it does not actually bear her signature, we shall not insist upon it, the other documents already referred to being sufficient. Few historians of those days, and of those times, are implicitly to be trusted; Sir John Hayward, in particular,‡ taking the fact of the Cæsarian operation for granted,

* Cotton, MSS. Nero, x. 2.

† Burnet's Reformation, Oxford edition, 1816, vol. iii. part ii. Corrections, pp. 516. 530. Turner's Modern History of England, 1826, Henry VIII. p. 652.

‡ Strype's Memorials, Edward VI. book ii. chap. xxviii.

probably on the authority of Sanders, is at the pains to descant largely, in his history of this reign, not only on the several instances of such births in ancient times, as *Cæso Fabius*, *Scipio*, *Cæsar*, &c., but on the *happy* prognostics, according to *Pliny*, *Festus Pompeius*, *Solinus*, and *Titius Probus*, of an event on all other accounts so disastrous. But it is well ascertained now that we are under no necessity of believing either the story of the Cæsarian operation, or the imputation thrown on Henry:* he is generally said to have been much and truly attached to Queen Jane, who, indeed, through the mildness of her disposition, and amiableness of her character, was no less a favourite with the whole court. Lord Herbert does not hesitate to observe, that she was so beloved by the King, that, considering the waywardness of his passions, he continued long enough a widower to make it appear† as though he were unwilling to match again; and, indeed, the high degree of credit and confidence to which her nearest relations were raised after her death, and upheld against the Howards, seems greatly to corroborate the fact.‡

* Strype's Memorials, Oxford edit. vol. ii. part ii. p. 181. Mr. Turner, in his recent History of Henry VIII. rather to our surprise, appears, after all, to give *some* countenance to the story of the Cæsarian operation, as it appears in Sanders, p. 652. We say only *some* countenance, for he does not expressly say that the dismal alternative was decided by Henry. That she may be reasonably said to have died in child-bed is most true, and possibly through the comparative unskilfulness of the practitioners of those days; and this alone may have been sufficient to give birth to the story of her having *borne* (on her funeral banners probably) a Phœnix in his funeral fire, with this motto, "*Nascatur ut alter.*" This Camden records, in his *Remains*, "To the honour of Queen Jane, who died willingly to save her child King Edward," that is, probably, she submitted to *some* operation.

† Camden's expressions are very opposite to this, who says, "The King, being but *little troubled* for his Queen's death, presently applied himself to find another wife."—*Introduction to Elizabeth.* While other historians tell us, he immediately removed in great grief from the palace, kept himself private, and wore the garments of mourning even in the festival of Christmas.

‡ There is one document extant which seems to have been a good deal overlooked in the agitation of this affair; we mean the Consolatory Letter to Henry VIII. by Bishop Tonstal; Cotton, MSS. i. Titus, B. i. 121. and printed by Burnet in his Collection of Papers, vol. iii.

The young King was under ten years of age* when he came to the throne. It is certainly remarkable, that Henry, who not only was bred a Catholic, but may undoubtedly be said to have died such, bequeathing (though he had made free with the chantries founded by others for such purposes) a considerable sum of money for *masses* and *obits*, should have entrusted the education of his son and heir, from the early age of six years, to persons decidedly adverse to many of the tenets of the church of Rome; so that the mind of the young Prince seems to have been fully prepared, on his coming to the throne, to go much farther than his royal predecessor in the reformation of religion. Dr. Richard Cox, afterwards Dean of Christ Church and Chancellor of Oxford, Sir Anthony Cooke, and Mr. Cheke, of whom we had occasion to say much under the last reign, are allowed to have had the principal share in the education of this amiable and highly-gifted Prince. By these, we are told, he was instructed in philosophy and divinity, mathematics and the ancient languages, having masters besides for the other branches of education, not omitting martial exercises, and other accomplishments befitting the heir to a throne. Henry seems, fortunately for the friends of reformation, to have left the arrangement of these matters a good deal to Cranmer, both as Primate, and godfather to Edward, while the sentiments of his maternal relations, the Earl of Hertford particularly, had a tendency the same way, beyond what Henry, as Catholic writers seem to think,† had been led to suspect. But this we doubt, as has been remarked before; indeed, it is impossible they could have been altogether what Dr. Lingard calls them,

No. 56. Had the King's affection for her been doubtful, it is scarcely possible to suppose he would have put himself forward, to speak of her death in the way he does; or if Sanders's story had had any foundation, he would never surely have put the King in mind of such a matter of fact, as that so "vertuose a Princesse, who hath shewed so great hopes of *much* frute to come of her body, should be so suddenly taken away."

* Nine years and three months. † Lingard's Henry VIII. ch. v.

"zealous but *secret* partizans of the reformed doctrines." (p. 22.) Gardiner must have known them and their principles.

The first annunciation of the death of Henry to his two children, Edward and the Princess Elizabeth, at Enfield,* by the Earl of Hertford, and Sir Anthony Browne, Master of the Horse, and one of Henry's most sage and tried counsellors, is described by Hayward, as attended with an affecting and interesting display of their feelings; but the young King was not allowed much time to prepare himself for the formal ceremonies awaiting him; he was hurried the very next day to London; proclaimed King on the 31st; and made to receive, at the Tower, the homage of his father's executors, of the counsellors of state, and many of the nobility.

Henry, availing himself of the statute made in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, had appointed by his will, sixteen executors to administer the government during the nonage of his son, who were to be farther assisted by twelve counsellors, expressly named also in the will; and it is remarkable, that while among the former there were some of inferior, there were among the latter some of superior rank; Lords Arundel and Essex, in particular, and Sir Thomas Seymour, the King's uncle, being only counsellors.†

The sixteen executors, who, according to the King's will, were to execute the authority of the crown, jointly or by a majority, till Edward should have completed his eighteenth year, were, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; the Lord Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor; the Lord St. John, Lord President of the Council, and Great Master; the Lord Russel, Lord Privy Seal; the Earl of Hertford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England; the Viscount

* King Edward's Journal. Edward was at Hertford when Henry died (not Hatfield, as some have written), but the news was communicated to him at Enfield, after he had set off to pass from Hertford to London. Enfield being, at that time, the residence of the Princess Elizabeth.

† In the letter of Lord Sussex, Titus, B. 2. Sir Thomas (John) Baker is said to have been an executor; he was one of the twelve.

Lisle, Lord Admiral; the Bishop of Durham (Tonstal); Mr. Secretary Paget, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir Anthony Browne, Sir William Herbert; Sir Edward Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Mr. Justice Bromley; Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations; Sir *Edward** Wotton, Treasurer of Calais; and Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York. The late King's will was, of course, one of the first things taken into consideration, but evidently with no very strict design of complying with its contents; for, in the very first instance, it was judged advisable, to select one of the sixteen executors to discharge all the ceremonial duties of royalty, and to have the care and custody of the person of the young King; many reasons conducing to place the Earl of Hertford in this prominent situation, not, however, without opposition on the part of some of the executors, the Lord Chancellor, in particular, and Bishop Tonstal; though it was *at first* expressly stipulated, that the new appointed Protector "should not do any act but by the advice and consent of the other executors."

The Lord Chancellor Wriothesley and the Earl of Hertford were known to stand opposed to each other on the subject of religion; and it was not long before the extreme imprudence of the former, in manifestly betraying a disposition to meddle largely with the affairs of government, gave an advantage to his opponent, which was not overlooked. By delegating, in a very extraordinary manner, the powers of his high legal office, in the King's name, to four masters in Chancery, that he might be the better able to attend to businesses of state; he betrayed his precipitate desire of ruling in the council, while his appointment of two clergymen to assist him, alarmed the common lawyers, more fitted now than in times past for the discharge of all secular employments; and the whole proceeding being as irregular as it could

† William.—*Soames*.

well be, he was judged, upon reference to the other heads of the profession, to have incurred the penalties of fine, imprisonment, and dismissal from his post.* He made his submission for having acted without authority, but he lost the seal, being suffered, as a semblance of imprisonment, to retire to his own residence at Ely House, where he remained shut up many months. It is certain, that his removal was particularly favourable to the farther advancement of the Earl of Hertford, in obtaining the more easily from his co-executors, upon the plea that foreign ministers questioned his authority as it then stood, an implied, if not an actual consent to his enjoyment of the Protectorate during the minority of the King, with greater powers than might otherwise have been contemplated. For, by *letters patent*, under the great seal (then in the hands of Lord Rich), he procured to be relieved from the restraint of *confining* himself to the advice or co-operation of either of the councils nominated by the late King, being left at liberty, in a great measure, to select his own councils, with the further privilege of pronouncing a *veto* on any offensive resolutions; thereby,† at the least, rendering his consent absolutely necessary to all the determinations of the board.

It could scarcely be doubted from the precipitate manner in which he endeavoured to rid himself of the duties of his high legal office, for the express purpose of attending more to businesses of state,‡ that the Chancellor expected to rule in the council,

* See the commission, with the opinion of the judges upon it, in Burnet's Reform. vol. ii. part ii. Oxford edit. Appendix, No. v.

† See his commission, Burnet as before, No. vi.

‡ For thus the King is made to say in his *premature* commission: "Quia predilectus et fidelis consanguineus noster Thomas Comes Southampton Cancellarius noster Angliæ, *nostris arduis negotiis ex mandato nostro continuo intendens, in eisdem adeo versatur, quod ad ea quæ in Curia Cancellariæ nostræ in causis et materiis inter diversos ligeos et subditos nostros ibidem pendentibus tractand. audiend. discutiend. et terminand. sicut ut fiere debeant, ad præsens non sufficeat.* Volentes, &c.

which, as a "rigidly-conscientious Papist," as Lloyd calls him, could not fail to give alarm to the opposite party—for it must be granted that the times were revolutionary: it is not necessary, indeed, to conceal, that it was the commencement of a struggle between two parties, in which the illustrious subject of these Memoirs may be said to have been involved from the moment of King Henry's divorce, to the day of his own death.

How far it was at all in the power of the trustees of King Henry's will to act as they did, in thus delegating to one the authority placed in the hands of all, may reasonably be questioned; but it may also quite as reasonably be doubted, whether things could have been carried on, in any manner to the advantage of the King or the nation, had they attempted to act in strict conformity to the will;* the executors being so numerous, and their opinions, on points then judged to be of the highest importance, notoriously discordant.† The exercise of a kingly prerogative seemed, as the adherents of Hertford suggested, to be

* We find the following curious passage in Lloyd's State Worthies: "While King Henry was at Boulogne, he made his will, wherein the Earl of Hertford, Lord High Chamberlain, is appointed principal counseller to his nephew: and not long after he dyeth, and leaves the kingdom to his son, and his son to his uncle, whom the common vote made Protector, and interest a Moderator of Council, which the time required able, but their humours made factious."—*Observations on the Seymours.*

† "The will empowering the Regents, or the major part of them, to administer the young King's affairs as they should judge proper, whatever was resolved upon by a plurality of voices, was deemed agreeable to the late King's will."—*Rapin.* But if this might justify his first nomination to be Protector, the grant by patent in so unlimited a manner, was a very different thing, and Rapin himself inclines to think it was not very fairly obtained, viii. 17, 18. His powers were again enlarged afterwards by fresh letters patent, upon which Rapin is facetiously severe, calling it almost a burlesque upon such grants, and as much as to say, the King granted them to the Protector, upon the advice of the Protector himself, p. 42. We must not certainly look to these times for much purity of principle, or correctness of proceeding; but as a question between two parties, if the King granted power to the Protector, upon the Protector's own advice, it must be admitted that Wriothesley had assumed still farther, as Keeper of the Great Seal, in using that very seal, to delegate in the King's name, his own power and jurisdiction to others.

almost necessary, and it could not but appear consistent with the monarchical principles of the English constitution, that the Regency should be more concentrated, than could have been the case under the provisions of the will itself: while it seems on all hands to be agreed, that if a protector of the realm, or guardian of the King's person were wanted, for the furtherance of the public interests, safety of the King, or promptitude of action, no one had better pretensions to the office than the Earl of Hertford, not only as the King's uncle, but as having in himself no personal claims whatsoever to the crown.

How far he was guided *solely* by ambition, as some would allege, it may be impossible to say: we shall soon see that there was another, whose ambition was more restless; but at all events, the new Protector obtained as much, at the commencement of his nephew's reign, as almost any ambitious mind could covet; for in fulfilment of some alleged intentions of the late King, left to be carried into execution after his death, on the authority of those who were in attendance upon his death-bed, particularly the Secretary Paget, the Earl was speedily advanced to be Duke of Somerset, having also the appointments of Earl Marshal and Lord Treasurer, vacated by the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk; and in discharge of the late King's promises, the revenues of many ecclesiastical dignities and preferments were settled upon him, in which, if he should appear to have been an intruder, as in strictness of speech he certainly was, it should be observed, that such grants and alienations were no new inventions of the *Reformers*. They had been customary in all cases of preferment without cure of souls, and might appear the less objectionable, at this time, as having been abused, even when regarded as *spiritual* appointments, and in the hands of *spiritual* incumbents. Nevertheless, the practice was in many ways so indefensible, as a trespass upon endowments evidently designed for the spirituality,

that Burnet does not scruple to pronounce it to be directly contrary to Magna Charta, and to the King's coronation oath.*

The elevation of the Earl of Hertford to the high honours of a Dukedom, on the simple allegation of the persons brought forward to assert the *unexecuted designs* of the deceased monarch, who had willed that all his grants, gifts, and promises, should be perfected and fulfilled,† having also been regarded as an unauthorised, and

* History of the Reformation, 1547.

† This clause having been, according to the depositions of the attendants, Paget, Herbert, and Denny, as reported by Burnet, inserted when the King was on his death-bed, is judged by Dr. Lingard, to be no small evidence of the invalidity of the will in general, which purports to have been executed three weeks before the King's last illness, viz. December 30, the clause appearing in the body of the will, and the King dying January 28. To reconcile these things, it would seem to be most probable, that when the King was reminded of his promises on his death-bed, he told them he had caused such a clause to be inserted in his will, the promises being all written down, and in the King's own keeping; but he had had occasion to alter them when the Duke of Norfolk gave his estate to the crown.—*See Burnet*, ii. 12, 13.

But it may surely be observed also, that the very tenor of the will seems to acquit the party most suspected of interfering improperly in the royal disposition of things, since the will seemed so soon manifestly to stand in the way of the leaders among the reformed. Somerset, for instance, might have secured to himself, by a fabricated will, the Protectorate at once, after the example of Cardinal Beaton on the death of James V. five years before: a case as much in point as possible, the dying King's hand, as it has been said, having been *led* to subscribe a paper, wherein he (the Cardinal) was named the first governor of the kingdom. He might have excluded the Chancellor, or Bishop Tonstal, as Gardiner had been excluded; he might have obviated the disgrace put upon his brother, by inserting his name among those of the second council only, and which in all likelihood caused that irritation, which gave Somerset so much trouble afterwards. The worst part of the business is the formal and very solemn oath taken by the executors, with the exception of Bromley and the two Wottons, to "stand to and maintain the last will and testament of the late King, and every part and article of the same, to the uttermost of their power, wits, and cunning," when it was so little likely they should agree. It may still remain a question (See Rapin, viii. 12.), however, how far a majority of the executors might or might not devolve to one of their own body, a sort of concentrated regency, if judged to be really necessary or conducive to the interests of the King and nation. The Parliament stood excluded by its own act, in the extraordinary power given to Henry by the statute of the 28th of his reign. There was undeniably much irregularity in what took place; but in the struggle between parties, had a Catholic obtained a preponderance in the council or administration of affairs, as appears to have been the very object the Chancellor had in view, we can be at no loss to decide, how much it might have operated to the detriment of

premature exercise of the royal prerogative, it may not be amiss to observe, though we do not pretend to say how far it may be allowed to give credit to the facts, that the chief referee, Sir William Paget, totally omitted his own name in the list of expectants, and that the Lord Chancellor, notwithstanding his adverse principles in points of religion, was, on precisely the same grounds as the Protector, advanced to the dignity of an Earldom, by the name and title of Earl of Southampton. According to the intentions of Henry, grants of money were also to be assigned to some of the new lords; but to fulfil this part of the royal designs, the council resolved upon the sale of the chauntry lands, assigning them over to the King, with all the funds destined for the support of obits, anniversaries, church lights, &c., to all which Cranmer greatly objected.*

On Sunday, February 6, nine days after the death of Henry, the young King received at the hands of his uncle, the Protector, the honour of knighthood, as preparatory to his coronation, which took place on Sunday the 20th of the same month, a few days after the solemnities of his father's funeral: A ceremony, in which, as a sensible writer has observed, "the Roman church was allowed once more to exert all her illusive powers over the human mind, in honour of a Prince who taught his countrymen to reject her fascinations with contempt."† The young King was crowned by Cranmer and the Protector, with three crowns,‡ as symbolical

the nation, and the danger of the King: at all events, an undue preponderance on that side, which was apparently, to say the least, the aim of Wriothesley and his party, would have been quite as irregular as the actual preponderance of the Reformists, which has ever since given such offence to the Catholics.

* See Lingard, iii. 29, and Soames, iii. 196-7, 198-9. Collier. Burnet.

† (Soames), and for a particular account of the solemnities, see Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. Collection of Records, A.

‡ Bale (in his Centuries) relates that King Edward had, as well as three crowns, three swords delivered to him at his coronation, and that upon the delivery of the third, he said that there was

of his three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland; and it has been observed that, contrary to former practices, more stress was laid upon his hereditary and indefeasible rights to the crown, than on the consent of the people: but this was probably done, not through any contempt of the people, but in defiance of the Pope. On the latter point, the independence of the crown could not be carried too high; and this indeed was the express purport of the address made to him by Cranmer, when he placed the crown on the head of his royal godson. He was careful to instil into his mind a correct notion of his regal dignity, as in no manner dependent on the Roman See, however boldly and plainly it had been asserted in a letter from Paul III. to his deceased father; which it was now almost necessary, therefore, to contradict, so as to place the sovereignty of the young monarch on its proper footing of independence and freedom from all foreign subjection whatsoever. Some of the Archbishop's expressions to this effect, are very forcible and striking. "Not, therefore, as authorised by the Bishop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour, Jesus Christ, I shall now humbly remind your Majesty of the duties which have devolved upon you. Your Highness then, as God's Vicegerent within your dominions, is bound to see that among those committed to your governance, God be truly worshipped, idolatry destroyed, images removed, and the tyranny of the Roman bishops overthrown. You are to reward virtue, to punish crime, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to promote peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realm."—"Of these things I admonish your Majesty merely because I am bound by my function so to do; not because I have any commission to deprive you of the crown, should you fail in

another yet to come, "whereat when the lords marvelled, he added, I mean the Sacred Bible which is the sword of the Spirit, without which we are nothing, nor can do any thing." Camden puts this among his *wise speeches*.—Remains.

the performance of your duty; much less because I have any power to make any stipulations in favour of the Roman Bishop, such as were made by your predecessors, King John, and his son, King Henry."—"I shall, therefore, only add, may the Almighty God of his mercy cause the light of his countenance to shine upon you, may he grant you a prosperous and happy reign, may he defend and save you, and let your subjects say, Amen."*

Dr. Lingard, speaking of the alterations made in the ceremonies, observes, that "hitherto it had been the custom for the Archbishop, first to receive the King's oath to preserve the liberties of the realm, and then to ask the people if they were willing to accept them. Now the order was inverted: and not only did the address to the people precede the oath to the King, but in that very address they were reminded that he held his crown by descent, and that it was their duty to submit to his rule." But that the people understood that some appeal was made to their free consent in the words, "Be ye willing to do homage service?" &c.: or, as Dr. Lingard states it, "Will ye give your good wills and assents to the same consecration?" is evident from their exclamation, Yea, yea, yea, and the accompanying plaudits.† This could not lessen the effect of the oath on the mind of the young and virtuous King, though administered afterwards.‡

But to return to the subject of these Memoirs. It happened that in the very first year of the new reign the office of *Custos Brevium*, in the Common Pleas, the reversion of which had been granted, as we have shewn, to his father by Henry, for the benefit of his

* Strype, Mem. Cranmer, from Archbishop Usher's papers. See also Soames's History of the Reformation, vol. iii.

† Strype's Cranmer, after the MS. in Benet College, Cambridge.

‡ At the coronation of Edward, forty persons of distinction were, with ceremonies of great solemnity, made Knights of the Bath, among whom was Sir Anthony Cooke, the father-in-law of Lord Burghley.

son, became vacant, whereby he appears to have acquired an income of about 240*l.* per annum, according to the following account still preserved in his own hand-writing.

Anno 1547. [i. E. 6.] Collatum est mihi officium Custodis Brevium in communi banco, cum feodo annuo	vi	xiij	iiii
Proficua hujus officii communibus ann^{s} (ultra stipendium deputati) terminis Michaelis et Hilarii	cxxxi	00	00
Terminis Paschæ et Trinitatis . . .	cii	00	00
	ccxxxix	xiij	iiij.

We need give no particular account of this office, as it still exists, and the duties of it are to be found in books;* but he obtained in the same year another appointment, apparently of much more importance, and which is thus mentioned in his Life by a Domestic.

"In the first yere of King Edward the Sixt, the Duke of Somerset, then Lord Protector, hearing of Mr. Cecill's towardness and gifts, sent for him to be Master of his Requests; and the same yere he went with the Duke to Musselborough feld, where he was like to have byn slaine, but myraculously saved by one that putting forth his arme to thrust Mr. Cecill out of the level of the canon had his arme stricken off."

Of the latter event we shall have to speak presently; as to the Mastership of Requests, conferred on Mr. Cecil by the Duke, Mr. Peck, in his notes on the above passage, observes, that it was "a new office of the Duke's own creation, and designed purely to ease himself of some part of that trouble, which his multitude of business and an infinite number of suits would otherwise

* See particularly Jacob's Law Dictionary.

have inevitably drawn upon him." But Camden is more particular; he even asserts that he had it from Lord Burghley's own mouth, that he was the first who wore that title in England. But though Lord Burghley might make it indeed comparatively a new office, by his superior mode of executing the duties of it, or, which appears more probable, from the charges subsequently brought against the Protector, it was at this time to be conducted in a totally different manner, the office itself does not appear, as far as the name goes, to be newly erected at this period. For not only was Cardinal Wolsey instrumental in establishing Courts of Requests for much the same purpose, as it would seem,* but Sir Thomas More† is said to have holden the very office of Master of the Requests, under *Henry;* and in the notes to Sir John Hayward's History, by Strype, the same appointment, by name at least, is assigned to Dr. Cox, the Prince's tutor.‡ At all events, it appears to have been an office of great trust, and its object, if rightly represented, admirable in principle; namely, "for the furtherance of poor men's suits, and for the more effectual speeding them, without the delays and charges of law." Lloyd, in his State Worthies, calls it "a place of great dispatch and business." Strype, in his account of the proceedings against the Duke in after times, says, "The Protector also raised against himself much hard speech for that Court of Requests he set up *within his own house;* the good intent whereof was to hear poor men's petitions and suits; and here oftentimes, upon examination

* "Alia porro constituit judicia ubi pauperum querimoniæ exaudirentur."—*Godwin.*

† Macdiarmid's British Statesmen, p. 40. 4to. edit. 1807.

‡ In Jacob's Law Dictionary, the Court of Requests is said to have had its beginning 9 Hen. VII. according to Sir Julius Cæsar; but according to Gwyn not till the time of Henry VIII. that the Lord Privy Seal was Chief Judge, assisted by the MASTERS of REQUESTS. It is stated to have been principally instituted for the relief of such petitioners as in conscionable cases addressed themselves by supplication to his Majesty. There certainly appear to have been officers styled *Masters of Requests* before the reign of Edward VI.

of their cases, upon the compassion he took of their oppressions, if he ended not their businesses, he would send his letters to the chancery in their favour; which some judged to be a stopping the course of the courts, and endeavouring to warp the judges;" and he refers to two letters of Paget's, which he puts into his repository, G.G. H.H., which are certainly curious, though severe: we shall have occasion to notice them hereafter. Mr. Cecil, indeed, did not hold the office long, being succeeded by the celebrated Sir Thomas Smith; but while he did hold it, it seems to have drawn upon him a most extensive correspondence, and one in every respect equally important. The office may now, perhaps, be considered as in a great degree merged in that of Secretary of State; but in Cecil's time it appears to have constituted him, if not the sole, yet the most regular and direct channel for all applications to the throne or executive government, and which the circumstances of the times rendered not only very various, but particularly serious and weighty. This is easily to be proved by the immense amount of very curious letters, still extant, in a great variety of languages, addressed to him as the *Magister Libellorum, Protectori à postulatis*, &c. &c., all docketed or indorsed by Mr. Cecil himself, or his private secretary.

Epistolary correspondence, it may be observed, was of much more moment then, than in our own days; personal interviews, and visits to the court, in the then state of the public roads, together with the very imperfect and fatiguing mode of conveyance, being attended with great difficulty, expense, and hazard, almost the only means of communication was by letter; while, for want of posts, special messengers became so necessary,* that every letter

* Erasmus, though he could not often well afford it, was obliged to keep in his employ a number of young men purposely to convey his numerous letters to different parts, and receive the gratuities of his friends. But there is nothing more remarkable, comparatively with our own times, than the state even of public communications, when the most urgent dispatches

was made to convey the utmost that could be crowded into it; and thus, the most important matters of state came to be committed to writing.

It does not appear what were the emoluments of this office, nor

of the court and its ministers were to be conveyed through agents, or by special messengers, who seemed to require such stimulants to attention and expedition, as are now almost ludicrous. Those who are conversant with the writings and papers of Sir Ralph Sadler, will know how constantly he or his correspondents wrote on the outside of their dispatches, "*Hast, Hast, Hast, Hast*, for *lieff*, for *liff*, for *lyff*, (which appears on one of Lord Burghley's own dispatches, and spelled differently according to the loose manner of those times), sometimes Hast, Hast Haste, post Hast: but it was the particular advice of Sir Ralph to Lord Burghley, then Sir William Cecil, to attend to this as matter of necessity; for thus he writes to the latter in one of his letters. "We have receyved your severall lettres of the 22 and 23 of this present, which were not conveyed hither with such spede as Bynks posted to you with ours from hens; for yours were vi dayes a comming hither, and therefore when we wryte, we indorse our lettres 'for *lyef*,' tho' the matier require not so much hast; and so must you do, or ells the post will make no spede at all." This letter was written in September, 1559, and seems to have moved Lord Burghley to attempt a remedy; for, in a dispatch from the latter, in November following, we find the following direction by himself, requiring, probably, to be filled up by the Postmasters:

To Sir Raff Sadler, and Sir James Crofts,
Knights at Barwick. W. Cecill.—
For liff, liff, liff, 25 Nov. at Westm.
Received at Styelton, the xxvii daye of November, at six of cloke at nite.
Received at Neverke the xxvij day of November at ix of the cloke in the mornyng.
Received at ——— the xxviij day of November, at ij of the cloke at afternoon.
Received at Newcastell, the first of December, at xj of the cloke before noon.

See also a letter from the Lord Treasurer Winchester, to Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, December xxvi. of the same year, Sadler's Letters, No. 188. But improvements seem to have gone on very slowly, for, thirty years after, we find even James I., in a letter to Lord Burghley (1589), writing on the outside, "I pray you further this—now: it is on ane extraordinarie occasion." (Ellis's original Letters.) The most curious of all, perhaps, is the following, from the *Lords of the Council*, at Greenwich, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in the fourth year of this reign. "To the Right Honourable, &c. &c: Hast, for thy lyf, post, hast, for thy lyf, post, hast, hast, for thy lyf, hast, hast, hast, for thy lyf, post, hast."—*Lodge's Illustrations*, i. 137.

exactly how long Mr. Cecil held it, though probably for a very short time, since Strype, under the year 1547, thus speaks of his successor, Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Smith. "The Lord Protector had set up an office *in his house* of Master of Requests, for the better care-taking of poor men's suits, and for the more effectual speeding them, without the delays and charges of law. In this office was Dr. Smith placed, and seems to have been the second Master of Requests to the Protector, as Cecil was the first."* But it is remarkable, that in this character alone, and before he became Secretary of State, at the early age of twenty-seven, he appears to have been, as before observed, the chief channel of communication between the government and the various individuals or public bodies, foreign as well as domestic, who had any appeals, suits, or counsels to address to the supreme power. And, as the state of religion and of the church had become so prominent an object at the period of Henry's demise and Edward's accession, it is not to be wondered, that so large a proportion of letters, still preserved in our public repositories, should be found to relate to this subject. Not only the heads of our own Universities, but of many foreign seminaries, abundance of learned professors, and other persons of singular eminence and talents, attached to the cause of the Reformation, are to be found amongst those who directed their addresses, chiefly in the Latin tongue, to the Master of Requests. *Clarissimo viro Domino Sycilio—Domino Sicilio a consiliis et libellis supplicibus Illust^mi. Dom^ni. Protectoris*, &c. &c., as the titles run. In all of which letters he appears to be treated with such singular respect and regard, as plainly to denote a very extraordinary confidence in his judgment, discretion, integrity, influence and weight with the Protector, as well as with his royal relative and ward; with regard to the latter of whom, Mr. Cecil, probably through his connexion both with

* Life of Sir Thomas Smith, ch. iv.

Cheke and Sir Anthony Cooke, as well as the Lord Protector, appears to have formed a very early intimacy, approaching, indeed, to all the familiarities and confidence of an assured friendship; of which a memorable proof is upon record in the remark of the Princess Mary, on receiving a letter of counsel and remonstrance on the part of her royal brother. "Ah," said she, in the hearing of the Chancellor and others who attended upon her, "good Mr. Cecil took much pains here."* He is supposed, indeed, to have had no small share in the productions ostensibly attributed to Edward.

* Ellis's Original Letters.

CHAP. XIV.

Account of the Expedition to Scotland in the first year of the King's reign—Mr. Cecil accompanies the Army as Judge Marshal, (or a Judge of the Marshalsea)—Appears to have furnished the materials for the Diarium Expeditionis Scoticæ—*View of the politics of the two Kingdoms at this memorable juncture—The Protector's public addresses to the Scotch Government and People.*

But it is time to notice the other circumstance mentioned in the above section of his Life by a Domestic; that, in the first year of the reign of King Edward, he accompanied the Protector into Scotland, and was present at the memorable battle of Musselburgh, or Pinkey, having been brought there into great jeopardy of his life. The latter circumstance has been questioned, because not noticed in the "Expedition of the Duke of Somerset into Scotland," by W. Patten, one of the Judges of the Marshalsea, a work in which he is said to have been assisted by Cecil himself.* But the conclusion does not follow, that no such accident took place: the omission of the circumstance may rather bespeak the modesty or indifference of Mr. Cecil to his own danger; and though, as Hollinshed, in his usual manner, or rather Patten himself, whom he follows, reminds his readers on the very occasion,

——— res est meminisse laboris
Præteriti jucunda: grave effugisse periculum
Summa recordari secura mente voluptas,

yet so far was he, to all appearance, from any inclination to

* *Diarium Expeditionis Scoticæ.* London, 1541, 12mo. Lord Burghley is supposed to have furnished the materials for this account of the war, and to have been, for that reason, reckoned by Hollinshed among the English *Historians.* See Walpole's Noble Authors, and Biograph. Britannica.

boast of his presence at this momentous conflict, in which he could scarcely have avoided being in considerable danger, that the only intimation we find of it in his Journal, is the following short and simple notification: "*Anno* 1547, *in æstate fui in Scotia.*" That he might have said more of it, we may collect from Hollinshed before cited, or rather Patten himself, who observes, that at the onset of this famous battle everything seemed to threaten destruction to the English army; "so that had there not been a more vehement cause of courage, than the danger of death was cause of fear, the very horror of the thing had been able to have made any man to forget both prowess and policy." And here we cannot forbear to notice an oversight in all other historians of this period of Lord Burghley's life; besides the office of Custos Brevium, to which he succeeded by a reversionary grant from Henry, he certainly held another office, which we must call that of a Judge of the Marshalsea: we confess we find ourselves at a loss to explain this; Robertson calls him a Judge Marshal of the army, which is an office in the Judge Advocate's court, rather than in the Marshalsea court, especially as connected with the army; Patten, who wrote in 1548, decidedly speaks of himself as a Judge of the Marshalsea, "as Master William Cycyll (now Master of Requests, with my Lord Protector's grace) was the other."*

The cause of this expedition into Scotland is thus stated by Sir John Hayward; we might perhaps almost say, by Mr. Cecil himself, as it is well known that Hayward took his account of the battle of Musselburgh from Patten's book, in which Mr. Cecil had a great share.

"King Henry," says he, "at the time of his death, gave a special charge to his council, that they should omit no endeavours whereby the marriage of his son and the young Queen of Scots might

* Peck, Desid. Cur. lib. xv. no. iii.

be procured to take effect. Hereupon they pursued this quarrel in the *same state* that the King left it: but *before* they attempted anything by arms, the Lord Protector assailed the Scotch nobility with a friendly letter; herein he remembered them of the promises, seals, and oaths, which by public authority had passed for concluding this marriage; that these being religious bonds between God and their souls, could not by any politic act of state be dissolved, until their Queen should attain unto years of dissent. He farther added, that the providence of God did then manifestly declare itself, in that the male princes of Scotland failing, the kingdom was left to a daughter, and in that King Henry left only one son to succeed: that these two princes were agreeable both for years and princely qualities to be joined in marriage, and thereby to knit both realms into one. That this union, as it was like to be both easily done, and of firm continuance, so would it be both profitable and honourable unto both the realms. That both the easiness and firmness might be conjectured, for that both people are of the same language, of like habit and fashion, of like quality and condition of life, of one climate not only annexed entirely together, but severed from all the world besides: for as these are sure arguments, that both descended from one original, and had been under one government, so (by reason that likeness is a great cause of liking and of love) they would be most forcible means both to join and to hold them in one body again: that the profit would rise by extinguishing wars between the two nations; by reason whereof in former times victories abroad have been impeached; invasions and seditions occasioned; the confines of both realms laid waste, or else made a nursery of rapines, robbers, and murthers; the inner parts often deeply pierced, and made a wretched spectacle to all eyes of humanity and pity: that the honour of both realms would increase, as well in regard of the country's sufficient to furnish not only the necessities, but the

moderate pleasures of this life; as also of the people, great in multitude, in bodies able, assured in mind, not only for safety but the glory of their common state: that hereby would follow, assurance of defence, strength to enterprise, ease in sustaining public burthens and charge: that herein the *English* desired no pre-eminence, but offered equality both in liberty and privilege, and in capacity of offices and employments; and to that end the name of *Britains* should be assumed indifferent to both nations: that this would be the accomplishment of their common felicity, in case by their evil, either destiny or advice, they suffered not the occasion to be lost."

It can scarcely be denied, we should think, that there could not have been a more just representation framed of the actual situation of affairs as they regarded both countries, could the object in view have been attained without recourse to arms. But it seems to be doubted whether any such overtures as might *invite negotiation*, were made by the Protector, before his advance into Scotland. The learned author of the History of the Reformation in Scotland, is disposed to attribute the only overture of this nature, prior to the conflict, entirely to the *alarm** and *surprise* of the Protector, on his approach to Edinburgh, upon finding the Scots so much stronger and so much better prepared to resist him than had been expected. "In this *critical emergency*," he says, "he determined to do what he ought to have done before he declared war; namely, to announce that he was not unwilling to depart from the most offensive proposal of Henry, to get the young Queen into his own hands; a point which had been ceded to the Scots by Henry, however reluctantly, in 1543: had they continued firm to the other terms of the treaty, or agreed to renounce the league with France, which Henry required but was refused, though *there* lay the chief danger to England, as well as to

* See also Robertson, i. 71.

Henry's hopes."* The learned author admits that *Heylin* affirms that such a proposition was communicated to Arran before Somerset marched for Scotland; "but this," he adds, "is evidently a mistake, and is contrary to the clear testimony of almost all other writers of that period; had the proposition he subjoins been made at the time mentioned by Heylin, it would have led to a negotiation."

This, we think, may be doubted; if the *previous* communications were friendly in *general*, there was room enough left for negotiation as to this very point. It is more likely, indeed, that the adverse party in Scotland, as we shall see in the sequel, wished no such proposition to be made: when the French ambassador, in August, desired the Protector to negotiate before he began hostilities, the Scotch commissioners found nothing about the marriage in their instructions,† or, at least, no power to agree to the marriage, modified or unmodified, as it would seem. Nor should it be overlooked that, from the circumstances in which the Protector stood, an *amicable* settlement must have been in every respect desirable to *him*, could it have been achieved; even when he returned *victorious*, he found that his short absence from the court and the council, at so critical a moment, had nearly been his ruin, as is now known.‡ Indeed, the death of Francis I., which happened in March, and the refusal of Henry II. his successor, at the instigation of the *Guises*, to ratify the treaties that had been negotiated with his father, was enough to shew how

* Arran, after the treaty in July, and as soon as the Cardinal had got the young Queen into his own hands, joined that party, renounced the treaty, and, at the instigation of Grimaldi, the *Pope's legate*, and Labroche, the *French ambassador*, determined to make war against Henry and the Protestant lords.—*See Lingard's Henry VIII.* chap. v. 437, 438.

† Rapin; and see, as to the meeting of Tonstal, &c. and the Scottish Commissioners, August 4, Soames, iii. 74, 75. Collier states, that the Protector entered Scotland, September 3, and then sent a message offering to retire if the Scots would agree to the marriage, keeping the young Queen at home.—Vol. ii. 229.

‡ Memorials, Edward VI. b. ii. ch. xviii.

detrimental to England the alliance of the latter family with Scotland was likely to prove, if not prevented by some *sudden effort* on the part of England; but, as Rapin admits, the Duke undertook the war much against his will.* Hollinshed states, that a proclamation was issued by the Earl of Warwick and Sir Ralph Sadler at Berwick, before even the army set foot in Scotland, in the following words; "On which day a proclamation with sound of trumpet was made by a herald, in three several parts of the camp, signifying the cause of the coming of the King's army into Scotland, which in effect was to advertise all the Scottish nation that their coming was not to deprive them of their liberties, but to advance the marriage already concluded and agreed upon betwixt the King's Majesty and their Queen, and no hostility meant to such as should shew themselves furtherers thereof." This proclamation being issued on the 2d of September, and the Duke entered Scotland on the 4th.

But even were the case so, that the Duke entered Scotland in a hostile manner, without sufficient endeavours to adjust matters amicably, as to the ostensible motive of his expedition, the *real* ground of *quarrel* must have been too well understood, to prevent the Scots having recourse to negotiation had they been inclined to enter into any, on fair terms, to resist the storm with which they were threatened.† They must have known, that they had allowed the French King and Catholic party to interrupt and interfere with the treaty that had been concluded with Henry, for the marriage of the young Princess, in which the great point in

* See Rapin, viii. 19. 1547.

† Sir John Hayward states, that the Protector took up the quarrel with Scotland upon Henry's dying injunction, that the match should be pursued in the same state as he had left it. Now the state in which Henry left it was decidedly upon the footing of the convention in 1543, wherein Henry had renounced his original proposals of having the young Queen conveyed to England, and consented that she should remain in Scotland till the age of ten years. —*See Robertson*, i. 60. *Cooke*, i. 236, 237.

dispute had been settled; that by their proceedings they had rendered it too obvious, that so far from allowing her to match with England, she was more likely to be given up to the King of France, as in the end proved to be the case. But that some previous though ineffectual negotiation had taken place, may be judged from the report we find in Hollinshed of the Protector's reply, on the field of battle, to the herald who brought him a challenge to single combat from the Earl of Huntley, and which words, says the historian, "were uttered so expeditely with honour, and so honourable with expedition, that the standers-by were moved to doubt whether they might rather note in them the promptness of a singular prudence, or the boldness of a noble courage; and they were thus:

"Your Governor may know, that the special cause of our coming hither was not to fight, but for the thing that should be the weal, both of us and you. For God we take to record, we mind no more hurt to the realm of Scotland, than we do to the realm of England, and therefore our quarrel being so good, we trust God will prosper us the better. But as for peace, he hath *refused such conditions* at our hands, as we will never proffer again; and therefore let him look for none, 'till this way we make it. And thou, trumpeter, say to thy master, &c."

We are not disposed to place too much confidence in speeches reported, and possibly made by mere historians; but as we have sufficient proof, that friendly representations, and explanatory proclamations, had been made and issued *before* the entering upon hostilities; and as the cause of all the preparations was notoriously a breach of treaty, occasioned by French and Catholic interference, most hazardous to England, and unfavourable to the true interests of Scotland; we are entirely inclined to think, the expedition was in all respects justifiable, though, according to the memorable saying of the Earl of Huntley, it was undoubtedly a

"rough manner of wooing." But the *wooing* of a *suitor*, *goaded by jealousy*, and *interrupted by rivals*, is seldom otherwise; and if this should be supposed to have been not exactly the case with Henry, though according to Lord Herbert it was otherwise, yet it was undoubtedly such with regard to Somerset. Arran had consented to the marriage, and it had been confirmed by parliament, and the contract sealed with the great seal of Scotland; but this being discordant to the feelings, and adverse to the views of *three* other parties notoriously opposed to England, and more especially to all accommodation between England and Scotland, namely, the *King* of *France*, the *Princes* of the *House* of *Lorrain*, and all the *Scotch Catholics* (with *Beaton* at their head); and the most treacherous designs having been put in practice, by sending Lennox into Scotland, to alarm Arran, and, as proved to be the case, through that alarm, to induce him to abandon the treaty with England; it would surely seem, that the English spirit could not be expected to brook such indignities.

It is now long since "the name of Britain" has been indifferently assumed by both nations; it is now long since both nations have learned to respect and regard each other, leaving no shadow of competition as to courage, or honour, or glory, religion, or virtue. But in a review of struggles and differences, in which the illustrious subject of these Memoirs had the *misfortune* to be compelled to bear so large a share, to the very end of his life, we must be permitted to ascertain if we can, whether England did ever meditate so much harm to Scotland, as Scotland with her foreign allies meditated against England; or whether, for that seems to come still nearer to the truth, England did not constantly contemplate such an issue of things as might have redounded as much to the glory and happiness of Scotland as of herself; while Scotland was as earnestly inclined to surrender herself up to foreign confederacies, notoriously bent upon nothing so much as the ruin and

degradation of England through her?* All the propositions, all the views of England with regard to Scotland, were decidedly in favour of *both* countries. The union contemplated has since taken place, and we know how fully to appreciate the blessings and the benefits of it; and we may be able to understand, how galling the interposition of foreign powers to hinder such an union in the sixteenth century, must have been to those who had England to defend from the betrayers and evil-advisers of its nearest neighbour, since nothing is more true than the remark of the Poet,

"Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet;†
Et neglecta solent incendia sumere vires."

But the case was more urgent than this; the English and the Scots may be said to have inhabited *one* and the *same house*, and incendiaries were manifestly at work to kindle a flame which *might* consume both, but was undoubtedly meant to involve in ruin the *larger* proportion of the house and its inhabitants, if unchecked or not timely subdued. In looking, indeed, to the history of Scotland, during the sixteenth century, as a country connected in a most extraordinary manner with England, we

* It is injurious to the credit, and hurtful to the feelings of both countries to regard these angry conflicts as entirely directed against each other. The interference of the French is the thing most to be looked to; their own histories shew this. The following plain statement by Daniel tells the truth; it may be found under the year 1547.

"This resolution, which the Emperor took, gave the [French] King an opportunity of *breaking the measures* of the court of *England*, to bring about the marriage of young King *Edward* to Mary *Stuart*, heiress of the crown of Scotland. He acted so strenuously by his ambassadors, and the troops which he sent into *Scotland*, where they *performed wonders*, that the *negotiations*, and even the *entreaties* of the English, signified nothing. The young Queen of Scotland was brought into France to be educated there, till her marriage with the Dauphin, who was afterwards Francis II.; and *Henry* [the French King] by this means *prevented* the union of the crowns of England and Scotland under the same Prince, a union which for several ages had always been looked upon as what would be very prejudicial to France."

† Bishop Jewel applies the same passage to the affairs of Scotland, as connected with England, in a letter to Peter Martyr, November, 1559. Burnet, iii. Collections, No. 58.

cannot too often suggest to our readers, as bearing upon the most troublesome parts of Lord Burghley's political career, the extreme importance of keeping their eyes fixed more on the paramount objects which then engaged the attention of all Europe, than on the minor transactions and petty details of a struggle, which had much in it, from beginning to end, to beguile the feelings, to awaken the sensibilities of the human heart, to engage them, as it were, on one side, and thereby to load with shame and disgrace all who, by uncontrollable circumstances, were compelled to take a contrary part. Had Mary Queen of Scots never been born, it is probable that her dominions must have been equally exposed to the conflicts that took place on the score of religion, and to the competition between England and foreign powers, to acquire rule there, as their religious principles severally swayed them. Had James V. left a son instead of a daughter, the progress of the Reformation in England, so adverse to the feelings and principles of most of the other great states of Europe, must have induced, or rather compelled the English government to look to the vulnerable state of her Northern frontier, and to seek to secure either a conformity in religion, which might conduce greatly to preserve amity between the two countries, or, in case of a difference, to prevent the *smaller* and *weaker* of the two states forming such alliances as might tend to the ruin of the other portion of the island, with the overthrow of its liberties civil and religious. King James V. having left a daughter instead of a son, it was undeniably the wisest thing King Henry could do to seek an alliance by marriage, which might have united, by a fixed and indissoluble bond, the two nations, with a fair hope, besides, of the conversion of Scotland to an uniformity of faith, thereby abrogating for ever the power of the Pope, and reducing the whole nation to one general system of government independent of all foreign in-

fluence. Great objections have been made to Henry's rough mode of wooing, and we must forgive the Scots for their unwillingness to be dictated to by a haughty and assuming neighbour, yet it was easy to foresee what might be lost if he did not prevail. It was easy to foresee that if the French obtained the young Queen, that if she were induced to turn away from England, and attach or unite herself to a foreign Catholic Prince, the sword would be at once unsheathed, and the scabbard thrown away; for it was not to be supposed that the greater portion of the island would easily be brought to submit to the lesser portion, at the cost of the sacrifice of principles, views, and expectations, the most important and influential that could be conceived; and it was impossible to overlook the constant hazard of invasion of the greater portion by the lesser, should the latter be in a way of deriving powerful aid from foreign parts. The most prompt and vigorous resistance of all foreign interference must have appeared to have been the only resource of the greater division of the island, had no other consideration presented itself at the same moment; but when it was plainly seen that in the lesser portion of the island, a conflict of opinions and principles prevailed, the one part generally agreeing with the greater division, and wishing to be protected, not only from its domestic opponents, but indeed much more from all foreign interposition and tyranny; the urgency of the case seemed scarcely to leave any other alternative, than that of the greater portion taking into its protection the party in agreement with itself, and endeavouring to obtain some preponderance over the other party, as a security to the whole.

It was certainly very unfortunate for both countries, that for so long a time they should be placed in such trying circumstances of opposition and animosity; but when we look to the principal ground of quarrel, and consider the dangers with which England was threatened, so long as an adverse party in Scotland

was open to the machinations of the continental powers of Rome, Spain, Germany, France, or all united, we cannot surely be surprised that Scotland should become the scene of troubles and disasters (for four successive reigns), constantly to be deplored, but perfectly unavoidable in the then state of things.

It cannot be doubted, but that from the time of Henry's revolt from Rome, to the union of the two crowns in the person of James I. (as nearly as possible the exact period of the natural as well as the political life of Cecil), England's safety must have depended upon nothing so much as that Scotland should become reformed as well as herself, and that countries so indissolubly connected, in a geographical point of view, should not be liable to be set at variance by the selfish intrigues and machinations of the nations of the Continent. This policy Cecil pursued, and it is therefore the more necessary to clear up all the circumstances of the case.

Had the general tendency of England's interference been manifestly as inconsistent with the best interests of Scotland, as it was essential to her own security and happiness, the conduct of her government might appear in a very objectionable light; but almost all historians, especially those who lived nearest to the times, seem to have been aware of the importance of an union of the two kingdoms, whensoever it could be accomplished. The question then is, as to the means: and here we must look as well to the circumstances of Europe in general, as to the character of the times. If the great object in view could have been accomplished by means altogether smooth and fair, those who were bent upon hindering the operation of such measures would be decidedly most to blame; but when it came to a contest of *political intrigue*, when the object was either to be obtained to the salvation of both countries, or surrendered to the wills and purposes of rival nations, watching every opportunity that might be afforded them, of interrupting the peace and harmony of two such near neighbours, and

doing all in their power to stifle and subdue that spirit of religious and political freedom which had begun in other countries to operate changes of the most beneficial nature, we must needs make allowance for the very extraordinary situation of the two countries with regard to each other, and only deplore that the one did not so soon come to a proper understanding of its best interests as the other; much more, that it did not so act, as to save its nearest neighbour and best ally from the imputations incurred by a system of hostilities, more directed against the Catholic supporters of Scotland, than against Scotland itself.

Henry's conduct towards Scotland has been much censured, and the Protector, of course, blamed for treading so closely in his steps; but the general views of Henry were as politically wise and considerate as those of his successors. He had, assuredly, good reason, when he had himself thrown off the yoke of Rome, to endeavour to persuade his nephew James V. to emancipate himself from the same thraldom; and though he might be wrong, in endeavouring to excite in the breast of his relative the same avaricious cupidity which had led him to lay his hands too violently on the property of the church, and assume a power too great in spiritualities, yet it may be reasonably questioned, whether James would have so stoutly resisted his uncle's advice, had not his own power over the Church of Scotland been much more independent of the Pope, than had been for a long time the case with the sovereigns of England. At the period alluded to, through some strange oversight on the part of Rome, the Scottish monarchs had the sole right of nomination to vacant bishoprics and abbeys, while most of their vast possessions were held of the crown. This must have made a great difference in the agitation of such a question, and may be accounted among the causes that retarded the Reformation in Scotland, and to which we may very reasonably add another consideration, before hinted at, namely,

that the confiscation of the church property in England was no example to James, who had every possible reason not to wish to enrich his nobles, which had been the end of such confiscations in England.* He wanted, besides, abbeys and priories for his *natural* children, as the *Clergy*, to keep him steady to *their* cause, were careful to remind him,† and with some reason, for, without going into scandals of this nature, we know, on pretty good authority, that when Mary Queen of Scots was sent, in her sixth year, into France, she had the company of no less than three *natural* brothers, Robert, John, and James, who, though they were in the council book stated to be, according to their youth, or rather childhood, gone to "*the Sculis*," were every one of them *commendators* of different monasteries, and held appointments connected with the church: Robert, of Holyrood House; John, of Coldingham; and the Lord James (afterwards the Regent Murray), of St. Andrews. How many other natural sons the King may have had, we know not; but in October, 1552, we find a record of a "passport, granted in England, for two of the late Scotch King's bastard sons to transport out of the realm, four dozen of bows, twenty dozen of arrows, four gross of strings, and two geldings."

We do not wish to censure too severely a King who had certainly many virtues; but since several authors who record these facts, have spoken most inveterately against the English and Scottish Reformers of the same period, it is not amiss to shew the false security upon which this Catholic Prince was led to depend; Lindsay of Pitscottie, as we have before intimated, having declared, that they were the bishops who had given him to understand, that he might "safflie use his bodie at his pleasour, sayand that they would stand guid for his soul."‡

Again, when Henry, and the Protector after him, endeavoured

* Burke's Reflections on the Revolution in France, cited by Villers, 175.

† Burnet.

‡ See before, p. 111.

to enforce the performance of the treaty for the marriage of Edward and Mary, the Scots may be excused for feeling an apprehension that the difference of sex, in such an union, was in favour of Edward, and that the match, on that account alone, might turn out to the advantage of England against themselves; but England should stand acquitted of any over-eagerness to catch at such advantages, since this was by no means the first effort of Henry to unite the two kingdoms by marriage, as has been before shewn; had his offer of giving Mary to James* been acceded to, the advantages of sex would have been on the side of Scotland, as Henry himself had told them; expressly observing to the nobles, in his communications upon the subject, "that Mary his only daughter being married to James, the Scots would not, by that affinity, come over to the government of the English, but the English to that of the Scots." The tables were now certainly turned, and the nobles of Scotland may be said, on Henry's own principle, to have had grounds for their apprehensions; but the union of the two kingdoms by marriage, it should always be remembered, was *first* contemplated by England, when the balance was rather against herself. Even the most hateful and offensive of all Henry's propositions, that of removing the young Queen from her native country and dominions into England, should not be allowed to tell so much against him, when it is considered, not only that he was encouraged to do so at first by the Queen Mother and many of the nobles,† but that France afterwards acquired what was denied to Henry, and that the young Queen *was* removed much farther from her own country and dominions, to match with a Prince of France, than would have been the case, had she been suffered to accept the hand of her amiable and near relative of England.

* Buchanan, ii. 146.

† Hall asserts in his Chronicle, that the Scotch lords (prisoners), when they heard of James's death and the birth of Mary, wished the latter to be *sent into England* to marry the King's son.

It is said, as has been observed, that had the proposition made by the Protector on the field of battle, under no small dismay of the formidable array of forces opposed to him, been earlier made, it would have led to negotiation, and might have terminated the dispute without bloodshed; but if this were exactly as it is stated to have been by the able author referred to, it tells not much in favour of Scotland, since it seems to be allowed that the proposition was no sooner made, than the leaders of the Scots, Arran at least, by the advice of his brother the Archbishop, confident in the strength of his party and their *superiority of numbers*, determined to *conceal* the fact from the knowledge *of* the soldiers and people at large, as they *had* previously concealed from them former conciliatory manifestoes and proclamations, that they might *continue* to animate them by *false* assurances, that the whole design of the English was to carry off their young Queen, and reduce the nation to the most abject state of humiliation and disgrace. Nor does it tell to the disadvantage of the Protector and his English army, even if the proposition had been made under the circumstances insinuated, namely, the critical state in which they judged themselves to stand, with regard to the superior military array of their opponents, since they manfully stood their ground, when they found their offers were not listened to, and beat the very army of which they are reported to have been afraid. The friendly offers of the English, indeed, were not only concealed from the soldiery and people, but, as we learn from the Pitscottie Chronicles, "evil answeres" were returned, "the occasion of mekle bloodshed." What could be said after this, but what was said, and well said, by the Protector a few months after: "You will not have peace, you will not have alliance, you will not have concord, and conquest cometh upon you whether you will or no."*

It would, we think, be scarcely possible to say, how the real

* Hollinshed.

and best policy of Scotland could have been better set forth, than in the public papers, proclamations, and manifestoes of the Protector, both before and after the battle of Pinkey: for in the month of February, subsequent to that engagement, and the victory of the English, a still longer exhortatory letter,* than any before, was sent to the Scots, and printed for dispersion, that it might not be stifled, as his former letters and proclamations had been; and Bale tells us, that it was written both in Latin and English, that foreigners might understand it as well as the Scots, and particular care was taken to inform the Scots themselves of the tricks that had been played them. "And if your Governor, or Captain (as it is in Hollinshed), shall reteine and keep from you this our exhortation, as heretofore they have our proclamation tending to the like effect, for their owne privat wealth and commoditie, not regarding though you be still in miserie so they have profit and governance over you, and shall still abuse you with feigned and forged tales; yet this shall be a witnesse before God and all Christian people, betweene you and us, that we, professing the gospel of Jesus Christ, according to the doctrine thereof, doo not cease to call and provoke you from the effusion of your own blood, from the destruction of the realme of Scotland, from perpetual enimitie and hatred, from the finall destruction of your nation, and from servitude to forren nations, to libertie, to amitie, to equalitie with us, to that which your writers have alwaies wished might once come to passe." But to return to the main purport of the letter: alluding to the victory lately achieved, by the arms of the English, the letter states, "that though they (the English) were superiors in the field, and masters of a great part of the realm, and so might expect the Scots should seek to them,

* What is said by Leslie de Reb. Gest. Scot., and cited by Collier, vol. ii. 313, of the Queen Regent's reply to Edward VI. on her return through England afterwards, of the suddenness and rudeness of this attack, is absurd. She must have known better.

yet such was their charity and brotherly love, that they would not cease to provoke and call upon them to their own commodity; and they were content to cry and call upon them, to have the English rather their brothers than their enemies, their countrymen than their conquerors:" and in reference to the projected marriage, it goes on to say, "that if God should grant whatsoever the Scots would wish, what could they wish sooner, than that which now by fortune chanced, that these two kingdoms might be united under one ruler? and that two successions could not concur and fall into one by any other means than by marriage, whereby one blood, one lineage, one parentage, is made of two, and an indefectible right given of both to one, without the destruction and abolishing of other: which he said he would have them to think to come of God's own disposition and providence; and that the rather, because the two sons of the former King, being in divers places, both died within four-and-twenty hours, leaving but one maiden child and Princess. What could any Christian man, that thought the world governed by God's providence, think otherwise, but that it was God's pleasure it should be so, that these two realms should join in marriage, and thereby make a godly and perpetual unity. He protested, as his proclamations at the last wars declared also, that it was the King his master's mind, by his [the Protector's] advice and counsel, not to conquer, but to have in amity; not to win by force, but to conciliate by love; not to spoil and kill, but to save and keep; not to dissever and divorce, but to join in marriage, from high to low, both the realms; to make of both one isle and realm, in love, amity, concord, and charity."*

* Of the serious views of the English nation in general, in regard to this match, we may judge by the following prayer, for the success of the Duke of Somerset in his expedition, added to the King's injunctions for a visitation of the clergy, at that time, by Cranmer, as is conjectured from the hand-writing: "Ye shall also make your hearty and effectual prayer to Almighty God for the peace of all Christian regions, and especially, that the most joyful and

At the beginning of this very curious and interesting letter, which is to be found at length in Hollinshed, extracted from Grafton's Chronicles, but misplaced in the year 1549, and therefore more correctly reported in Strype's Memorials, Edward VI. b. i. ch. iii., the Protector reasonably enough, considering the actual situation of Scotland, professes to endeavour to awaken them to a proper sense of their own interests, "as a father to the son, or the elder brother to the younger, or as the loving physician would do to the mistrustfull and ignorant patient." There was no exaggeration or fallacy in this; the true policy of Scotland was, undoubtedly, such as England endeavoured to point out to her; and the most deplorable circumstance is, that it took almost a whole century to make her sensible of it; subjecting both nations, in the mean time, to such pernicious jealousies and suspicions, and to such disastrous measures, both offensive and defensive, as will never, perhaps, be fully forgiven or justly appreciated. It is painful, undoubtedly, to contemplate the unpleasant circumstances in which two such ancient and renowned nations were placed for a long succession of years, and compelled to be at variance by events the most untoward and deplorable; but it is impossible to deny, that at this period the offers and proposals, and even the advice of England, were friendly, fair, and wise; and that their rejection, on the part of the Scots, laid the foundation for all the troubles that to the end of her life attended their unfortunate Queen, whose history is, by many authors (and greatly to the detriment of Lord Burghley and other ministers of Queen Elizabeth), not made to begin exactly at its proper point. Her

perpetual peace and unity of this reyalme and Scotland may shortly be profited and brought to pass, by the most godly and happy marriage of the King's Majesty and the young Queen of Scotland; and that it would please Almighty God, to ayd with strength, wisdom, and power, and with his holy defence, all those which favour and set forward the same, and vanquish and confound all those which labour and study to the lett and interruption of so godly a quiet and unity, whereof these two realms should take such a benefit and profitt."

troubles had their foundation in the struggles and bigotry of the parties opposed to Henry and Edward, in the course of which such manifest proofs were given of the disposition of the ruling faction to court the aid or submit to the power of France, to uphold the papal tyranny, and to resist the spread of liberal opinions, in direct opposition to the interests, the safety, and the brighter prospects of England, that it was impossible for the administrators of the government in the latter country to do otherwise than side with those who took the opposite part. It was no freak of superstition, on the part of the English, to suppose that Providence had specially thrown in the way of both nations an opportunity of forming a permanent union, thus also set forth in the admirable letter of the Protector, as it stands in Hollinshed: "The which thing that you should also think to come of his disposition, and not by blind fortune, how unlike hath it been and how suddenlie hath it turned, that the power of God should be shewed: your last King being a prince of much excellencie and yoong, whom, you know, after a promise broken contrarie to his honor, and misfortune by God's just judgment following upon it, God, either by sorrow or by some meanes otherwise at his inscrutable pleasure, did take awaie from you, had three children; did not Almightie God (as it were) to shew his will and pleasure to be that the long continued warre and enimitie of both nations should be taken awaie, and knit in perpetuall love and amitie, take the two men-children of those babes, being distant the one from the other, and in diverse places, both as it were at the same time, and within the space of foure-and-twentie houres, leaving but one maiden child and Princesse? When the most wise and victorious Prince, our late King and maister, King Henrie the Eight, in other of his marriages not most fortunate, had by his most lawfull and most vertuous wife, Queen Jane, his other two wifes before that marriage departed this world, and never surmise

nor question made of that marriage, since that time to this daie, nor so much as all hir lifetime, name or motion to or of anie other wife, one Prince of so high expectation, of so great gifts of God, the right and undoubted heire of the realme of England, and his Maiestie onelie of male issue left behind him to succeed the imperial crowne, it must needs be reckoned a great marvel and a miracle."*

Mr. Cecil's attendance upon the Protector in this expedition, his experience of the extreme rancour and animosity of the Scottish government and army, must have made a deep impression upon his mind, and tended to convince him not only of the great desireableness of an union of the two countries, but of the very obvious alternative of Scotland's falling entirely into the hands and power of France, if such overtures, as had been proposed on the part of England, were refused and rejected; and that in such a case, it must become constantly and invariably the policy of England to support those who should be disposed to resist the French faction, even independent of their religious principles and sentiments.† But when, in addition to the hazards from the French, the opponents of foreign influence in Scotland were also found to be friends to the advancing cause of Protestantism, it seems almost impossible that he could ever, with any security to England, have abandoned that precise line of politics,

* See also Bishop Hooper's Address to the Protector.—*Strype's Memorials*, Edward VI. b. i. ch. ii.

† There cannot possibly, we think, be a greater proof given of the continual annoyance Scotland might be to England, if connected with France, than in the two following articles of a treaty entered into by Baliol with Philip, King of France, as far back as in the year 1295:

III. That he (Baliol, as King of Scotland) should at his own charge make war against the King of England, when he was employed in or diverted by war in other places.

VI. That if the King of England went out of his kingdom, or sent many forces abroad, the commissioners promised, that the King of Scotland should enter England with his whole power as far as he could, making war in the field, beseiging towns, wasting the countries, and by all possible ways destroying England.—*See Art.* Baliol, *Biographia Britannica*, note O.

in which we find him so early in life engaged, though it must have often involved him in very painful difficulties, and exposed him much to the rancour and ill-will of those whose measures he had to thwart, and whose intrigues against his sovereign and his country he had perpetually to counteract.

The battle of Pinkey was not calculated to conceal from the eyes of the English the two-fold object their adversaries had in view, namely, that of maintaining the ancient religion of the country, as well as of resisting the proposed alliance with England; for in the ranks of the Scottish army, we are credibly told, there was a band of Monks, or Kirkmen, "who did no good to any," says Hollinshed; even bishops and abbots, it is said, were there seen, engaging under a white banner, whereon was painted a woman with dishevelled hair, kneeling before a crucifix, with these words in Roman letters, beside her, "Afflictæ Ecclesiæ (*Sponsæ*, Hollinshed*), ne obliviscaris." It is indeed to be doubted, whether the church party were not more determinately set against the English alliance (for very obvious reasons) than the nobles of Scotland: it was to the former, probably, that the clandestine transportation of the young Queen into France, in 1548, was chiefly owing, for, besides a distribution of money amongst the nobles, the assent of the Governor appears only to have been gained by the timely grant of a pension and Dukedom from France; and the insolence of the French army in Scotland, under d'Essé, who was sent thither in the month of May, after the French had gained possession of the Queen's person, disposed many in Scotland to regret

* Hollinshed's account of this banner is worth transcribing:—

"But whose device soever it was, it may seem that this church coming thus to battle, full appointed with weapon, and guarded with such a sort of *deacons* to fight, howsoever in painting he had set her out, a man might well think, that in condition he had framed her like a cursed quean, that would pluck her husband by the pate except she had her will, than like a meek spouse, that went about humbly by submission and prayer to desire her husband's help for redress of things amiss."

her absence, and abhor the clergy for sending her away to answer their own purposes.*

There was certainly, as we have before hinted, one very obnoxious claim kept up by the sovereigns of England, during the successive reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, of feudal homage due to them as Lords paramount over Scotland, and thereby, upon any quarrel, challenging for England an absolute right to the crown. It was at times, so indiscreetly urged, that it can only be accounted for, as an effort to avert the interference of the French, who were always ready to support the Scots as their ancient or "*perpetual*" allies.†

This is a dispute into which we do not mean to enter far; it is almost necessary, however, to mention it, as one, perhaps, of the most reasonable causes of jealousy and apprehension on the part of the Scots, and one which did not appear to be brought to any satisfactory adjustment during the whole of the contest. The subject seems to have employed many pens at that period, and from papers written, prepared, or corrected by Lord Burghley, in Elizabeth's reign, he appears decidedly to have been an advocate for the validity of the claim, or at least for the assertion of it, against the interference of the French.‡ That the Scots should resist it is in no manner surprising; but upon investigation, it certainly did appear, from some references that were made and answered anno 1548, that *prior* to the time of our Edward I.,

* Burnet. † See Burnet, ii. 57.

‡ In an act passed for granting a subsidy to the King, to assist him in the conquest of Scotland, 1549, the latter country is called a part of the King's dominions.—*Rapin*, 53. And it is remarkable that in the treaty with France, signed March, 1550, as if the most disputable or disputed claims were not slightly to be relinquished, the last article is, "that the King of England's demands, claims, and pretensions, as well upon France as *Scotland*, and all the King of France's and Queen of Scotland's upon *England*, should remain as before;" thereby leaving uncondemned to Edward VI. his title of King of France, and, as it would seem, his claim of homage upon Scotland.

when the claim was in a more particular manner insisted upon,* some ancient Kings of Scotland had not only done homage themselves, but by solemn deed bound their nobles and other subjects to do the same; subjecting even the bishops and abbots of Scotland to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York. This is very particularly to be seen in a letter from Bishop Tonstal to the Lord Protector Somerset, to be found in Burnet's History of the Reformation, Appendix, No. ix., "proving the subjection of Scotland to England," the original being still extant among the Cottonian MSS. at the British Museum, Caligula, B. vii. But more may be read of claims extending as far back as the year 900, put forth by Henry VIII. in the year 1541, and in which, it must be acknowledged, there are strong instances produced of repeated acts of fealty; the declaration may be seen in Hall, and is referred to, but with some reserve, as a delicate subject of dispute between the two nations, by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in his Life of Henry VIII. 232-3. In Hall, the claim of superiority over Scotland, in Henry's declaration of war, is thus introduced: "But for whatsoever considerations we have omitted to speak hitherto of the matter, it is nevertheless true, that the Kynges of the Scottes have always knowledged the Kynges of England superior Lordes of the realm of Scotland, and have done homage and fealtie for the same. This appeareth first by history, written by such as, for confirmacion of the truth in memory, have truly noted and signified the same. 2dly, It appeareth by instruments of homage made by the Kynges of Scottes, and divers noble personages of Scotland, at divers and sundrie times, sealed with theyr seals, and remaining in our treasurie. 3dly, It appeareth by our registers and records, judicially and authentically made, yet preserved for confirmacion of

* There is a very curious account of the claims set up by Edward the First, and the acknowledgment of those claims, upon the death of that excellent monarch Alexander III. and his successor Queen Margaret, to be found in the Biograph. Britannica, Art. *Baliol.*

the same; so as the matter of title being most plaine, is furnished also with all manner of evidence for declaration thereof." All these things are afterwards regularly gone into, beginning with the times of Brute; but more particularly from the year 900, all the homages and fealties are reckoned up and distinctly enumerated, and the tenor of the homages set forth, and records and registers are cited at much length: it concludes with Henry's declaring, that it was not his design to compel James, by that war, to acknowledge the superiority.

As this claim was certainly never relinquished during the life of Lord Burghley, but re-asserted in papers drawn up by himself, in Elizabeth's reign, we confess we have been much struck with the copious references above to historical records and public registers, though in no way disposed to revive a question better buried in oblivion, and, at all events, connected with a system of laws and usages long fallen into desuetude.

The dispute, indeed, has happily been brought to an issue by the junction first of the two crowns, and since of the two kingdoms; but in those days, the point not being granted by the Scots, and some of the most striking documents produced by the English disputed as *forgeries*, must have tended greatly to aggravate matters, and indispose the latter to the alliance sought by England. Our Edward II., indeed, seems, from the same authority, to have formally renounced all superiority for himself and his heirs; but the question was started at the time, whether, if the original and ancient claim were valid, any King *could* renounce it so as to bind his successors; and which appears, by the civilians of those days, to have been decided in the negative.* But how earnestly the claim was resisted by the Scots nobility and people may be farther seen in the Latin letter (No. 10. ib.) directed to the Pope, in the year 1320, under the following title:

* Strype.

"Literæ directæ ad Dominum Summum Pontificem per communitatem Scotiæ."

It appears to have been in the capacity of *Judge Marshal of the army*, as Robertson calls him, under a joint commission with W. Patten, who wrote an account of this expedition, that Mr. Cecil accompanied the Protector into Scotland, though he is undoubtedly called by Patten himself, only a Judge of the Marshalsea. But it is not unreasonable to suppose, from his well known talents for business, that he may have been consulted or employed in penning such papers and communications as those to which we have referred above, and for which, in after times, he became, as a minister, so transcendently eminent; and this, indeed, seems the more probable, not only because he is known to have supplied Patten with the materials for his *Diarium Expeditionis Scoticæ*, as we have before shewn, but because he was, within a year after his return, advanced to be (not Secretary of State to the King, we think, as some allege, but) Secretary to the Protector.* We have, undoubtedly, his own authority for asserting that he was admitted to the office of Secretary in September, 1548: "Sept. 1548, co-optatus sum in officium Secretarii."† To be Secretary to the Protector, indeed, was not far different from being the King's Secretary, and seems to heighten the probability of his having been concerned in the drawing up of the state-papers in question; but we ought, undoubtedly, at the same time, to observe that Bale does certainly give the Protector the credit of writing his own public papers,‡ adding, that "his incomparable wisdom and solid learning might be understood by his learned writings;" but Bale's information is not always to be depended upon. Whoever wrote the letter to the Scots, mentioned above, and to be seen in Hollinshed and Strype, might undoubtedly claim the

* See Biographia Britannica, Art. *Cecil.* † MS. Diary.

‡ Strype, Memorials, Edward VI. b. i. ch. iii.

credit of great wisdom, great power of argument, and great perspicuity of language; but there is an air of business and political intelligence about it, that seems to savour strongly of the pen of Mr. Cecil, and we should much suspect that he had, at least, a great hand in the original composition. At all events, we may discern in that paper the outlines of his policy with regard to Scotland, tending constantly to an union of the two countries; the delivery of Scotland from the intrigues of the continental powers; and the establishment of the Reformation, as one great means of emancipation, and of security and happiness to the whole island of Great Britain.

CHAP. XV.

Affairs of the Church at the commencement of Edward's reign—Renewal of the Bishops' Commissions—Suspension of the Congé d' Elire.

But it is time to consider what was passing in England on the accession of Edward to the throne of his ancestors, and during the Protector's expedition into Scotland; much relating to the church having been transacted in that short interval. It may easily be supposed, that those who had been kept back by the late King, in their attempts to bring about a thorough reformation of the church, would speedily avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them by the accession of Edward, to advance their designs. Something had been done, undoubtedly, as we have shewn, under Henry, to remove many things offensive both in doctrine and discipline; but a great deal remained to be done, and it was soon taken in hand. Cranmer, by the countenance and favour both of Edward and the Protector, and the support of many bishops, stood now higher than Gardiner, Boner, Tonstal, Heath, or Day, who, nevertheless, felt strong enough at first to endeavour to maintain their ground, and resist further innovations.

The new reign had scarcely commenced, indeed, before Gardiner began to interfere by remonstrances, addressed first to Ridley, who had preached against images and holy water; and, secondly, to the Protector himself; by the latter of whom, it may not be out of our way to observe, he was admirably answered, particularly on the subject of images considered as the *books* of the *unlearned*, which the Papists called them; shewing to how much greater abuses *they* were liable, and what much grosser mistakes might be made in *reading them*, than by the free use of the Scrip-

tures, which the Romanists studiously kept from them. "Those," writes the Protector, "who think it terrible and detestable to destroy images because they have led to idolatry, should recollect what has been done with books containing God's undoubted word, which have been burnt and defaced, because the translation did not give satisfaction. Images, it is said, are great letters, fit for the reading of ignorant people; big, however, as they are, many have been known to read them amiss: and, therefore, belike God, fearing that the Jews would become evil readers of them, forbade them to that nation altogether. Nor is it any marvel, that in reading them the lay people should often be deceived, since your Lordship hath read St. George on horseback, on the great seal; whereas an inscription in no very small letters testifieth, the figure is that of the King's Highness in armour.* This, perhaps, is not the only error caused by images respecting St. George; for some men, seeing that his existence cannot be proved from authentic history, have thought that his name and legend were originally invented to render venerable the statues of Perseus or Bellerophon. The same reason hath caused a belief, that Polyphemus, Hercules, or some other Colossus of ancient mythology, was the origin of St. Christopher. Such misapprehensions being likely to flow from images, it need not be regretted that the more ignorant among men should have little or no opportunity to read such deceitful books; but it is a great hardship

* The Protector could scarcely have had a better opportunity afforded him, of bringing practical evidence against Gardiner. Edward's seal was remarkably handsome; but liable enough to be mistaken for St. George and the Dragon. Exhibiting in the place of St. George, a King on horseback, with an animal beneath the horse, almost of the size of the Dragon: but it was the effigy of the King himself, so set forth as to mark the union of the houses of York and Lancaster; the barbing of the horse being charged with large *red roses*, and the animal beneath the horse being a greyhound, the insignia of the house of York. Henry bore one for a supporter to his arms, and it appears in the seals of Henry, Edward VI., James, Charles I. and II. There is a very handsome engraving of Edward's seal to be seen in Sandford's Genealogies, with a proper inscription, and, certainly, "in no very small letters."

that all who cannot read Greek or Latin, should be restrained from searching for the truth in God's undoubted word." By this we may see how much the Reformists had to say for themselves when the bridle was taken from their tongues.

It was one of the first acts of the Archbishop to subject the episcopal order too much, as has been generally thought, to the *regal power*, by taking away the *Congé d' Elire*, and substituting in its stead the appointment by the King's *letters patent*.* Nor would he act himself as Archbishop, till he had received a new commission from the young King according to the tenor above; the beginning of which commission tended, indeed, to fix and establish in the fullest manner, and as far as words could go, the King's supremacy over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil, as at present held and understood, and this as an old established right; but the words have been thought to express much more,† even to a surrender of the power of the keys: "Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi autoritas, atque etiam jurisdictio *omnimoda* tam illa quæ ecclesiastica dicitur, quam secularis, a regiâ potestate, velut a supremo capite, et omnium magistratuum infra regnum nostrum fonte et scaturigine, *primitus* emanaverit." The term *primitus* plainly pointing out that this was no more than a resumption of ancient rights, long interrupted by papal usurpations, consistently with the general character of what it has been

* This was, indeed, passed into a law on the meeting of Parliament, 1 Edward VI. on a pretence that the forms of elections were unnecessarily expensive, and that they were besides *mere* forms.

† It deserves to be considered in extenuation of Cranmer's act at this time, that the *Congé d' Elire* had become almost peculiar to England. In Germany, where Cranmer had passed much time, the nomination of bishops, if not in the Pope, was vested in the sovereign: in Scotland it was the same, and in Ireland: the suspension of it in England, however, though it did not continue long, was evidently unwise. *Mere forms* are not to be despised, as evidences of something *real*, implied or understood; the summoning of the Convocation, may seem in these days to be a *mere form*, but it is good evidence of a great constitutional right, rather strangely suspended.

customary to call the *Reformation* of the church, but which was in all instances rather a *Restoration;* a sober and careful return, as far as it could be, to the pure streams or "old paths" of primitive Christianity,* both as regarded doctrine and discipline. The original independence and general supremacy of the British monarchs were, therefore, now in like manner to be restored and re-asserted, and there was authority enough to be found for so doing, by a reference to the most authentic and important records of our national history; to almost all, in fact, that preceded the reign of Henry II., who, by the pressure of his continental affairs, and in his eagerness to keep possession of Normandy, Anjou, and Guienne, against a host of foreign enemies, submitted to that ignominious penance for the murder of Beckett, which, though it procured him credit with the church of Rome, and

* Grotius' testimony to the purity of these principles is too striking to be omitted: "In Angliâ vides quam bene processerit dogmatum noxiorum repurgatio, hâc maxime de causâ, quod qui id sanctissimum negotium procurandum suscepere, nihil admiserit NOVI, nihil SUI, sed ad MELIORA SÆCULA intentum habuere oculorum aciem."—*Epist. ad I. Corvinum.* As to discipline, "Henry," says the reviewer of Phillips's Life of Pole, "when he found the Pope was no longer of use to him for his political purposes, but domineering over him, had little more to do to get rid of his usurpations, than to revive the laws of his ancestors, which restrained him [the Pope] from disposing of the English bishoprics and preferments, from exercising jurisdiction here by his legates, or of calling causes to him to Rome by appeals. The Prince was as much justified in recovering his ancient natural rights, as his predecessors could be in yielding them away."—p. 125. It was according to this principle of the re-assertion of ancient rights and prerogatives, that one of Henry's own ambassadors, having a protestation of the King, council, and clergy to the Pope, against the meeting of the Council of Mantua in the year 1536, sent to him to disperse in foreign parts, ventured of his own authority, though in the King's name, to add the following clause: "In time past, we being deceived by false pretence of Scripture, by whose authority you claimed your prerogative and jurisdiction upon all men, did acknowledge your primacy, and, following the consent or rather error of the world, gave you authority upon King's subjects. But now we will be no longer deceived; now we justly call in again that you have unjustly extorted of our fathers; and with that truth make an end of your reign, which began by error. We princes wrot ourselves to be familiars to Popes as long as we thought so, and obeyed them as superiors. It is lawful, reason will, yea we are commanded to take from you that that no man can give you but he that is deceived." —*Strype's Memorials,* 1536.

an important ally at a very critical moment, was yet the occasion of the subjugation of his own church and crown, more or less, to the papal tyranny, for three succeeding centuries.

Cranmer having been judged to have gone too far* in this particular point, and to have raised the *Regale* too high, in submitting to take his episcopal commission at the King's hands, and to hold his appointment only during the King's pleasure, as if his episcopal character and functions, as well as his nomination and appointment as primate, depended wholly on the King's will and authority; it has been conjectured, if not concluded, that his particular motive and object in so doing, was to put it into the King's power to remove such bishops of the adverse party as were already on the bench, but from whom, in his plans to promote the Reformation, he might reasonably expect† to meet with much opposition; thinking that this could not be better accomplished than by causing them all, at this critical time, *to renew* their commissions after his own example, and to receive their sees again at the *King's* hands, *durante bene placito;* a measure with which they could not be expected to comply, if their views were bent on the restoration, at this time, of the *papal* supremacy. It was merely turning the tables upon them, since the famous submission of the clergy, 25 Henry VIII., when the Reformation could scarcely be said to have began here, and before the King's supremacy had been enacted by parliament, was the work of a Roman Catholic convocation: the popish bishops and clergy had been the first to bestow the title of Supreme Head of the Church

* "On Edward's accession Cranmer acknowledged he held his archbishopric revocable at the King's pleasure. It is possible that he might blameably comply too far with those who contrived this bridle to check the popish bishops, they not being such as the King could trust; Cranmer and the other bishops, therefore, took out special licences to exercise their episcopal functions. They nowhere pretend to derive those *functions* from the King, but the liberty of exercising them in such and such districts of his dominions."—*Glocester Ridley's Review of Phillips.* † Strype's Cranmer, i. p. 201.

upon Henry, and it was but fair to put them to the trial, whether they would stand to it now, under a prince notoriously favourable to the Reformation; not but that Cranmer had certainly, at one time, entertained strange notions concerning ecclesiastical orders.*

Another reason has indeed been given for setting aside the Congé d'Elire; it has been conjectured that an intention was entertained, of getting rid of Deaneries and Chapters.† That Cranmer was no great friend to prebendaries, in Henry's days, whom he pronounced to be "neither learners nor teachers, but good vianders," is very plain from his letter to Cromwell, inserted in Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. iii. part ii. No. 65. Oxford edit.: but he did not go quite so far as his contemporary Sir Philip Hoby, who gravely recommended to the Protector, in a letter from *Brussels*, 1548, to convert all the prebends [prebendaries] in England into so many bands of cavalry, "for the defence of the country, and maintenance of honest, poor gentlemen." Of the grounds for this curious proposal, see Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. part i. 138, 139. Sir Philip, in fact, was a needy man, and wanted some of these good things himself, ib. 434. Cranmer's plan was very different; he was indeed for removing such prebendaries as had disgraced their calling, and in their stead, at "the head of twenty competent divines, and twenty students, placing a Dean of sincere learning, godly conversation, and good example of living."

The Archbishop is excused by *Burnet* for taking the step for

* See his answers to the XVII. Questions concerning the Sacraments, Burnet, i. 525. Coll. No. xxi. Collyer ii. Collect. of Records, No. xlix. The sum of the answer of the majority of the Bishops, seems to have been this: "Making of bishops hath two partes, appointment and ordering; appointment, which the apostles, by necessity, made by common election, and sometyme by their own severall assignement, could not then be done by *Christen* Princes, because at that tyme they were none; and now at these dayes appertaineth to Christian princes and rulers; but, in the ordering, wherein grace is conferred, as afore the Apostells did folowe the rule taught by the Holly Ghoste, *Per manuum impositionem*, cum oratione et jejunio."—*Burnet*, iii. part ii. No. 71.

† Burn, Eccles. Law, vol. i. 183.

which he has been so much blamed, on the ground, that though the *nomination* was put into the King's hands, the episcopal function was at the same time acknowledged to be of *divine* appointment. If we look, indeed, to what Cranmer himself has said in his *Catechism*, we can scarcely avoid concluding, as even Collier admits, that he had by that time, at least, got rid of his Erastian notions, and become disposed to place the hierarchy on a right footing (ii. 252.); but being still indisposed to trust him, he asks, but might he not after all have held the episcopal office to be *divine* in its *institution*, and *secular* only in its *conveyance;* that the *power* of the *keys* is from our Saviour, though the *exercise* of that *power* be from the civil magistrate? adding, with a sort of sneer, "What is a man the better for having a key, if he have no liberty to turn it?"*

* However lax, in his notions of spiritual authority, Cranmer may to some persons appear to have been at this time, and by the measures he adopted, it is almost capable of demonstration that he was merely looking to the circumstance of the King's nomination and delegation of trust, in opposition to the Pope, local jurisdiction, or a special assignment of a certain sphere of action within the limits of the kingdom; this being implied both in the service of ordination and in that of consecration. In the former, the Priest, on receiving the Bible from the Bishop, is thus addressed: "Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments in the *congregation*, when thou shalt *be legally appointed thereto*." And in the consecration of Bishops, one of the questions put by the metropolitan is, "Will you maintain and set forward as much as shall lie in you, quietness, love, and peace among all men; and such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous within your *diocess*, correct and punish, according to such authority as you have by GOD'S WORD, *and*, as to you shall be *committed*, by the *ordinance* of *this realm?*" The *order* and *spiritual* jurisdiction are strictly ecclesiastical; but the limitation and locality of such jurisdiction must, in many important points, depend on the civil power, especially where temporal possessions are connected with the appointment. Every mode or form of designing the person who is intended to be invested with any local spiritual jurisdiction is a *civil* right; but the true source of *spiritual* jurisdiction and *church* government is completely out of the resort, competency, or power of the *civil* magistrate. In fact, "church membership and spiritual power, as such, are above the reach of political events, and cannot be lost by any forfeiture of worldly station or worldly endowments; but the particular jurisdiction over a certain portion of the church may be lost by translation, deposition, deprivation, surrender, or resignation. (See Plowden's Principles and Law of Tithing.) How necessary it was for the King to have the power of assigning local jurisdiction in the reformed church, may be seen in the case of Ireland, even at present, where titular bishops

He had before objected to the terms "omnis autoritas," "jurisdictio omnimodâ," as seeming to include even the "power of the keys," but in this surely he is wrong, for it is only "juris dicendi autoritas," that is spoken of; and this seems to be the sense put upon it at the time, by the concomitant act, which directed, that henceforth the legal proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts should be conducted in the name of the Sovereign, and the royal arms be engraven on the official seals of the prelates, except [Soames, iii. 192.] in cases of collations, presentations, or letters of orders, where the bishop's proper seal might still be used. This surely was not taking away the key, or the liberty of turning it, but rather adding the sanction of the state to the use and application of it in proper hands. It is impossible that Cranmer, whose name appears among those eight bishops who gave judgment on the King's supremacy, and still more, who signed the much longer declaration, both to be found in Burnet, (vol. i. part i. 452. 650., and part ii. 273. 481., Oxford edit.) could have intended to surrender the power of the keys; but what power, we may ask, could have been more abused than this very power of the keys in the hands of the Popes, and the popish clergy? How strangely had they extended the limits of their jurisdiction, wresting from the civil magistrate the power of punishing any of the sacerdotal order, even for the most atrocious crimes. How had they fortified themselves by exemptions; drawn into their courts, under some pretence or

are still acting under a papal commission, though not to the dispossession or disturbance of those, who have the actual local jurisdiction assigned to them by the state. Local jurisdiction has from the very first been a principle of the Christian church. Even the apostles for the most part confined their *authority* to the particular provinces they had severally converted, and when they fixed, kept to particular places or cities, as St. James to Jerusalem, St. John to Ephesus; so also Mark to Alexandria, Titus to Crete, and Timothy to Ephesus. It was the remark of Cyprian, "There is *one episcopacy*, an *entire part* whereof is held by every Bishop." *(De Unitate Ecclesia.)* The assignment of sees and districts has been various, but as often perhaps entrusted to lay hands, as in the case of the *Emperors*, as to those of the clergy.—See Potter on Church Government, 455; and Hooker, Eccles. Polity, b. vii. § 4.

other, every cause of which they chose to take cognisance. How had they plundered both the living and the dead, by their sales of pardons and indulgences, and interference with testimentary appointments in the distribution of property? They had not only taken out of the hands of the civil magistrate such jurisdiction as ought in all reason, and by the very laws of Christianity, to be lodged in no other hands; but they had done everything they could to hinder and impede the execution of justice, in innumerable instances. The jurisdiction of the lay-magistrate, to use the words of Robertson, was by many encroachments so easily eluded, as to reduce it almost to nothing;* and all, it may be but too truly alleged, under a false pretence and construction of the "power of the keys." Here perhaps we ought to look for that loss of discipline, which may to this day be deplored. "The power of the keys" had been notoriously abused; to such a degree indeed, that it might naturally become a question, if not to whom it should be entrusted, at least, to what extent it might be exercised, consistently with the peace, liberty, happiness, and even rightful possessions of the subject. Here the civil courts began to take up the question, and it is not to be doubted, that from the time of the Reformation to this day, the subject has been allowed to make such appeals to the civil courts, against some of the most wholesome rules and just exercises of church discipline, as to shake that discipline itself to the very foundation. The King's supremacy over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil, is a totally different thing. It was the abuse of the *power of the keys* under the papacy, that led so many of the laity to favour the Erastian principles; and, apparently, to prefer the civil to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. We say, apparently, because we think those principles, have been erroneously attributed to some persons in Edward's court.

* Charles V. 1520.

In ascribing the motive above to Cranmer, we would be understood to include this very reasonable ground for his adopting such a plan for the removal of the obnoxious prelates, namely, that all those bishops who were averse from the Reformation might now allege, that they had originally received their power, station, and jurisdiction, whatever it might be, from the Pope; and it was but proper, therefore, that they should be reminded and made to understand, that under the restored supremacy of the King, the *exercise* of their power could only proceed "of the King's Highness, as the chief, spring, head, and fountain:"* but the very terms of the commission, as is generally allowed, distinguish the spiritual from the temporal powers and authorities, by the passage in which all that is assigned over to the bishop by the King is expressly stated to be "per et ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris literis divinitùs commissa esse dignoscuntur;" over and above those powers and authorities, which the Holy Scriptures do testify, are given to thee by God. The expression, "omnium magistratuum," besides, has a plain reference to earthly courts and tribunals only, which till the time of William the Conqueror acknowledged no separate jurisdictions, spiritual and civil causes being equally brought before them, and bishops and abbots associated as judges with the officers of state, barons, and freemen.

As the young King is represented by Collier to have imbibed from some of his *early instructors*, Erastian principles, and to have entertained extravagant opinions of the *Regale*, the real designs and intentions of the first Protestant Archbishop, and one with whom Lord Burghley had much to do upon this memorable occasion, deserve to be cleared up in the Life of a Statesman, to whom the affairs of the church appear to have been as generally submitted as the affairs of state, as we shall have

* See Letter to Secretary Cromwell, from Legh and Ap Rice, Strype's Memorials, vol. i. Appendix, No. lvii.

ample occasion to shew. Indeed, the history of our church hierarchy, as retained upon Scriptural grounds, amidst the struggles of the Reformation, will be found to occupy a large share of our attention, as we proceed with the history of the celebrated individual, the subject of these Memoirs. It is probable, indeed, that to Lord Burghley in particular, we owe the correction of many errors prevalent at the beginning of the Reformation. In casting off the authority of the Pope, the original independence of the English *Monarch* (whatever may have been the case with the English *Church)* was, it may reasonably enough be said, *more than recognised.* Henry VIII. was much too prone to believe that the *despotism* of the Papal See had only been transferred from the Pope to himself, and that, in fact, *he* had become by the revolution the *Vicar* of *Christ*, to all intents and purposes, in his own dominions. This was not unlikely indeed to follow from the exalted title conferred on him, of *Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England*,* which by acts of parliament he compelled

* Archbishop Wareham, we are told, in Strype's Epistle Dedicatory to the Archbishop of Canterbury, prefixed to his Memorials of Cranmer, approved of this title, in his own kingdom, "*against the doctrine of the Pope's universal authority.*" (See also ib. p. 21. vol. i.) This probably was the chief object in view, though it seems to have misled the King, in some points, as well as his young and amiable successor. Sir Edward Coke had a strange conceit of the coronation *unction*, rendering the English sovereign qualified to take upon him true spiritual jurisdiction: "Reges sacro oleo uncti sunt spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces." See *Caudrey's* Case, 5. Rep.; and Plowden's Principles and Law of Tithing, 65.

It must, however, be admitted, that Henry, in his answer to the objections of the convocation at York, concerning the supremacy, when first enacted, gave a tolerably correct account of it, in the following terms: "As to spiritual things (meaning the sacraments), being by God ordained as instruments of efficacy and strength, whereby grace is of his infinite goodness conferred upon his people, forasmuch as they be no worldly or temporal things, they have no worldly or temporal head, but only CHRIST. But the persons of priests, their laws, and their acts, their manner of living, forasmuch as they be indeed all temporal, and concerning this present life only, in those we, as we be called, be indeed in this realm *caput*, and because there is no *man* above us here, *supremum caput*." (Wilkins's Consilia, iii. 764.) The terms "laws and acts" might indeed require some qualification, as being certainly not altogether temporal; but as only implying the King's sanction of synodical decrees, rules, and canons, even these

his subjects, under the severest penalties, to acknowledge to be due to him, and the bishops to take out new commissions, couched in such terms as "might give but too just occasion," as Burnet observes, "to call them the King's bishops," though qualified with the clause before noticed, "*per et ultra ea*," &c. which seemed to set some bounds, at all events, to his new supremacy. But what those bounds strictly were, neither the King nor Cranmer seem at that time to have *correctly* understood; for it is very remarkable, but seems to be quite true from Cranmer's Answers to the Questions concerning the Sacraments,* that though Henry never attempted actually to make bishops without the aid of other bishops, Cranmer scarcely doubted his power to do so, not deeming at all events the imposition of episcopal hands essentially necessary to the ceremony of consecration. He relinquished these Erastian principles indeed afterwards,† nor were they allowed to prevail at the time, yet the step he took at the very commencement of Edward's reign was certainly too much calculated to implant similar ideas in the breast of the young King; and it would appear that such an effect was actually produced, since we find it particularly noticed in his own journal, and in his own hand-writing, still to be seen in the British Museum, that in the treaty of peace with France, "witnessed by divers

words are not much amiss, according to the remark of Ambrose, "Imperator bonus intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est." Kings have dominion to exercise in ecclesiastical causes, but yet according to the laws of the church, that is, in support of such laws, but against them never.—*Hooker*, b. viii. vol. iii. 302.

* See these Questions and the Answers, Burnet, i. 525, Appendix, No. xxi.

† It was not well in Cranmer to allow himself to be called, as he sometimes was in public papers, the King's *commissary*, while Cromwell, who was a layman, was placed above him, and styled the King's *principal commissary*, as vicar-general. As the latter appointment, however, had died with Cromwell, there might be some policy in placing the reformed bishops at once and directly under the wing of the prerogative, in this new reign, that the objectionable office of vicar-general, or vicegerent, might not come to be revived; Cromwell having certainly been the principal instrument in the spoliation of church property, which was far from being as yet out of the view of those who were most likely to be at the head of affairs; the Protector particularly.

noblemen of France, and sealed with the great seal," the objectionable title assumed by his father was acknowledged, apparently much to his satisfaction; "and in the oath was confessed that *I* was *Supream Head* of the *Church* of *England* and *Ireland*, and also King of Ireland." The extreme simplicity and artlessness of this extraordinary manuscript, forbid us to ascribe this entry to vanity, but it tends to shew that circumstances led the young King to lay particular stress upon it; at a time too, when not only the removal and deprivation of bishops was judged to be expedient, but the spoliation of church property was carrying on, to a most disgraceful extent; his uncle, the Protector, and after him, the Duke of Northumberland, being among the chiefest of the despoilers. We do not mean to say, that Cranmer's commission justified any such construction, but there were three parties prepared to take advantage of the King's prejudices that way: first, such courtiers as wished to go farther in the plunder of the church; secondly, those who, to promote the great cause of the Reformation, wished the King to have a power of removing obnoxious prelates; and thirdly, Calvin's disciplinarians, who were for the degradation, if not total dissolution, of the established hierarchy. At all events, however, we agree with Burnet, that the exigencies of those times were such, that if some of our bishops carried the supremacy too far, "their excess in this was so natural, that we have all possible reason to excuse it, or at least censure it very gently." To shew, however, the hazard there was of misconstruing the title of *Supreme Head* of the Church, it appears among the charges exhibited against Barlow, Bishop of St. Davids, in 1536, that he had affirmed and said, that "if the King's Grace being *Supreme Head of the Church*, did choose, nominate, and elect any layman being learned, to be a bishop, that he so chosen, without mention made of orders, should be as good a bishop as he is, or the best in England."*

* Strype's Mem. vol. i. Appendix, No. lxxvii.

It may deserve to be recollected, that in the very commencement of the revolt from the Romish church, or papacy, Zuingle had fallen into the error of giving too much power in religious matters to the civil magistrate; an error which Calvin endeavoured to correct, who admitted the laity to be members of the synod, though no man could be more averse from the title given to Henry, of Supreme Head of the Church.

As the title of Supreme Head was formally repealed in the next reign, and wisely changed by Queen Elizabeth, when she restored the church to the state it was in under her royal brother, and before all the King's "early instructors," whom Collier blames, were dead, the account of these things is the more necessary in a work, which, though professedly the life of an individual, may very justly be held to extend to every important transaction, foreign or domestic, appertaining as well to the *church* as the state, from the very birth to the decease of that distinguished person, as will be amply shewn before we conclude our labours.

Not long after the coronation of the King, in order, if possible, by rectifying abuses, to perfect the Reformation, a *royal* visitation of the kingdom was, by proclamation, which still held the force of law, set on foot; during which, the episcopal powers of the bishops, and functions of the local ministers, after the precedent of the former reign, were limited or suspended. The visitors or royal commissioners, consisting of *civilians* as well as *divines*, were upon this occasion selected with great attention to their respective abilities and reputation. They were divided into classes or sets, particular episcopal sees being appointed to each set,* and they were severally furnished with injunctions and directions pre-

* At the head of the second set was placed the father-in-law of Mr. *Cecil*, Sir Anthony Cooke, to whom, with Sir John Godsalve, Dr. Christopher Nevison, and John Gosnold, for his associates, were assigned the diocesses of Westminster, London, Norwich, and Ely. Dr. Madewe was the preacher to this class, and Peter Lylly, Register.—*Strype's Cranmer*, b. ii. ch. 2.

pared by the court; each company of visitors being attended by a preacher, properly chosen and instructed to dehort the different congregations from the superstitious forms and ceremonies of the Romish religion, to instruct them how to worship God in purity of heart and mind, and to yield due obedience to the sovereign. But, as might reasonably be expected in so extraordinary a conjuncture, it was no easy task to find persons fitly qualified for so important an undertaking. The injunctions given to the visitors, and which are to be seen in Collier, Fox, Fuller, Heylin, Strype, &c. embracing a great variety of regulations, affecting the *laity* as well as the clergy, were rather to be enforced by persuasion than by authority, being entirely directed to the correction of errors and abuses, which, it was to be hoped, when once pointed out, would seem to the people at large so fully to justify the interposition of government, as to secure their concurrence and obedience; but it required a nice hand to preserve a due mean between the extremes of superstition and irreligion. There were distinct injunctions for the bishops, chiefly relating to the qualifications for ordination, on a due attention to which the credit of the church ministry must always be expected so much to depend, but more especially at such a time of change and revolution. Inquiries also were particularly to be made respecting the bishops and other ecclesiastical officers, whether they were corrupt in the exercise of their several jurisdictions.

In this visitation, which took place during the Protector's absence in Scotland, it must be acknowledged that many gross abuses and corruptions were not only brought to light, by the scrutinizing inquiries of the commissioners, but proved to be true and real by the very confessions and acknowledgments of the offending priests and canons.

CHAP. XVI.

Great want of proper Ministers to carry on the work of the Reformation—Discharged Monks generally employed by the Court of Augmentation, as well as the new Possessors of Church property—Book of Homilies—Erasmus's Paraphrase—Gardiner objects to both.

THE want of able men to promulgate the truths of the gospel throughout the kingdom was no doubt a great obstacle in the way of the Reformers. Under the old system, the clergy had fallen into such a state of ignorance, idleness, and licentiousness, and their worldly circumstances had been of late so reduced by the alienation of their revenues, that it was rare to find in any, such talents, much less such piety and zeal, as the new order of things, and the views of the leading persons among the Reformers indispensably required; and yet, it was exactly to such persons that the cure of souls in many parishes were committed by the Court of Augmentation, too ready to relieve the King from the pensions granted to the discharged monks, by appointing them to such small benefices as were at the disposal of the crown; an example eagerly followed by those who had purchased or acquired in other ways the conventual estates, under a similar obligation of pensioning the monks till otherwise provided for: the extreme poverty of these incumbents being such besides, through the heavy losses they had sustained in the struggle, that many were of necessity allowed to hold more benefices than one.

To supply these deficiencies, a book of Homilies, mostly, if not entirely drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, was prepared, as well for the instruction and guidance of those who were selected to

discourse to the people, as for the edification of their hearers. Of the utility of such a compilation, in the exigences of the rising church, we may judge from a mere enumeration of the several subjects discussed, and of the precepts laid down in these short formularies or sermons: First, concerning the use of the Scriptures, the true Canonical Scriptures; setting them forth as the only rule of faith and standard of Christian doctrine and discipline, clear of all pretended traditions; Secondly, of the misery of mankind by sin, silently, as it were, attacking the fond conceit of human merit; Thirdly, of their salvation by Christ, and Christ *only*, as the *meritorious* cause or ground of salvation, excluding all vain objects of reliance, and holding out a sound and *fruitful* faith as the only means of applying Christ's merits, more fully shewn in the next and following homilies; as in the Fourth, of true and lively faith; and in the Fifth, of good works; three homilies universally ascribed to Cranmer. Sixth, of Christian love and charity; Seventh, against swearing; Eighth, against apostacy; Ninth, against the fear of death; Tenth, an exhortation to obedience; Eleventh, against whoredom and adultery, and setting forth the honourable estate of matrimony; Twelfth, against strife and contention about matters of religion.* It is beyond our purpose to enter into the reasons at large for furnishing the people with instruction upon these particular points; it is sufficient to observe that every topic was so discussed and set forth as to meet and correct the errors most prevalent and most alarming *at the time*, whether arising from the

* These twelve formed the first book of our authorised homilies, published 1547, under the eye of Cranmer; the second book, published in 1560, was submitted to the care of Jewel, and received the sanction of Convocation, 1563.—*Soames' History of the Reformation under Edward VI.* chap. i., where may be seen an excellent summary of the first set of homilies.—*See also Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology*, and *Mant's Book of Common Prayer*. Dr. Wordsworth inclines to think the twelfth Homily proceeded from the "honest, good-humoured pen of Latimer." The eleventh he discovered to be written by Thomas Becon, one of Cranmer's Chaplains.

superstition of the Papists, or the *enthusiasm* of a too eager and forward party of Reformers, called the *Gospellers*, who, in proportion as the former detracted from the merits of the Redeemer; by proposing the most unscriptural compositions for sin, and teaching the people to invoke other mediators, were disposed to throw themselves so exclusively and entirely on the mercy and merits of the Redeemer, as greatly to depreciate and invalidate the moral law, and to become negligent of their lives.* This first book of homilies (for more was contemplated, as may be seen by the Rubric following the Nicene Creed) was to be distributed throughout the several parishes of the kingdom, with directions for the reading of them in all the churches.

And that these public comments on the Scriptures should not appear to be forced upon the attention of the people, as though they had no judgment of their own, or liberty to exercise it under the new system of things, besides the Scriptures themselves, the Paraphrase of the New Testament by Erasmus, as much of it, at least, as was ready for publication,† was also delivered to them for their perusal, done into English for the express purpose, by the procurement and at the private charge of Queen Katherine (Parr); some parts, as it is said, having been actually translated by herself, and some, on her encouragement, by the Princess Mary, during the life of King Henry, who judged it right at that time that the Scriptures should be communicated to the public. Whatever may really have been contributed by the illustrious

* Burnet, ii. 50. By the preachers who accompanied the visitors both parties were to be better instructed: "The people," as it has been well observed, "were taught to depend for salvation solely on the sufferings and death of Christ as their atoning sacrifice, and to abound in good works as the legitimate evidences of a genuine faith; being thus warned on the one hand against trusting to a pharisaical righteousness, and on the other, cautioned not to abuse the liberty of the gospel by an antinomian licentiousness."—*Custance on the Reformation.*

† The four Gospels and the Acts: the rest was not published till 1549; a second edition, 1552.

personages we have mentioned, must of course redound to their credit, and may deserve to be recorded as an undoubted proof of the extraordinary course of female education in the great world at that period; but the chief care of the work seems to have fallen on Nicholas Udal and Dr. Malet, both eminent scholars and divines. Udal's preface vouches for the anxiety expressed by Henry to have his subjects supplied with an English Bible, "to induce them to the clear espying of all the sleights of the Romish juggling, and enable them the better to attain to the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, to be drawn from the clear fountain and spring of the gospel."*

Some foreign books of great importance were also at this time translated and published; particularly one a good deal resembling the English book of homilies, being divided like that into various sections or heads of discourse. It was said to be compiled by Bucer and Melancthon, subjected to the revision, and published by the authority, of the excellent Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Herman, an eminent and most disinterested Reformer. This book, which treated of the Reformation in Cologne, is supposed to have been introduced into the kingdom by the special care of Archbishop Cranmer and the Protector, so that to those who were capable of perusing its contents it was little less than another book of homilies, or helps to the proper understanding of the Scriptures; the Scriptures themselves being very properly at the same time rendered accessible to the people, as the only proper standard of comparison. The title of the book may serve to shew how moderately and temperately the friends of the Reformation were attempting to work their way, by an address to the understandings of men, with such submission to all acknowledged authority as it might be possible in so trying a situation to maintain. The following sets forth the purport and design of this

* Strype's Cranmer, i. 122. and his Memorials, Edward VI. b. i. ch. v., where may be found an account of the other contributors to this translation. See also Soames, vol. iii. 67.

valuable book, from which it may be collected, as was actually the case, that the spirit of the Reformation was a spirit of inquiry and investigation, of argument and persuasion, in all parts of Europe; in England, more particularly, we shall find, that some of the most important points in dispute between the Reformists and Papists were openly and publicly submitted afresh to the disputations of the learned by Lord Burghley himself, in the name of the Queen, even after the accession of Elizabeth: this may be of some importance to us in the course of the next reign. The title of the Book of Cologne then was this:

"A simple and religious consultation of us, HERMAN, by the grace of God Archbishop of Colen and Prince Elector, &c., by what means a Christian reformation, and founded in God's word, of doctrine, administration of the divine sacraments, of ceremonies, of the whole cure of souls, and other ecclesiastical ministries, may be begun among men committed to our charge, until the Lord grant a better, to be appointed either by a free and Christian council, general or national, or else by the states of the empire of the nation of Germany, gathered together in the Holy Ghost." The subject of the whole book is arranged under *fifty-seven* distinct heads of discourse. All of great importance, and which may be seen in Strype, as already cited.

This worthy Archbishop and Elector, though he did not die as a martyr, suffered many privations and losses for the gospel's sake, and as a sincere friend to the Reformation. We shall see, in the last days of this King's reign, how much and how kindly Cranmer and Sir William Cecil interested themselves about him.

The visitation set on foot, and the steps taken to enlighten the people, as above related, were very naturally calculated to try the disposition of those who were unfriendly in their hearts to the progress of the Reformation; Gardiner, as Bishop of Winchester, had been invited by Cranmer to take a part in the preparation of

the homilies, but he declined having anything to do with them upon the plea that they were unnecessary and contrary to the *constitution*, that is, to the order of things settled and appointed by Henry; and when, regardless of his opposition and objections, the book appeared under the sanction of Cranmer, he found great fault with the homily "on Salvation" particularly, which was supposed to have proceeded entirely from Cranmer's own pen,* and was evidently directed against two of the greatest abuses and corruptions of the church of Rome. He was for keeping Cranmer close to what he called the King's book, "the Necessary Erudition for a Christian Man," which, though exceedingly good, in regard to all it contains of pure protestantism, has decidedly more in it of popish superstitions, than Cranmer could have admitted, had he been the sole person employed in its composition.

Gardiner, in allusion to the "Necessary Erudition," addressed Cranmer by letter, thus:† "Which if it had been so (if the doctrine in the late King's book had been erroneous), I ought to think your grace would not, for all princes christened, being so high a bishop as ye be, have yielded unto; for, '*obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.*' And, therefore, after your grace hath four years continually lived in agreement of that doctrine, under our late Sovereign Lord, now so suddenly to write to me, that his Highness was seduced, it is, I assure you, a very strange speech." (Strype's Cranmer, cited by Lingard.) But the whole of this tells as much against Gardiner; for if Cranmer had, through a despair of doing more, at that time winked at the Catholicism of many parts of the "Necessary Erudition," Gardiner, according to his principles displayed under Mary, as we shall have to shew, must

* Todd's Declarations of our Reformers. Introd. Gardiner, as Mr. Soames very rightly observes, in his History of the Reformation under Edward VI., could not admit the doctrine which this homily contains, without abandoning a belief in the efficacy of will-worship, congruous merit, and sacerdotal intervention, vol. iii. 61.

† Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. xxxv. Collier, ii. 225.

have equally borne with the Protestantism (if we may so speak) of many parts of that publication, and still more of the *Institution:* nay, it would seem by his own conduct, that *he* had certainly assisted to *seduce* the King to believe what was false; for after forswearing the supremacy of the Pope under Henry, and assisting in passing sentence upon Katherine of Arragon, he admitted the papal supremacy again in its utmost vigour under Mary, and submitted to her without scruple, as the legitimate offspring of Henry and Katherine.* Such tergiversations, to say the least, should have made him cautious of accusing Cranmer of inconsistency in thinking that the King might have been *seduced* to give his name to a book so *imperfect* as the "Necessary Erudition" really was.

Had Henry lived a little longer, it is very possible that *another King's book* might have appeared; but while Gardiner called upon Cranmer to be consistent, and abide by what he had in the last reign complied with, he furnishes an excuse for the Archbishop's compliance with an *imperfect* form under Henry, in the following words, though he seems not to have been aware of it: "Notwithstanding," says he, "some pretend the late King had imperfect views in matter of doctrine, yet our better way is to go to heaven after him with *one* eye, than by striving for another to run the hazard of losing *both.*" Cranmer, indeed, had only followed *Henry* with *one* eye, but that was no reason why the other eye should not be opened, when it could be done safely, and the right way to heaven be more clearly discerned. The next reign will serve to shew that while Gardiner wished to prevent Cranmer seeing with both eyes under Edward, he was, in reality, anxious to close the eye that had been opened under Henry.

* The following passage in the British Plutarch, by Archdeacon Wrangham, is well worth attention: "The promoting of the royal divorce was the first service which he (Gardiner) rendered to the father; and the reversing of it, and branding all those who were concerned in it, was the first office which he performed for the daughter."

He was indeed exceedingly jealous of the expression used by Cranmer, that the late King (Henry) had been *seduced* in regard to what Gardiner had chosen to have called the "*King's* book;" but it is very plain, that if Henry could have been brought to see things exactly in their proper light, which not only his own Romish prejudices prevented, but his Romish advisers did all they could to hinder, the formularies put forth in his name, might have been much more free from popish error than is actually the case. In the Life of Bishop Ridley, by his namesake Dr. Glocester Ridley, it is well said, that "the reason why the Reformation proceeded so far under Henry was, because the King was better read in divinity than *Gardiner;* and the reason why it proceeded no farther was, because he was less read in it than *Cranmer.*" The King in his preface to the Book of Articles, certainly uses an extraordinary expression, but one which, interpreted either way, seems to infer, that he was under some perplexity: he says, "he was constrained to put his own pen to the book, and conceive certain articles;" implying, surely, some corrections or alterations on perusal of them. In fact, the King corrected the bishops, and Cranmer corrected the King, till it would be very difficult to say what was the true character of the book, or books.* Certain, however, it is, that the "Christian *Erudition,*" which was the *King's book,* in all that it differed from the "*Institution,*" or Bishops' book, favoured the Catholics, who, for a short time, stood so high with the King as to overrule Cranmer and his party. In this, therefore, it was that Cranmer held the King to have been seduced: Gardiner and others who were at the bottom of the alterations alluded to, had very artfully interwoven again some of the objectionable tenets, omitted or softened down in the "Institution," the particulars of which may be seen in Collier. We can, to this day, plainly perceive in both books a struggle between light and darkness,

* See Strype's Cranmer, ch. xiii. on the Bishops' Book.

and reasonably enough be led to suppose, that could both the King's eyes have been opened, to use Gardiner's own terms, before his departure, he would have himself discovered how much he really had been *seduced* by prejudiced and self-interested advisers. Both books did "contain truth," and therefore might well deserve the countenance and recommendation of Cranmer;* but, that they contained the whole truth, Cranmer never asserted: even his own opinions were fluctuating at the time. It does not appear that he had given up the corporal presence in the sacrament, before the year 1546, three years after the publication of the "Necessary Erudition." Ridley had been turned aside from the belief of this doctrine by the perusal of the celebrated work of Bertram [or Ratramnus], written in the ninth century, and he converted Cranmer towards the close of the year 1545, or beginning of 1546. Before the King died, Gardiner and the Romish party had fallen again into disgrace. "The sun of truth," as the indefatigable Strype observes, "was then but rising, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, that had so long prevailed in this nation and the rest of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness."†

Gardiner objected also to the Paraphrase of Erasmus, whose early sallies against the corruptions of his own church were never fully forgiven by Romanists; and the English copy he freely denounced as the work of a translator ignorant both of Latin and English; as one not meet to meddle in such a matter, and

* See Strype's Life of Cranmer, ch. xxv.

† Cranmer, i. ch. xi. anno 1536, p. 63. In the last year of Henry's reign, it appears that there was a design entertained of abolishing the mass, and changing it into a communion: that the French King concurred with Henry in this resolution, and that both Princes meant to exhort the Emperor to do the like in Flanders, or else to break with him; and that Henry, particularly, had willed the Archbishop to write a form to be sent to the French King to consider.—*See Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley*, pp. 172. 182, 183.

reasonably to be suspected of malice.* The Paraphrase itself had been specially chosen with a view to conciliate the Romish party, having been begun during the reign of Henry, and Erasmus himself having died in the communion of the church of Rome, and actually written both against Luther and Calvin; but, as we have before remarked, the banter of Erasmus at the very period of Luther's revolt, was a sore point with the zealots in the cause of Rome; he could not well be a favourite. Gardiner undertook, besides, to point out contradictions in the Book of Homilies and Paraphrase. "These books," says he, in a letter to the Protector, "stryve one against another directly;" and he instances in many particulars, which, though not undeserving of attention, it would be quite beyond our purpose to transcribe: they may be seen in Collier, part ii. book iv. and Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. xxxvi.; and it should be noticed, that whatever errors there might be in the Paraphrase, the Homilies accompanying it were designed to correct.

* We have already shewn who the translator (or translators rather) were supposed to be. See before, pp. 228, 229. It may reasonably, therefore, be questioned, whether there was not a good deal of personal spleen in the slur cast upon them by Gardiner.

CHAP. XVII.

Gardiner and Boner, by their opposition to the Government, compel the latter to adopt severe measures—Cecil employed by the Protector to confer with Gardiner—The latter released, but gives fresh opposition—Engaged to preach before the King—Cecil sent to require him to acknowledge in his Sermon the authority of the Council, and to abstain from controverted points likely to excite disturbances.

THE opposition of Gardiner to the objects of the visitation, and in which he was joined by Boner, Bishop of London, though the latter retracted again,* laid the foundation for that re-action of Protestantism on Catholicism, which rendered even the reign of Edward a scene of agitation and contention; and it is only by *comparison* that we can plainly discover, in which of the two forms of religion the spirit of intolerance was most predominant, most uncompromising, and most severe.

In refusing to co-operate with the Primate in these first steps, under the new reign, to root out the popish superstitions, Gardiner and Boner clearly resisted the King's injunctions, and thereby brought the supremacy into question. Gardiner, in particular, had pronounced the visitation to be illegal, though ordered and appointed by proclamation, which, by a strange act passed in the late reign, had still the force of law. Upon this, therefore, he was committed to prison, but not before Cranmer had, by all gentle means, and regular argument with him on the leading points of disagreement, endeavoured to induce him to comply. The council also interposed, but with no better success, so that he was sent to

* Collier, ii. 230.

the Fleet, where, according to his own complaints and representations to the Protector,* he suffered great hardships and deprivations; but contrary statements seem to shew, that he was as well treated there as he could have been in his own house, as Burnet, indeed, has justly observed; and the greatest hardship of which he himself complained, seems to have been one very common in the case of state prisoners and party leaders, namely, the being debarred from the resort and intercourse of dangerous or suspected adherents.† Certain, however, it is, that at this time he soon regained his liberty, having been called before the council on the 8th of January, 1548, and told that his case came within the general pardon announced from the throne on the prorogation of parliament. Opportunity, however, was taken by the council to urge his compliance with the injunctions, and to procure him to receive the homilies, under a farther assurance of submission on all points of doctrine or discipline, hereafter to be promulgated by the King and clergy. Gardiner still objected to the homily on Salvation, and with regard to some other points, requested to be allowed a few days to consider them more fully.

It seems, from several accounts, to have been during this interval of deliberation that *Mr. Cecil*, then much in the confidence of the Protector, was specially commissioned to visit him, in company with the celebrated Dr. Ridley. Of the exact particulars of this visit, we have no very circumstantial information; but, to the credit of those who were sent to confer with him, it seems undoubted, that they were able to overcome some serious scruples, as they left him prepared to obey the mandates of authority, so that he returned to his diocess with a manifest disposition, at first, to encourage his clergy to a similar submission. But the good effects of this interview will be more apparent, if we take Bishop Gardiner's own account of the transaction in preference to others. On his first

* Dated October 14; Collier, ii. 332.

† See Soames, vol. iii. 95.

appearance before the council, as *some say*, he asked four or five days to consider of the points proposed to him; was then visited by *Mr. Cecil* and Dr. Ridley, and brought to a compliance.* But the Bishop's own account is, that after a *fortnight's* deliberation, he went again before the council, and refused to subscribe the paper of submission which had been presented to him; upon which he was committed a prisoner to his *own house*, and that it was at this time that Mr. Cecil and Dr. Ridley saw him: so that, if this be true, the arguments used by these distinguished persons must have had a greater force, as subsequent to the fortnight's deliberation, which had only terminated in a fresh refusal to comply.

If we knew no more of this celebrated prelate than what occurred exactly at this time, we might reasonably be disposed to make allowance for his open declarations against what he judged to be contrary to his religion, his spiritual authority, and his personal rights and liberty; for, he certainly seems to have been pressed pretty closely upon some points, and a letter from him to one of the visitors, Sir John Godsalve, is still extant, which undoubtedly does him great credit.† But the times were critical, and his motives of resistance so intelligible, that it could not possibly be doubted by those in power, that instead of allowing the Reformation to proceed, he was desirous of having it stop exactly where the late King left it, during Edward's minority, in hopes of recovering in time, even what he had been compelled against his will to surrender, under Henry; and, with these ends in view, he stood forth the champion of a party. And this is the more evident from the complaints, transmitted to the council, of Gardiner's behaviour in his diocess, after the first appearance of submission and compliance, which had been manifested, had begun to subside. He

* Soames, iii. 218.

† Collier, ii. 228. Soames, iii. 98, 99. Many parts of this letter are extremely eloquent and pathetic.

was charged with having even armed his servants to resist and impede those who were sent to preach in his diocess, and of having often preached himself so seditiously, in regard to the government of the kingdom, and so insultingly, in particular, as to the acts of the *council*, that towards Whitsuntide he was summoned again before the council, to give an account of these things, and answer to the charges brought against him. Many of these he denied, but though he was civilly treated by the Protector and other members of the council, it was not thought prudent to let him return to his diocess, so that he was bidden by Somerset, to "tarry in town."

And here we find another discrepancy between authors, which has some bearing upon the life we are writing. Collier says, that having received another reprimand from the Protector and council, he promised compliance once more, and because he understood he had been represented to disadvantage, he *offered* to declare his sentiments in the pulpit, and purge himself upon the points objected; and that St. Peter's day was assigned to him to preach before the King. Burnet's account agrees in the main with Collier, that *he desired* to be allowed to clear himself in a sermon; but he adds Gardiner's own account, purporting that Mr. Cecil was sent to *propose* his preaching before the King, and that he chose St. Peter's day, because the gospel agreed to his purpose. Mr. Soames, who has most recently entered into the subject, writes, that "for the purpose of silencing the clamours of the Romish party, it was then thought desirable to exhibit their able champion, publicly in the pulpit, as a pattern of that loyal obedience which he professed;" "and that accordingly Cecil, then secretary to the Protector, waited upon the Bishop, and *proposed* to him, by Somerset's desire, that he should preach a *written* sermon before the King, according to the tenour of two papers which were produced."

We must confess, we are rather disposed to think Collier's

account is the most true; that the offer of preaching proceeded from the Bishop,* and that the interposition of Mr. Cecil by the Protector's desire, arose out of the apprehensions of the latter, lest Gardiner should, as he was reported to have done in his own diocess, abuse the pulpit, to the setting forth of dangerous doctrines. It seems absurd to suppose, that the Protector could look to any good end from appointing Gardiner to preach a written discourse, entirely fabricated by himself or the council; but if the offer were made by Gardiner, there was good reason for using some precautions† before the offer should be wholly and irrevocably complied with. We conceive, therefore, that the first interview Cecil undoubtedly had with the bishop, upon the *present* occasion, was for the purpose not of *proposing* to him to *preach*, though the terms in fact are so, but to *write* his sermon, and to require him to notice some points touching the government and the late changes, in which, if he should transgress, it might be at the hazard of exciting no small tumult and disturbance: he might probably, also, as it is alleged, have suggested the propriety not only of preaching a *written* sermon, but of submitting his notes previously to the council. All these precautions seem to us, we must confess, to prove that it was rather an *offer* to preach on the part of the Bishop, than that the proposal originated with the Protector and council; for, preach he did, though he would *not* comply.‡ The difference between the two is of some importance, as to the part Cecil bore in the transaction, since it must have been a much less offensive measure, to endeavour to guard him

* Rapin says he was ordered to preach; but there is a reference in the same page to Burnet, who says that he desired to be permitted to clear himself in a sermon before the King, viii. 40.

† Words once uttered cannot be recalled; "he might," as Collier observes, "go too far in controversy, occasion new scruples, and unsettle the audience."

‡ If he had been enjoined to preach to further the ends of the council, the easiest thing to have done on his non-compliance with Cecil's proposals, would have been to inhibit his preaching altogether.

against exciting unpleasant disturbances and fresh disputes, than to attempt to *place him in the pulpit*, for the mere purpose of *exhibiting him there*, to read a lesson put into his hands by others. Collier says, a day was *assigned* to him, on his request, to be allowed to clear himself in the pulpit. Gardiner says, Cecil *proposed* to him to preach from a *written* discourse. These accounts, therefore, may be compatible. Mr. Soames, who represents the case to be, that Somerset wished to exhibit the popish champion as an advocate of the proceedings of government, acknowledges that, as it turned out, it was an *unwise* measure (p. 346.); surely then that was *not* the course of proceeding.

We shall now proceed to give an account of the most important interviews Mr. Cecil had with this very eminent champion of the Romish cause; and we shall adopt what we have to say from Mr. Soames's able history, which is, in fact, founded on the Bishop's own relation, as given by Foxe.

Before the time arrived, Cecil came to him again, and, reminding him that he had said in a former conversation, "a Sovereign at one year old is as much a King as at a hundred," suggested the propriety of introducing some such matter in his sermon. Gardiner, however, said that such instruction was superfluous, since every body knew the fact.* On another day, Cecil brought to the Bishop some notes in Edward's hand, from which appeared that young Prince's uncommon attention to what he heard, especially if it related to royalty. "I am, therefore," added the secretary, "commissioned to desire, that if your Lordship should inculcate the duty of obeying the King, you will add to the mention of his name that of the *Council*." To this, Gardiner

* How general a disposition prevailed at this time to question this very fact, may be seen in the dispatch of Sir William Paget and Sir Philip Hoby, relative to their negotiations with the Emperor's ministers, to be seen in Burnet, vol. ii. Records, No. xl. p. 250. Oxford edit. where the point is very ably discussed.

made no reply, but shifted the conversation to some other subject; because, according to his own account, he had to prove the kingly power from Scripture, and he was unable to define from the same authority, how far that power might be delegated to a council. On the Wednesday afternoon preceding the Friday on which he was to preach, Cecil paid another visit to the Bishop, and particularly advised him, in Somerset's name, to say nothing about the mass; a recommendation, indeed, already made to him in those written instructions for his sermon which were tendered to him at first. On hearing this counsel verbally repeated, Gardiner looked displeased, and as if he did not thoroughly understand what the speaker meant. "My object is to keep your Lordship from agitating any doubtful matters," said Cecil. "What doubtful matters can you be thinking of?" asked the Bishop. "Why, transubstantiation," was the reply. "Oh, as for that, Mr. Cecil," rejoined Gardiner, "you do not rightly understand what transubstantiation means. I shall preach the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament. This is no doubtful matter, nor controverted of any except of a few *ignorant* men, who say they know not what. I must also speak of the mass, upon which, I think it important that His Majesty should know my sincere opinion. This opinion, therefore, I should certainly utter, even if I knew that I must be hanged for my honest zeal immediately after leaving the pulpit. The mass, indeed, is the chief foundation of our religion ;* without it, we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice: and it is now the subject of so much conversation, that if I were to pass it over in silence, I know what people would think of me. I shall, however, speak the truth, and have no

* The Bishop might well say this. It is the very foundation of *Romanism*, to pretend, through the strange conceit of transubstantiation, to *offer afresh*, in its "gainful traffic of private masses," that *very sacrifice* for the sins of all who have money to pay for it, either direct or testimentary: for the *dead*, as well as the quick, may purchase this *priestly* atonement.

fear as to giving general satisfaction; but I cannot take my leave of you, Mr. Cecil, without expressing my concern to see my Lord Protector meddle with these matters of religion; they should be left to us bishops, so that, if any blame be incurred by what is done in them, it should be wholly thrown on our shoulders." Upon Cecil's report of this conference to the Protector he was much disquieted, and wrote to Gardiner himself, enjoining him in the King's name not to mention the mass, excusing himself for so far meddling with religion as to assist, as a point of duty, in bringing the people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion; adding, that to determine articles of religion he did not presume, but when other bishops and learned men had, with a full consent, decided upon the truth, "he would not suffer him, or a few others, with wilful headiness, to dissuade all the rest."* On a review of the whole, we still think Gardiner asked to be allowed to preach before the King; and that a day was *assigned* him, *St. Peter's* day, by his *own choice;* that then Cecil was sent to *propose* that he should preach, from notes which the council might see, and introduce certain points to satisfy the public as to the legality of the acts of the council, and to abstain from controversial topics; that the Bishop spurned at these restraints; and when, after Cecil, Sir Thomas Smith was sent to him, with equally ill success, he was left to take his own course, as Burnet states. (vol. ii. 128.) He did not comply so far even as to *write* his sermon, he touched upon controverted points, and totally omitted to say anything of the King's authority under age, or of the power of the council in that case, which were the *two* points, says the learned author of the Life of Bishop Ridley, which he was chiefly required to preach upon. As to Cecil himself, then, the case seems to stand thus: after Gardiner's first commitment; Cecil and Ridley had weight enough with him to overrule the result of his fort-

* The whole letter may be seen in Burnet, vol. ii. part ii. No. 28. Oxford edit. 1816.

night's deliberations on the injunctions; on the last occasion, the Bishop stood firm, and by his sermon raised the disturbance, which the Protector and council would have prevented if they could.

That Gardiner, as a bishop and divine, should refuse to preach what others were to dictate to him, is a circumstance that could only redound to his praise, if it concerned points of divinity only; but the requisitions of the Protector were as to *such* points merely negative; to avoid on that particular occasion, and in the then feverish state of the public mind, matters of notorious controversy; but as to other points of discussion, Gardiner had in his diocess decidedly meddled with matters of state policy, particularly in questioning the extent of the power and authority of the council and protectorate during the King's minority. If the opinions which Gardiner was disposed to press upon the people, were correct in regard to this point, the Reformation, it was clear, must stand still; the people were to be no farther enlightened than they had been; the King's minority was to oppose a check to all farther proceedings, though the times were notoriously revolutionary, not only as regarded England but Europe. Not to go forward at such a critical moment, was evidently to go back; and the public principles of the King, of the Protector, and of the Primate, being well known, the opposition of Gardiner could not be misunderstood. It was a struggle not only to resist all further departure from the Romish faith, but evidently to place himself at the head of a party, and to gain time for recovering what had been lost, or to await, what was not improbable, the succession of the Princess Mary.

The conversation the Bishop had holden with Mr. Cecil, could not be mistaken. It was in all points evasive. It would not have been superfluous in him to assert that "a Sovereign at one year old, is as much a King as at a hundred," since he was endeavouring to persuade the people, that the King, for various important ends and

purposes, could not, for many years to come, sanction any innovations, not even to the removal or correction of manifest abuses. It was not unreasonable to urge him to preach obedience to the *council*, as the King's ministers, since it was but deluding the people to pretend, that a King could be a King at one year old, and act *without* a *council*: he needed not even to have looked far for Scriptural authority, if that were wanting, as he alleged; the case of Josiah (2 Chronicles, xxxiv.) was one in point, as *Mr. Soames* has *well* remarked. He (Josiah) "was eight years old when he began to reign," v. 1. "and in the eighth year of his reign," v. 2. *i. e.* when he was only *sixteen*, his attention to matters of *reformation* became evident. Josephus indeed says, that he began his public reformation, assisted by the advice of his *counsellors*, at twelve years of age.* As to the preaching upon the mass, his *opinions* upon it were not disputed; all that Cecil attempted was, to dissuade him from touching upon a point of *controversy*, which could not just then be agitated in public, without *great hazard of tumult and confusion*, and which, though a point rather to be decided by the spiritual rulers of the church (as Gardiner alleged, and Somerset would have allowed) than by lay authority, yet was one in dispute at the very time among the *bishops themselves*. There was every reason therefore to suppose, that Gardiner had nothing so much in view, as the excitement of his own party in the presence of the young King, at any hazard, and as in truth it came to pass; for, not allowing himself to be checked or restrained from urging the abstruse doctrine of transubstantiation, at that important moment, in a mixed congregation, the feelings of the adverse parties were so roused, as to produce a tumult and clamour little suitable to the solemnity of the place; while, so far from preaching anything like obedience to the council, as the representative of the Crown, he wholly, and probably studiously, omitted to

* Soames, iii. 55.

allude to it: thereby, to say the least, tacitly condemning all the measures that were taking by the Protector to further the Reformation. He was therefore committed to the Tower, as obstinately resisting the King's authority.

What passed afterwards with Boner, before the King's commissioners (to bring the conduct of both bishops into review at once), admits of exactly the same construction. Boner was willing enough to go all lengths in acknowledging the King to be *King*, to the utmost extent of the *term*, in his nonage, but was equally bent upon resisting all *innovations* suggested or enforced in the King's name by his *council* during his *minority*. These things are now easily to be understood, and duly appreciated; but while they were acting, it is not to be wondered, that where so much was at stake (never more perhaps in the history of the world), the agitation of men's minds should lead them on both sides occasionally to overstep the bounds of strict justice, civility, and good manners. Both Gardiner and Boner may be said to have been treated with considerable severity, which, however, they were capable enough of resenting, and for which indeed, not long afterwards, they took ample revenge. Boner, often acting like a madman before the King's commissioners,* bore his imprisonment well enough, calling upon his friends for a liberal supply of "puddings and pears," and freely delivering all those who should neglect his call, over to the devil, nay to all the devils in hell, *ai tutti diavolli*, as it is expressed in the Italian.† "Such curses," says Burnet, "were strange acts of episcopal jurisdiction, yet they were mild compared to those he gave out when he was again restored to his see in the next reign."

* Burnet, vol. ii. 1549. 224—237. Records, No. 37.

† "Then I must say, as Messer, our priest of the hospital, said to his mad horse, *Al diavolo, al diavolo, ai tutti diavolli.*" The date of this facetious letter follows oddly enough—*Festo omnium Sanctorum*, in the Marshalsea.

We should not dwell so much on these points, were it not necessary upon all occasions in which Lord Burghley was concerned, to mark as minutely as possible the precise character, as well of the times in which he had to act, as of the persons with whom he had to deal. It has not been unusual to look upon Gardiner and Boner, the active persecutors of the succeeding reign, as the persecuted of the much milder reign of Edward. It is quite requisite therefore, when we have to treat of their imprisonment, deprivation, &c. under a government in which Cecil had undoubtedly no small share, that the real bearings of their opposition should be rightly understood. They were both men of spirit, and ambitious of bearing rule, but greatly to the prejudice of the people; that is, if the Reformation may be allowed to have enlarged our liberties, or produced any solid advantages; of which it would now surely be quite absurd to doubt, though it is indeed questioned by Romanists to this day.* The struggle on the part of the crown and council, at this time, was decidedly in favour of public liberty; and while things could not go quite straight, we ought to be disposed to overlook some deviations, both in the affairs of the church and state, from a standard not adjusted or sufficiently acknowledged till a long time after.† During the whole of Lord Burghley's life things were but in progress towards perfection; all that had been right in church or state, for much had been comparatively so undoubtedly in remote times, required to be cleared from overwhelming incumbrances, but by persons not quite certain themselves of the course they had to steer. It is time,

* See Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, with which, upon this point, it might be well to compare a book we have often cited, Villers on the Reformation.

† Mr. Soames has some very good remarks to this effect upon the committal of Gardiner to the Tower, in consequence of his sermon; that the proceedings were more arbitrary than we could *at this day* attempt to justify, he readily admits; but adds, that it should, at the same time, be admitted that we cannot pretend, at this day, to be competent judges of the emergency. Vol. iii. 349, and see his citation of Godwin, 340.

however, to return to the things that were doing by the friends of the Reformation to remove as speedily as possible what was most obnoxious, and to enlighten farther the understandings of the people; for much certainly was done in the very first year of the young King's reign.

This, probably, is the true date of Cranmer's celebrated Catechism, as it has been customary to call it, being intended, though not written in the way of interrogatories, "for the singular commodity and profit of children and young people," as the title sets forth. It treats principally of the Decalogue, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and the Eucharist. Strictly speaking, the Archbishop in all likelihood bestowed his care only on adapting to the purposes of the English church a German work of instruction, which had been before published at Nuremberg, and translated into Latin by a young man, inmate of the Archiepiscopal palace at the time, the son of the celebrated Justus Jonas. This is a very important performance, and may be read with great interest at all times, though in the Decalogue the second commandment is not entirely rescued from the suppressions of the Romanists;* and in discussing the subject of the Eucharist, the corporal presence is so strongly asserted, as to leave it doubtful to some whether the Archbishop had at that time fully renounced the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, or whether he was a convert to the Lutheran consubstantiation; but, at all events, he seems decidedly indisposed to regard it as merely commemorative.

* This is rather remarkable, because, when the "Necessary Erudition" was preparing, Cranmer, according to Burnet, upon Gardiner's wishing the second commandment to be shortened, was for setting it down exactly as it was in the law of Moses.—*Reform.* b. iii. anno 1540.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cranmer procures Acts to be passed favourable to the Reformation, and others to be repealed—Disturbances among the People, partly for the restoration of Romanism, and partly against Inclosures—Cheke and Cranmer interpose to open the eyes of the People.

But the Archbishop's influence with the first parliament that sat after the King's accession, November 4, procured some acts to be passed of the highest importance. The statute appointing the Six Articles was formally repealed, as well as one for the punishment of Lollards, under which name the new Reformists had begun to be considered, and, as such, exposed to the rigour of the law.* A bill also passed for the administration of the sacrament,

* Of what was accounted Lollardism, at the commencement of the Reformation, we have a curious specimen in the confessions or recantations of some accused of that heresy, after the birth of Lord Burghley. The following passages occur in that of John Tybull, 1528:—"Examined" (before the famous Bishop Tonstall), "he saithe, that abowte vii. or viii. yeres past, he had certaine bookes of the iiij Evangelistes in Englishe, of one holie John, and certayne epistoles of Peter and Poule; which he brent [burnt] the same day at night, that Sir Richard Fox [a priest] was tached. And so in continuans of tyme, by reading of the said bookes, and specially by a chapter of Poule which he wrot to the Corynthios, which he doth not now remember, fel into those *errors* and *herysies*. That sum tyme he thowght, that in the blessed sacrament of thaulter is *not* the *very body* of Christe, but bred and wine, and done for a remembraunce of Christes passion; and he thowght and believyd, that a prieste had no power to consecrate the body of Christe. Also he confesseth, that he hath saide, affirmed, and believyd, that every prieste and bishop owght to have a wiff, upon the chapitour of Poule, where he saithe theis wordes, 'Every Bisshop ouwght to be husband of one wiff, and to bryng forth childern.' Also, he saithe, that he hathe sayd, affirmyd, and belevyd, that yt was as good for a man to confesse himself alone to God, or els to any other layman, as to a prieste, upon the saiyng of Saynt James, where he saythe, 'Shew your synnes one to another;' which error he shewid and tawght Robert Faire of Bumstede, abowght a twelve monethe past. Also, he confesseth that pilgrimages to images were not profitable; and that men should not worshippe

under both kinds, throughout England and Ireland. The law relating to felonies and treasons was revised; and the celebrated, though obnoxious statute, which gave to the King's proclamation the force of law, was entirely abrogated. It has been reasonably conjectured, that the spoils of the church had weight with many members in disposing them so easily to accord with the government in its attacks on Romanism.

But there was a spirit abroad which rendered all these things unpalatable and unpopular. The people, blind to their own real interests, were, in many places, prepared to resist the acts of the King's visitors, and disposed formally to demand to have the repealed laws re-enacted. Strype says, they were "fond of the old religion merely because it was old;" but this is but an inadequate idea, and, in general, nothing carries with it a greater attraction for the common people than novelty. The Reformation, however, it should be observed, made an appeal, not to the senses, but to the intellect of man. The freedom of the human mind, its emancipation from spiritual tyranny, and the return to the only pure standard and rule of faith, were objects little likely to engage the attention, much less animate the zeal of the common people. By the abolition of the Romish religion, they were deprived of many immediate advantages and indulgences likely to excite their regret, and render them fit tools for any adventurous demagogue who might choose to disturb the state. The alms and food distributed at the convent gates could not fail to be much missed, the hospitality covenanted to be kept up by the new possessors of church-lands having already greatly disappointed them. The old religion was comparatively a religion of

or knele to images in the churche, nor set up candles or lights before them; for they be but stockes and stones." See much more to the same effect, Strype's Memorials, Appendix to vol. i. Nos. xvii. xviii. &c. &c. wherein it may be seen, by the very terms of the *recantations*, what were judged to be *unquestionable* doctrines of Popery.

holidays to the working classes, while the idlest among the rabble might not only derive relief from the gates of the convents, but find amusement and diversion in many of the Romish ceremonies.* The very multitude, therefore, always open to the worst sort of infatuations, became clamorous, at the instigation of the Romish party, for the actual renewal of some of the most obnoxious laws of Henry, even the "bloody" statute of the Six Articles. "Assuredly," says Hayward, "the vulgar multitude is not unfitly termed a beast with many heads, not guided, I will not say with any proportion, but portion of reason: violence and obstinacy, like two untamed horses, draw their desire in a blindful career. They intend most foolishly what they never put in action, and often act most madly what they never intended; all that they know to do is, that they know not what to do; all that they mean to determine, proves a determination and meaning to do nothing. They attribute more to other judgments than to their own, esteeming bold obstinacy for bravest courage, and impudent prating for soundest wisdom."

Though there is much of antithetical conceit in this passage, according to the manner of the times,† it undoubtedly contains

* Of the strange abuse of these things we may form some judgment from the ceremonies first abolished, as too commonly observed ("*Just as the heathens did their plays and festivities for their gods*"), the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, the sprinkling of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and the bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday.

† Of the *admired* style of writing not long antecedent to Sir John Hayward, and in use at the period of which we are treating, we may form some idea from the following passage, extracted from Sir John Cheke's address to the rebels at the beginning of Edward's reign, and which *Hollinshed* transcribes as a most notable and rhetorical clause to the purpose: "Who can persuade where *treason* is above *reason*, and *might* ruleth *right*, and it is held for *lawful* whatever is *lustful*, and *commotioners* are better than *commissioners*, and common *woe* is named common *wealth*." Sir John Cheke was unquestionably a man of too much learning and good taste to write so, had it not been the prevailing fashion, and more likely to engage attention than a style less laboured and conceited. He happens, indeed, to be the very person who has the credit of amending the English style of writing, as well as the language; and that he contributed to the amendment of both is beyond dispute, though some of his improvements were never generally adopted.

a good deal of truth, and is almost a picture, as well as a description of the blindness and ignorance displayed in most popular commotions. In the disturbances that now took place, the common people were decidedly made to act upon other people's judgment, not their own. Their heads and captains were for the most part gentlemen inflamed with an ignorant zeal for the old religion, and, as might be expected, many priests.* So much was done to move and irritate the populace by discourses from the pulpit, that it was found necessary to prohibit all preaching without the King's licence, even to the restraining of the bishops themselves.†

It cannot, however, be denied, that there was a cause for complaint, and though there might be much in the opposition raised against the new government which the populace could not *understand*, there was much also which they could *feel*, and which, in fact, they could not *misunderstand*. The account of this is well set forth by Rapin in the following passage, after observing that the Duke of Somerset's enemies were not sorry that the people appeared to be dissatisfied with the government.

"After the suppression of the *abbeys*, there were vast numbers of *monks* dispersed about the kingdom, who were forced to work for their living, their pensions being either ill paid, or not sufficient for their subsistence: so, the work being divided among so many hands, the profit became less than before. Moreover, whilst the monasteries stood, the lands were let out at easy rents to farmers, who, to cultivate them, were obliged to employ a world of people. But after these lands were fallen into the hands of the nobility and gentry, the rents were much raised, whence it came to pass that the farmers, to make them turn to better account, were forced to employ fewer hands, and lessen the wages. On the other side, the proprietors of the lands finding, since the last peace with

* Out of twenty-six persons that were executed for a tumult in the west, nine were priests.

† Strype's Memorials, ii. part i. 142.

France, the woollen trade flourish, bethought themselves of breeding sheep, because wool brought them in more money than corn. To that end they caused their grounds to be inclosed. Hence arose several inconveniences: in the first place, the price of corn was increased, to the great detriment of the meaner sort of people; in the next place, the landlords, or their farmers, had occasion only for a very few persons to look after their flocks in grounds so inclosed; consequently, abundance of people lost the means of getting their livelihood; and the profit of the lands, which before was shared among a great many, was almost wholly engrossed by the landlords."

These then were changes which the people could not but *feel*, and though connected with the alterations that were taking place in religion, were very different as a cause of commotion from the doctrines in dispute. The latter, indeed, were also made a handle to excite disturbances, upon the artful plea, that, while the King was under age, no farther changes could be made, or any statutes passed in the last reign repealed; so that they were even urged to *rebellion*, in resistance of *such* attempts, for fear of being drawn into *treason* by submitting to them.

While every thing therefore was done to repress the commotions connected with the farther progress of the Reformation, the Protector himself sided with the people in regard to the other grievance; though, as might be expected, at much hazard to his own security, as he might be sure of gaining the ill-will of the nobility and gentry, proprietors of the new inclosures. Nor was this long left in doubt, for, after discovering to the people his good-will towards them in this particular, and seeking to redress their grievances by the aid of the council, he found himself quite unable to procure its co-operation, and therefore ventured upon a measure more rash than prudent; issuing, on his own authority, a proclamation against all new inclosures, and containing a pardon for

those who had tumultuously taken the law into their own hands, by destroying such as had already taken place. Whereas, if some were real sufferers, many were turbulent on false pretences, complaining for want of work, when in truth they were principally vexed because they could not subsist as they used to do, without work, in perfect idleness and free from labour; fed by the plentiful meals dispensed by the monasteries, and in the enjoyment of a profuse succession of holidays and superstitious ceremonies.* These, then, having no real disposition to work, were the people most likely to be stirred up to do mischief, and the priests were so busy with them, that it was judged necessary by some to pass a bill, enacting most severe penalties on all vagabonds who should be found three days together loitering about without work, or without offering themselves to work. Such persons, very contrary to the English Constitution, were to be adjudged to become *slaves* to the informer, for two years; but the severity of the edict was directed against those disbanded monks who went about caballing against the government, and stirring up the people to rebellion. It is certainly remarkable that the young King, according to his own journal, accounted it "an extreme law," and so it certainly was, in all respects.† The countenance given by the Protector to those who objected to the inclosures, the proclamation he had issued, and, above all, the commissions he had sent out to hear and determine all causes about inclosures, highways, and cottages, and which assumed, as has been alleged, great and unusual powers, gave very violent offence, and was afterwards brought against him as a special charge by his enemies, in

* "The chief authors of these tumults," says Cranmer, "be idle and naughty people, which nothing have, nor nothing or little wil labour to have: that wil riot in expending, but not labor in getting." Notes for a homily on Rebellion.—*Strype's Cranmer*, ii. 842. In Crowley's Epigrams concerning abuses at this period, printed in Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. we may find some instances of this, under the articles entitled *Alehouses, Beggars, Obstinate Papists*, &c.

† See Soames, iii. 194, 195.

the terms following: That "he had often, both openly and privately, said and affirmed, that the noblemen and gentlemen were the only causes of the dearth of things, whereby the people rose and did reform things themselves;" in which accusations Strype thinks he was able to trace, in the papers submitted to him, the very hand of *Gardiner*.*

And yet the Protector was, no doubt, right in the judgment he had formed of the aggravated distresses of the more inoffensive and helpless portion of the community; those who were benefited by the confiscation of conventual property being the very persons who appeared most regardless of the consequences of so great a change to the lower orders of people: and while Gardiner, if the above charge were penned by him, could see reason for blaming the Protestant Protector of the realm, for the commiseration shewn to the people in consequence of the unguarded proceedings of the noblemen and gentry in the management of their newly acquired lands; a Protestant bishop, or at least one who became so afterwards, saw matters in a very different light, describing thus, in a work put out in Queen Mary's days, the true causes of the people's sufferings:

"England hath had many great droughts and dearths, both in the time of popery and the gospel; but, if ye mark it well, you shall find great diversity between them. In the dearths under the gospel, it was not for want of things that God did not send them plenteously, but through the wickedness of men, which, in so great plenty and blessings of God, made a needless dearth; for farms were raised, that farmers might not foorthe [afford] to sell as they were wont. Many things were gotten into few men's hands, and they would sell as they list, and not as things

* Cranmer, b. ii. ch. 26. And see all the charges, particularly articles 10, 11, 17, in Hayward, anno 1549. The conduct of the Protector was certainly very hazardous to himself, because he was in his own person, a sad spoliator of church property, as is but too well known.

were worth according to charity, being content with reasonable gains. Corn was carried out of the realm, or sold through many men's hands, or it came to the markets; and every one would raise the price and have some part of the gains. Some would feed their hogs with it, or else let it be foist in their barns, and eaten with mice, rather than they would bring it to the market to pull down the price. Men of honour and worship were become sheep-masters and graziers; tillage was turned into pasture, and towns into graunges: and all, not to make things cheaper, which might have been suffered, but dearer, which was and is devilish."

Such was the account given by one of the Protestant exiles in Queen Mary's days* (Pilkington, afterwards Bishop of Durham), of the perverse proceedings of those, who, though benefited by the gospel, as they called the Reformation, greatly impeded its progress by their covetousness, and injudicious aggravation of the people's sufferings from the change of property. Their afflictions were neither sent by God, nor altogether caused by the Reformation, as he rightly observes. But men's covetousness interposed to magnify the inconveniences of so great a revolution; for, it is evident, that while the confiscated property was in the hands of the clergy and the monks, it was managed much more to the general ease and satisfaction of the community; let on easy terms, and so much land left uninclosed as to afford pasturage for cattle and sheep belonging to the poorer sorts of people. The benefits ultimately to be derived from the changes now beginning to take place, in the distribution of property and management of estates, and in the gradual amelioration of the habits and manners of the people, were not easily to be discerned or foreseen in the hasty proceedings of the first new occupiers of the conventual estates. All they did being selfish in principle, and not free from many gross acts of covetousness, and much disregard of the poorer

* 1556.

classes, could not fail to excite an alarming spirit of discontent not easily to be subdued.*

The state of things, in short, was such as to afford a fair handle to all those who were disposed to interrupt the course of the Reformation, and bring the religion of the country back to its old state, to stir up the populace to open acts of resistance, and to demand, as the only remedy for their distresses, a restitution of as much as could be restored of their former advantages and rights. For, as Sir John Hayward observes, "it was always one note in their musick," that the church should be restored to its "*ancient rights*," the poor relieved, the rich abated, and the realm generally disburdened of all grievances; "a seemly task," he adds, "for such undertakers." He tells us, that in addition to other excitements, they were, in one instance,† supported by "a dark and deceivable prophecy, foretelling that the time should arrive, when there would be no King, when the nobility and gentry should be destroyed, and the realm be ruled by four governors chosen by the commonalty;‡ which savored greatly of the Anabaptists' insanity." Great disturbances did assuredly take place, in Kent, Essex, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, Sussex, Surrey, Suffolk, and Somersetshire; and to a more alarming extent than any where else, in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall. Not in all, however, upon the same grounds, though intentionally, as far as regarded the chief movers of the revolt, to the same end, namely, that of restoring the church as much as possible to its pristine state. In some parts, the attention of the people was entirely directed to the affairs

* See Soames, iii. 435, &c. The few who meant well, says the author of the Life of Bishop Ridley, found the torrent of *avarice* too violent to stem; they, nevertheless set themselves against it with great resolution. A copious account of the great abuses justly to be complained of may be seen in this author. What the Protestant clergy could not immediately restrain in their own followers and adherents, they loudly and boldly declaimed against in their pulpits.

† In Yorkshire, according to Hollinshed, 985, vol. xii. ‡ Hollinshed, ib.

of religion; in others, to the great evil of inclosures. The latter took the law at once into their own hands, destroying by violence what gave them such offence; the former were more content to set forth their demands, and seek for redress in the way of remonstrance to government. In both instances, however, their proceedings were very bold and threatening, and, for some time, occasioned great trouble throughout the nation. In Norfolk, most particularly, the movements were all directed against the offending gentry, and therefore required at once to be put down by force. In the west, as in other parts, their grievances were at first brought into the regular form of remonstrances to the crown, presented to Lord Russel, Privy Seal, who was sent thither to expostulate with them, and to which it was not judged below the dignity of the King formally to reply; and as some of these answers admirably set forth the difference between the two religions, or forms of religion, and the two parties which were at this time struggling for the mastery, to the great hindrance and disturbance of the government, with which Mr. Cecil was now intimately connected, we shall make a few extracts from them.

To shew how the people must have been deluded by the priests, one of their most urgent requests was, to have the justly execrated law of the SIX ARTICLES re-enacted. To which His Majesty is made to reply:

"But you would have the Six Articles again revived: do you understand what you would have, or are you masters of your own judgment? If you understand them, and yet desire them, it is not long since they were enacted, and have since drawn much blood from the subjects: as would you have bloody laws again in life, or would they any longer be endured? Upon pity they were taken away, upon ignorance they were again demanded. Verily, that in the gospel may truly be said of you, Ye ask ye know not what, for ye neither know what good ye shall have by receiving them,

nor what evil ye have lost by their abolishing. Our intention is, to have our laws written with milk, but you would have them written with blood. They were established by law, and so observed, although with much expense of blood; they are abolished by law with sparing of blood, and that also must be observed, for unless laws be duly observed, neither the authority of the Prince, or safety of the people, can be preserved."*

Another of their demands, made on a pretence originating with Gardiner and Boner, and, for obvious reasons, sanctioned by the Princess Mary, was, that during the minority, things should continue exactly as they were at the time of the late King's demise; to which his Majesty answers:

"And whereas you would have them remain in force until our full age; if you had known what you speak, you would never have given breath to such an unseasoned thought; for what is our authority less for our age; or shall we be more King hereafter than now? or are you less subjects now than in future you shall be? Verily, as a natural man we have now youth, and by God's sufferance expect age; but as King we have no difference in years, we are rightful King by God's ordinance, and by descent from our royal ancestors, and not by any set number of years: and much it is to be feared, that they who moved you to require this suspense of time, would absolutely deny our royal power, if they durst so plainly express themselves."

That they would have hindered the Reformation by this pretence, there can be no doubt; but things were already too far advanced to render it either wise or necessary to wait. The

* *Hayward.*—It is rather different in *Hollinshed,* "Ye require to have the statute of Six Articles revived. And know ye what ye require? or know ye what easeye have in the loss of them? They were laws made but quickly repented; too bloudie they were to be borne of our people, yet at the first, indeed, made of some necessitie. How are yet rapped by evil persons? We, of pitie, because they were bloudie, took them away, and you now of ignorance will aske them again. You know full well that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cause to draw our sword very often."

King's father had begun the Reformation; the young King had been educated in the principles of it; the Protector, as head of the civil government under him, and Cranmer, as primate over the Church, were for its proceeding; and, what is most of all, the nation, pretty generally, was in such a state of excitement and expectation, that it seemed almost impossible for the Reformation to stand still; the liberty of the gospel hurrying many into such strange heresies and wild notions, that government had, in abundance of instances, as much to do to restrain those who were decidedly anti-Romanists, as to counteract the stratagems, and defeat the operations, of the Romish party itself.*

In regard to those, however, who were instigated to be clamorous for the restoration of the "rights of the church," that is, all the ancient abuses of popery; and who could not be expected to discern how much they were pleading against their own personal rights and liberties, under the pretence held out to them; great pains were taken to enlighten such persons, and to point out the inconsistencies into which they were falling, by the wisest and ablest of the real reformers, *Cranmer*, *Cheke*, and even several foreign divines. The King's answer to the rebels' demands, seven in number, had been drawn up by his council; but a very much longer reply was prepared by Cranmer, in which every one of the fifteen articles of their last appeal to the King was handled and discussed, and the utmost pains taken to undeceive the deluded people as to the unreasonableness of their own requests, and the injury they would do themselves and the nation, by procuring the repeal of the last statutes, particularly that which had abrogated the hateful law of the Six Articles. He caused sermons also to

* See some very good remarks on the state of things at this time, Soames' History of the Reformation, vol. iii. 391. though the learned author seems inclined to think, that a "great majority of men, in every rank and station," were against proceeding farther in the Reformation of the Church: but he justly observes upon this, that Somerset could only be guided by an imperious sense of duty in what he did, political expediency evidently suggesting a different course.

be written and preached, to preserve, if possible, those who had hitherto been quiet from being involved in the rebellion. Sir John Cheke, Mr. Cecil's brother-in-law, also addressed to them a very powerful discourse, still extant, entitled, "The True Subject to the Rebel," in which he laboured hard to open their eyes to the real state of the question, as far as regarded religion: "Why rise ye," he asks them, "for religion? have ye anything contrary to God's book? But the new is different from the old, therefore ye will have the old. If ye measure the old by truth, ye have the oldest. Will ye have any older than that as Christ left, and his apostles taught, and the first church after Christ did use?" But besides these very eminent persons, who were able to address them in their own tongue, the two learned foreigners and reformers, *Peter Martyr* and *Bucer*, took up their pens, and wrote in Latin, what was carefully translated, anxious to dissuade the people from encouraging and engaging in such turbulent measures, at the hazard of laying the kingdom open to foreign intrigues and invasion, by enemies always on the watch to take advantage of domestic commotions and differences. Truly enough, in the following words, did *Peter Martyr*, especially, endeavour to awaken them to a sense of this particular danger: "*Si potuissetis (quod est prudentium) in longinquum prospicere, omnino vidissetis, cæteros hostes, uti nunc res ipsa declarat, fretos vestris tumultibus, in vestrum regnum arma sumpturos, et ausuros impune, qui nunquam si in officio mansissetis, tentassent.*" The French King, indeed, did not neglect the opportunity of committing most unprovoked hostilities in *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, but with such ill success, through the accustomed bravery and resentment of the islanders,* as soon to be induced to desist from his purpose.

* We should perhaps add *loyalty*. The constant and invariable attachment of these respectable islanders to the *English* government, from the first period of their connexion with this country, notwithstanding their near neighbourhood to France, is exceedingly remarkable, as extending through many centuries, and having stood the test of many wars and revolutions.

CHAP. XIX.

Claims and Demands of the Seditious—Archbishop Cranmer's Answers, tending to shew how much they had been misled, in being seduced to ask for things either in themselves absurd, or, if granted, full of danger to the people at large.

To shew how much the common people must have been seduced to rely on the assertions, pretences, and suggestions of those who abetted them in their conspiracy, not at all understanding their purport and tendency, we shall give the heads of their several articles of complaint, or rather of their *claims* and *demands;* for the *style* is very remarkable.

"First, Wee wil have al the general councels and holy decrees of our forefathers observed, kept, and performed: and whosoever shal againsay them, we hold them as hereticks.

"II. We wil have the Law of our Soveraign Lord King Henry VIII. concerning the Six Articles to be used again as in his time they were.

"III. We wil have the mass in Latine, as was before, and celebrated by the Priest without man or woman communicating with him.

"IV. We wil have the Sacrament hang over the high altar,* and there to be worshipped as it was wont to be; and they which will not thereto consent, we wil have them dy like hereticks against the holy Catholick faith.

* The Priests who encouraged these commotions, the more to inflame the minds of the populace, had in many places caused the Host to be carried in procession in a cart, so highly elevated as that all might see it.

"V. We wil have the sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind.

"VI. Wee wil that our curates shal minister the sacrament of baptism at all times, as wel in the week day, as on the holy day.

"VII. Wee wil have holy bread and holy water every Sunday, palmes and ashes at the times accustomed; images to be set up again in every church; and al other antient old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother holy church.

"VIII. Wee wil not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game;* but wee wil have our old service of mattins, mass, even-song, and procession, in Latine, as it was before, and so we the Cornish men, whereof certain of us understand no English, utterly refuse this new English.

"IX. We wil have every preacher in his sermon, and every priest at the mass, pray especially by name for the souls in purgatory, as our forefathers did.

"X. We wil have the Bible, and al books of Scripture in English, to be called in again; for we be informed, that otherwise the clergy shal not of long time confound the hereticks.

"XI. We wil have Dr. Moreman and Dr. Crispin, which hold our opinions, to be safely sent unto us: and to them we require the King's Majesty to give some certain livings, to preach among us our Catholic faith.

"XII. We think it very meet, because the Lord Cardinal Pole is of the King's blood, that he should not only have his pardon, but also be sent for to Rome, and promoted to be of the King's Councel.

"XIII. We wil that no gentleman shal have any mo servants than one, to wait upon him, except he may dispend one hundred

* See before, p. 251, note, where the popish ceremonies are much more justly compared to the *heathen* festivities.

mark land; and for every hundred mark we think it reasonable he should have a man.

"XIV. Wee wil that the half part of the abbey lands in every man's possession, howsoever he came by them, be given again to two places, where two of the chief abbies were within every county, where such half part shal bee taken out, and there to be established a place for devout persons, which shal pray for the King and the commonwealth; and to the same we wil have al the almes of the church box given for these seven years.

"XV. For the particular griefes of our country, we wil have them so ordered, as Humphrey Arundel and Henry Bray, the King's maior of Bodman,* shal inform the King's Majesty, if they may have salve conduct in the King's great seal to pas and repas with an herald of armes."

The answers of Archbishop Cranmer to these several articles, describe so exactly the delusions to which the common people were liable, in the struggle that was going forward at this period between the Romanists and Reformers, and in which Mr. Cecil bore so great a share, that we cannot forbear inserting some select portions of them. They are chiefly addressed to the insurgents in the counties of *Devon* and *Cornwal;* against whom Lord Russel had been compelled to employ force, after receiving a statement of their grievances, by way of bringing them to an accommodation. The answers were copied by Strype from a rough draft under the Archbishop's own hand, among the MSS. in Benet College Library. He begins,

"When I first read your requests, O ignorant men of Devonshire and Cornwal, straitwayes came to my mind a request which James and John made to Christ, to whom Christ answered, 'You ask you wot not what;' even so thought I of you as soon as ever I heard your articles, that you were deceived by some

* Of these persons, and their share in the transactions, see Strype's Cranmer, b. ii. ch. xii.

crafty papist, which devised those articles for you, to make you ask you wist not what." "Wherefore, my duty unto God, and the pity that I have of your ignorance, move me now at this time, to open plainly and particularly your own articles unto you, that you may understand them and be no longer deceived."

"In your first article you require, that al the general councels and holy decrees of our forefathers may be observed and kept, and whosoever shall againsay them to be holden as hereticks.

"This you al ask, but what you ask I dare say very few or none of you understand; for how many of you, I pray you, do know certainly which be called the general councels, and holy decrees of the Fathers, and what is in them contained? The holy decrees, as they call them, be nothing else but the laws and ordinances of the Bishop of Rome, whereof the most part be made for his own advancement, glory, and lucre; and to make him and his clergy governors of the whole world, and to be exempted from all princes lawes, and to do what they list. And would you ask, if you knew what you asked, that we should put away the lawes of our own realm, and be governed by the Bishop of Rome's lawes? If you mean this, then be you traitors to the King, and enemies to your own realm. And if you mean it not, consider what persons they be, and how they have deceived you, that make you ask you wot not what.

"And as for the general councels, you say you wil have them al kept; but you be not so destitute of al reason, that you would have spoken such words if you had known what you had said. For a great number of the councels repugn one against another: how should they then be al kept, when one is contrary to another, and the keeping of one is breaking of another—and among your own articles you say, you wil have divers things observed, which be not only contrary to the law of this realm, but also contrary to God's laws, as shall be plainly declared.

"And al reason is contrary that you should have asked such things, if you had known what you had asked. I have this opinion of the greater number of you, that you would fain walk in the right way if you could find it. And forasmuch as I perceive, that wicked and false guides, under pretence to bring you to the high-way, have brought you clean out of it, my good wil shal be, seeing you so far wandering out of your way, and so blindfolded with il persuasions that you cannot see where you go, to open your eyes that you may see, and to set you again into the right way."

He then proceeds to consider the strange manner in which they address the King, "*We wil have!*" "Was this manner of speech," he observes, "at any time used of subjects to their Prince, since the beginning of the world? And that saying with armour upon your backs, and swords in your hands? If any thing can declare disobedience, what can declare it more than subjects to come with force of arms to their natural King and Prince, and say, This we wil have?

"But you say you wil have al the holy decrees observed and kept, but do you know what they bee? The holy decrees, as I told you before, be called the Bishop of Rome's ordinances and lawes. Which, how *holy* and godly soever they be called, they be indeed so wicked, so ungodly, so ful of tyranny, and so partial, that since the beginning of the world, were never devised or invented the like. I shall rehearse a certain of them, that yourselves may see how holy they be, and may say your minds, whether you would have them kept or not.

"One decree saith, *that whosoever doth not acknowledge himself to be under the obedience of the Bishop of Rome is a heretic.* Now, answer me this question, whether you be under obedience to the Bishop of Rome or not? If you say that you be under his obedience, then be you traytours by the laws of this realm; and if you deny it, then be you heretics by this decree. And shift is there none to

save you from treason, but to renounce this decree that commandeth you to be under the Bishop of Rome; and so to confess, contrary to your own first article, that al decrees are not to be kept.

"Yet a great many other decrees be as evil, and worse than this. One saith that *al Princes' laws, which be against a decree of the Bishop of Rome, be void and of no strength.* Another decree saith, *that al the decrees of the Bishop of Rome ought for ever to be kept of al men, as God's word.* Another decree there is, *that whosoever receiveth not the law of the Bishop of Rome, availeth neither him the Catholick faith, nor the four Evangelists, for his sin shal never be forgiven.* Yet is there a worse, and more detestable decree, *that al Kings and Princes, that suffer the Bishop of Rome's decrees to be broken, are to be taken as infidels.* Another is there also, *that the Bishop of Rome is bound to no maner of decrees, but he may constrain al other persons, both spiritual and temporal, to receive al his decrees and canons.* Another is yet more devilish than any before rehersed, *that although the Bishop of Rome neither regard his own salvation, nor no man's else, but put down with himself headlong innumerable people by heaps unto hell, yet may no mortal man presume to reprove him therefore.* But what should I tarry, and make you weary in rehearsing a number? for a thousand other like canons and decrees there be, to the advancement of the Bishop of Rome, his usurped power and authority. And now shal I shew you, what miserable case you should bring yourselves unto, if the King's Majesty should assent unto this first article, that al decrees should be kept and observed; for among other partial decrees made in favour of the clergy, this is one, *that none of the clergy shal be called or sued before any temporal judge, for any maner of cause, either for debt, suit of lands, fellony, murther, or for any other cause or crime; nor shal have any other judge but his Bishop only.* Another is, *that a spiritual man may sue a temporal man before a temporal or spiritual*

judge at his pleasure, but a temporal man cannot sue a spiritual man but only before his ordinary. What mean those papistical priests that stirred you to ask and wil such decrees and lawes to be observed in this realm, but covertly and craftily to bring you under their subjection?"

Upon the second article of the rebels, requiring the re-enactment of the law of the Six Articles, the Archbishop speaks thus: "How chanceth it that you be so earnest in this article, which is directly contrary to your first article? By your first you will have all general councels and decrees observed and kept, and by your second you will have the Six Articles used again. Then let us compare the general councels and decrees with the Six Articles, and you shall see them agree as well together, as black and white.—It is contained in the canons of the Apostles, that a priest under no pretence of holiness may put away his wife; and if he do, he shal be excommunicate; and the Six Articles say, if any priest put not away his wife, he shal be taken for a felon. If he keep her not stil, he must be excommunicate by the canon of the Apostles, and if he keep her stil, he must suffer death by the Six Articles: you be cunning men if you can set these together.—Other things there be divers also in the Six Articles, which cannot stand with sundry old canons, decrees, and councels. So that if you wil stand to the canons, decrees, and councels, you must of force be constrained utterly to put out of your book your second article, which requireth the usage of the Six Articles."

On the fourth of their fifteen articles or demands, he has, among other things, these words: "Is this the holy catholick faith that the Sacraments should be hanged over the altars, and worshipped? and be they heretics that wil not consent thereto? I pray you who made this Faith? any other but the Bishops of Rome? and that after more than a thousand years after the faith of Christ was ful and perfect.—Were the Apostles and Evan-

gelists heretics? were the martyrs and confessors heretics? were all the old Doctors of the church heretics? were al Christian people heretics, until within three or four hundred years last past, that the Bishops of Rome taught them what they should do and believe? Al they before rehearsed, neither hanged the Sacrament over the altar, nor worshiped it, nor not one of them al spake any one word, either of the hanging up, or worshiping of the Sacrament. Marry, they speak very much of the worshiping of Christ himself, sitting in heaven at the right hand of his Father.— Here then is the issue of this matter: that you must either condemn of heresy the apostles, martyrs, confessors, doctors, and al the holy church of Christ, until the time of Innocentius and Honorius, because they hanged not the Sacrament over the altar to be worshiped; or els you must be condemned yourselves by your own article, to dy like hereticks against the holy Catholic faith.

"But you say in your fifth article, we wil have the Sacrament of the altar but at Easter delivered to the lay-people; and then but in one kind.

"Methinks you be like a man, that were brought up in a dark dungeon, that never saw light, nor knew nothing that is abroad in the world; and if a friend of his, pitying his ignorance and state, would bring him out of his dungeon, that he might se the light and come to knowledge, he being from his youth used to darkness, could not abide the light, but would wilfully shut his eyes, and be offended both with the light, and with his friend also. A most godly prince of famous memory, King Henry VIII. our late Sovereign Lord, pitying to se his subjects many years so brought up in darknes, and ignorance of God, by the erroneous doctrines and superstitions of the Bishop of Rome, studied by al means, and that to his no little danger and charges, to bring you al out of your said ignorance and darknes unto the true light

and knowledg of God's word. And our most dread Soveraign Lord, that now is, succeeding his father, as wel in this godly intent, as in his realmes and dominions, hath with no less care and diligence studied to perform his father's godly intent and purpose. And you like men that wilfully shut their own eyes, refuse to receive the light, saying you wil remain in your darknes; or rather you be like men, that be so far wandered out of the right way, that they can never come to it again without good and expert guides: and yet when the guides would tel you the truth, they would not be ordered by them, but would say unto them, wee wil have, and follow our own wayes.

"But need any more be brought for the reproving of this article, than your own first article, where you wil have kept al decrees and councels. Now in the Decrees de Consecrat. Di. 2. there is one decree that commandeth al men to receive the communion at the least thrice in the year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas. Another commandeth every man to receive the same upon Shere-Thursday. The Councel Agathense saith, that al lay-men which receive not the communion at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide, shal not be taken for Catholics; and the decree of Gelasius, that the receiving under one kind, is great sacrilege. Then by your first article, you do not only condemn your fifth article, but also you shew yourselves not to be Catholics, except you receive the communion three times in the year: and that under both kinds; which is clean repugnant to this article."

Upon the eighth demand the Archbishop saith, "As concerning the having of the service in the Latine tongue, is sufficiently spoken of in the answer to the third article. But I would gladly know the reason, why the Cornish men refuse utterly the *New English*, as you cal it, because certain of you understand it not; and yet you wil have the service in Latine, which almost none of you understand. If this be a sufficient cause for Cornwal to refuse the

English service, because some of you understand none English, a much greater cause have they, both of Cornwal and Devonshire, to refuse utterly the late service; forasmuch as fewer of them know the Latine tongue, than they of Cornwal the English tongue. But where you say that you wil have the old service, because the new is *like a Christmas game*, you declare yourselves what spirit you be led withal, or rather, what spirit leadeth them that persuaded you, that the word of God is but like a Christmas game. It is more like a game and a fond play to be laughed at of al men, to hear the priest speak aloud to the people in Latine, and the people listen with their ears to hear; and some walking up and down in the church, some saying other prayers in Latine, and none understandeth other, neither the priest nor his parish wot what they say: and many times the thing the priest saith in Latine is so fond of itself, that it is more like a play than a godly prayer. But in the English service the New and the Old Testament is read, that hath power to save your souls: which, as St. Paul saith, *is the power of God to the salvation of all that believe.* It is in itself the wisdom of God, and yet to the Jews it is a stumbling-block, and to the Gentiles it is but foolishness. Then unto you if it be but foolishness and a *Christmas game*, you may discern yourselves what miserable state you be in, and how far you be from God: for St. Paul saith plainly, that the word of God is foolishness only to them that perish.

"But this I judge rather of your leaders than of yourselves, who by ignorance be carried away by others, you wot not whither. For, when the service was in the Latine tongue, which you understood not, they might read to you truth or fables, godly or ungodly things, as they pleased: but you could not judge that you understood not—many foolish, erroneous, and superstitious things be read in the feasts of *S. Blase*, *S. Valentine*, *S. Margaret*, *St. Peter*, of the *Visitation of our Lady*, and the *Conception*, of the *Trans-*

figuration of Christ, and in the feast of *Corpus Christi*, and a great number more, whereof some be most vain fables,* some very superstitious, some directly against God's word and the lawes of this realm; and altogether be ful of error and superstition."

We have extracted as little as we could from these excellent expostulations, which are to be seen at length in the Appendix to *Strype's* Memorials of the Archbishop; and we have rather reluctantly passed over his admirable remarks on images, purgatory, and other fond conceits of the Papists;† but the whole may be read with much advantage by those who would judge properly of the deceitfulness of that religion, which the King and his council, at this important period, were seeking to supplant. What we have inserted may serve to shew, how exceedingly the common people had been kept in the dark, and how arduous a task it was to bring them to the light, in defiance of their artful leaders.

* One such fable of the Devil and St. Martin, the Archbishop rehearses, too unseemly to be repeated, but which he asserts to have been "wont to be read in the Latine service, that they would needs have again." Mr. Southey, who is better acquainted, perhaps, than any other modern Protestant, with this legendary lore, has lately given us some curious specimens, in his *Vindiciæ Eccles. Anglicanæ.*

† The Archbishop's answer to their tenth demand, to have the English Bibles called in again, went to shew, that as the Holy Spirit bestowed the gift of tongues on the Apostles, that all nations might hear, speak, and learn God's word in their mother tongue, so has there, from the first, been an attention paid to this both by Jews and Christians. That, with regard to the former, as soon as their Hebrew had become corrupted by their long residence in Chaldea, at the time of the Captivity, they caused the Scriptures to be turned into the Chaldee tongue, that they might understand it. He speaks also of the care of Ptolemy to have the Greek version made when that language became general, concluding that, "until this day, the Greeks have the Scripture in the Greek tongue, the Latines in the Latine, and all other nations in their own tongue."

In his reply to the twelfth demand, the Archbishop is very severe upon Cardinal Pole; but of this we shall have more to say hereafter.

CHAP. XX.

Sir John Cheke's Address to the Rebels—The Romanists busy to check the progress of the Reformation in the Universities—Cheke and Cecil particularly referred to upon this occasion, as friends to learning and freedom of inquiry—Their great credit at Cambridge—Important changes brought about by the interposition of the Archbishop—The King not taken by surprise, as alleged by Catholic writers.

THE address of Sir John Cheke was rather of a different nature, for though he dwelt occasionally on the absurdity of their demands as relating to religion, and on the duty of obedience, as a Christian virtue, he chiefly enlarges on the importance of a well-ordered magistracy, of the necessity of different ranks and stations in society, and the great hazards of rebellion and treason. The whole is to be found in Hollinshed.* Cranmer's address had respect chiefly to the western insurgents; Sir John Cheke's would seem rather to regard the turbulent proceedings in Norfolk, where, under an extraordinary leader, Ket,† a Tanner, they proceeded

* This book was re-published during the troubles of King Charles's reign, in the next century (1641), by Dr. Langbain, of Queen's College, Oxford. See his Life by Strype, Lloyd's State Worthies, Art. *Cheke*, and Nicholson's Historical Library, where Langbain's own preface is highly commended. Hollinshed's account of it is this: "Among other of those admonitions," [to advertise the turbulent commons of their duty] "one was penned and set forth by Sir John Cheke, which I have thought good here to insert, as a necessary discourse for every good English subject. Wherein, to a reader of judgment and capacity, such learning and wisdom, with a true loyal subject's heart, bewraith itself to have settled in that gentleman, as the very reading of this treatise is able to turn a rebellious mind to meekness, if reason be not altogether led away captive by lust."

† Of Ket, and his famous *Tree of Reformation*, Hollinshed writes thus (after speaking of his rude army, amounting to sixteen thousand ungratious unthrifts, who spoiled the country of all the cattle, riches, and coin on which they might lay their hands): "But because many (as in such case is ever seen) did provide for themselves, and hid that which they got, laying it up for their own store, and brought it not forth to further the common cause, Ket and the other governors (for so they would be called) thought to provide a remedy, and by common consent it was decreed, that a place should be appointed where judgments might be

even to greater insolences than in the west, standing out for a long time against the government, and the commanders sent against them, till finally subdued by the Earl of Warwick.

It was naturally to be expected, that in all questions bearing immediately on the reformation of the church, the cleansing it from popish errors and superstitions, and emancipating it from the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome, the Universities of the land would take a busy part. All that stood in need of reformation may be said to have been hitherto upholden by the sophistry of the schoolmen, as they were called, against which strongholds of popery the "New Learning" had already begun to direct its fiercest attacks. Those who had to defend the garrison not being sufficiently qualified to judge of the growing strength of their opponents, and having many motives and inducements to resist a change which threatened not only to expose the abuses of Ro-

executed, as in a judicial hall. Whereupon they found out a *great old oak*, where they said Ket and the other governors or deputies might sit and place themselves, to hear and determine such quarrelling matters as came in question; afore whom, sometime would assemble a great number of the rebels, and exhibit complaints of such disorders as now and then were practised among them. And there they would take order for the redressing of such wrongs and injuries as were appointed, so that such greedy vagabonds, as were ready to spoil more than seemed to stand with the pleasure of the said governors, and farther than their commissions would bear, were committed to prison. This oak they named the TREE of REFORMATION." It was into this very tree that *Cecil's* great friend, Dr. *Matthew Parker*, afterwards *Archbishop of Canterbury*, ventured to ascend, to endeavour by his friendly admonitions to persuade the outrageous multitude to give over their rapines and spoilings. For some time they heard him patiently, till "one lewd fellow," as Hollinshed writes, "cried out, and said, How long shall we suffer this *hireling* doctor, who, being *waged* by *gentlemen*, is come hither with his tongue which is sold and tied to serve their appetite? but for all his prating words, let us bridle them, and bring them under the orders of our law." After this, it was not possible to proceed, though those immediately around him would do him no hurt, but, allowing him quietly to get down from the tree, he, with his brother who was present, was bid to make the best of his way to Norwich, where, however, he preached the *very next day* in St. Clement's Church, in continuation of his good advice and exhortations, many *rebels* being present. It was also on this celebrated TREE of REFORMATION that some of the ringleaders expiated their fault, nine or ten of them, at the least, being hanged on its boughs.

manism, but to degrade in the eyes of the public their knowledge and attainments, thereby lessening their power over men's minds, began to treat the reformers as no better than a parcel of contemptible upstarts and innovators, whom they might be able to discountenance by rude and contumelious treatment, as well as to silence by the barbarous and unintelligible sophistry of their disputations.*

Amongst the friends of the Reformation, possessing influence in Edward's court, were many eminent members of the University of Cambridge—the Archbishop Cranmer himself; Smith; Cox, then Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, but originally of Cambridge; Cooke, Cheke, and CECIL. We must not be surprised, therefore, to find the disputes and contentions of these learned bodies entertained as matters of state, and occupying much of the time and attention of the executive government. King Edward himself observes in his Journal, that the doctrine of the holy Eucharist had been as warmly debated in the parliament house, as in the Universities; nor was this without reason, since most of the corruptions of popery have always had in their very nature, and *must have* as long as they continue what they *are* (and how they can be *consistently* altered, none can say), a political bearing on the temporal interests of the people.

The cause of Protestantism was now felt by the reformers to depend greatly on the advancement of learning. "The Archbishop," says Strype, "was a great patron of all solid learning,

* They were particularly jealous, as might be expected, of foreigners, as of *Bucer* at Cambridge, and *Peter Martyr* at Oxford; the latter of whom was treated with great indecency and rudeness, as may be seen in Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, book ii. ch. xiii.

Of the precise state of things in the year 1550, we may form some idea from what occurred to *Peter Martyr*, then the King's Professor at *Oxford*, an account of which is preserved in a letter from Martyr himself to *Bucer* at *Cambridge*, printed by Strype in his life of *Cranmer*, Memorials, No. lx. It is no wonder he should advise Bucer, as he did, "not to engage in any disputation with the vain-glorious Papists."

being a very learned man himself; and knowing very well how much the *libertas philosophandi*, and the knowledge of tongues, and the other parts of human learning, tended to the preparing men's minds for the reception of true religion, and for the detecting of the gross errors and frauds of popery, which could subsist only in the darkness of ignorance; these things made him always cast a favourable aspect upon the Universities, and especially that of Cambridge, whereof he himself was once a member."

But no person, perhaps, had more to do with these learned bodies, in all the several offices he held, than Mr. Cecil; and it is remarkable to see, at how very early a time of life, he appears to have been consulted by the gravest persons in those venerable societies, not only as a statesman or a courtier, but as an individual to whom they most confidently looked for advice and protection.

At the period of Edward's accession, though many good scholars and diligent students had countenanced, to the utmost of their power, the "New Learning," yet darkness in a great degree still hung over those seminaries; and all who were interested in the progress of the Reformation, saw with dismay the low state into which they had been suffered to fall, and how much need there was for some powerful interposition and assistance.

Among the first who seems in the new reign to have exerted himself to procure such interposition, was the celebrated Roger Ascham, in after times the tutor of the Princess Elizabeth, but then public orator, having succeeded Cheke in that office; in several private, as well as in the public addresses of the University, officially penned by him, he earnestly implored attention and help from Cranmer and others. "Rogamus Te," says he, in one of the addresses from the University at large, to the Archbishop, "ut in hoc senatu vestro,* privilegia nostra confirmentur. Quantum

* The approaching Parliament.

reipub. interest ut doctrinæ ratio haberetur, omnes ferè intelligunt. Quantum verò puræ religionis interest, tu unus plus universis aliis animadvertis."* A bill at this time, it seems, was in agitation, for giving the King the chauntries, hospitals, fraternities, and *Colleges;* which last, including the Universities, naturally led the principal persons there to exert themselves, and Smith, Cheke, and Cecil, appear to have been the principal persons about the court to whom they applied. Upon this occasion, in particular, their application appears not to have been without effect; for through the efforts of those to whom they addressed themselves, the bill did not pass without a *proviso* expressly exempting the Colleges in the two Universities, and all other *Colleges* of *Learning* in the nation. The general course of things in the University, indeed, seems to have been much and continually submitted to these three eminent attendants upon the court, especially as far as regarded the progress of the New Learning (particularly the *New Divinity*, as it might be called, though in truth

* Other parts of this address are so applicable to the efforts then on foot to expose the corruptions of Popery, remove the darkness of the scholastic ages, and restore a taste for general knowledge, that we cannot avoid repeating them. "Scis enim tu, quod annis abhinc quingentis aut plus eo, cognitio literarum, Regum vitio, a quibus ali debuerat, a conspectu hominum sese abducere, et in tenebras relabi cœpit; in quibus temporibus, sic caligine obductis, sic ignorantia involutis, Aper illa singularis de sylvâ supra modum depopulatus est Vineam Jesu Christi: non proculcans solum Reges terræ, et imperium sibi collocans mundi; sed ita invasit erupitque in sanctam sedem, et templum conscientiæ, ut nulli fere nunc sint mores, nulla institutio vitæ, nullus cæremoniarum ritus, nullum ecclesiæ sacramentum, nullum Christi vestigium, quod non sit ejus aut fulmine prostratum, aut habitu fœdatum, quod non sit (ut mitius, seu significantius cum Divo Paulo loquamur), prudentia humanæ ἐθελοθρησκείας fœdissimè corruptum et constupratum. Hæc nox disciplinarum, et ignoratio vocem Domini nobis abstulit, et humanæ doctrinæ imperium in illam libidinem evexit; ut pro vero cultu Dei, recto divinissimarum rerum usu, integra et pura vitæ consuetudine, Hypocrisis, Idololatria, et adulterium cervicibus hominum astutissimè imponeretur. HANC Inscientiæ pestem, libentius commemoramus, quod NUNC in magnam spem ducimur, constituendæ de integro dignitatis literarum, in iis præsertim temporibus, cum omnia ad veram religionem illustrandam, a qua præclara doctrina abesse certè non potest, mirifice comparata sunt."—*Strype's Cranmer*, Appendix, No. xxxviii. It is translated in the text, vol. i. p. 235.

it was the oldest of all); and the Reformation. In the confirmation of their academical privileges, besides the persons already mentioned, we ought not, however, to omit to mention Queen Katherine Parr, Wriothesley Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, and Sir William Paget, whom *Strype*, in his Memorials of Cranmer, particularly notices, as likely to have rendered important assistance, in consequence of similar letters addressed to them.

To Mr. Cecil, in particular, Ascham appears to have written at some length, in a letter dated January, 1548, and addressed, "*Ornatissimo viro Magistro Gulielmo Cicello supplicum libellorum magistro*,"* touching certain disputations which had been proposed to the University, "Whether the Mass and the Lord's Supper be all one." The letter may be seen in Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer. We shall only advert at present to certain passages, indicative of the high opinion entertained in the University, by the favourers of the Reformation, of Mr. Cecil and his brother-in-law Mr. Cheke, as referees upon a subject of such grave importance, at so remarkable a period. Ascham tells him, that at St. John's College, he and his associates in the cause of the Reformation, had, in the most quiet and inoffensive manner, applied themselves by very diligent and extensive researches, to an investigation of the subject proposed for disputation, bringing every thing to the test of the canonical Scriptures, as the only standard and rule of faith. "Rem quietissimi aggressi sumus, communia studia nos inter nos conferebamus, Scripturam Canonicam nobis proposuimus, cujus auctoritate totam hanc rem decidi cupiebamus: veteres canones ineuntis ecclesiæ, concilia patrum, decreta pontificum, judicia doctorum, quæstionistarum turbam, recentiores omnes, quos potuimus et Germanos et Romanos, ad hanc rem adhibuimus." He next relates, what jealousies had been excited by

* Master of Requests.

their proceedings, and how they had been hindered in bringing matters to a public disputation. "Dicunt nos esse *præcipites*;" nevertheless, he goes on to say, they had unremittingly pursued their learned researches, and had almost completed a work on the Mass, which they intended shortly to present to the Protector, *unless he* (Mr. *Cecil*) and Mr. Cheke, *should think otherwise*. "Scripsimus enim fere justum librum de Missa, quam brevi offerre instituimus D. Protectori, nisi TIBI et magistro *Checo** aliter visum fuerit." He tells him they had read the Queen's "Lamentations of a Sinner," † put forth by him (Mr. Cecil), with his own eloquent epistle or preface; that he could wish he would bestow some of his time in improving the English language; speaks of the very acceptable letters they had received from Mr. Cheke, and of the delight which the Protector's letters to the University, written by Mr. *Cecil*, had given to him and his friends. "Legimus sanctissimas confessiones Reginæ nostræ † cum tua eloquen-

* Though Mr. Smith, afterwards Sir Thomas Smith, the third of these Cambridge friends and associates, is not mentioned in this letter, yet in one addressed to him by Ascham, about the same time, there are such neat and delicate compliments paid him; that we cannot help transcribing it.

"Si tu is es, Clarissime Smithe, in quem Academia hæc Cantabrigiensis, universas vires suas, universa pietatis jura exercuerit, si tibi uni omnia doctrinæ suæ genera, omnia reipub. ornamenta libentissime contulerit, si fructum gloriæ suæ in te uno jactaverit, si spem salutis suæ in te potissimum reposuerit: age ergo, et mente ac cogitatione tua complectere, quid tu vicissim illæ debes, quid illa, quid literæ, quid respublica, quid Deus ipse pro tantis pietatis officiis, quibus sic dignitas tua efflorescit, justissime requirit; Academia nil debet tibi, imo omnia sua in te transfudit, et propterea abs te non simpliciter petit beneficium, sed merito repetit officium: nec unam aliquam causam tibi proponit, sed sua omnia, et seipsam tibi committit. Nec sua necesse habet, aperire tibi consilia, quorum recessus et diverticula posti universa. Age igitur, quod scis, et velis quod potes, et perfice quod debes. Sic literis, Academiæ, reipublicæ, et religioni; sic Christo et principi rem debitam et expectatum efficies. Jesus te diutissime servet incolumem."

† Queen Katherine Parr's "Lamentations of a Sinner," which Lord Burghley published, with a preface by himself.—Mr. Walpole (Lord Orford), attributes to him another work of similar import; "*La Complainte de l'ame Pecheresse*," in French verse, extant in the King's Library. *Catalogue of Noble Authors.*

tissima epistola. "Utinam aliquid temporis tui ad excolendam Anglicanam linguam impartire velis, ut homines intelligerent et nostram linguam omnes eloquentiæ numeros, facile admittere. Literæ magistri *Checi* ad Collegium nostrum fuerunt omnibus nobis gratissimæ, ubi minimis verbis, maxima benevolentia, et ejus et TUA, comprehensa fuit. D. Protectoris literæ ad Acad. a TE scriptæ, mirifice nos omnes delectarunt."

The deference paid to the judgment, advice, and influence of Mr. Cecil, in the above letter, he being then under thirty years of age, is the more remarkable, inasmuch as it appears from the history of the transaction, that what had passed in St. John's College had been much misrepresented to the *Archbishop*, whom they therefore sought to conciliate by the interposition and more favourable reports of Mr. *Cecil* and Mr. Cheke; nor was it any slight compliment, to associate the former so closely with Mr. Cheke upon an occasion of such academical importance, he being Mr. *Cecil's* senior, and holding, or having held, two readerships or professorships in the University,* besides

* As Sir John Hayward, in his Life of King Edward VI. has been thought to speak slightingly of this very eminent scholar, we shall subjoin the note upon the passage, to be seen in Bishop Kennet's edition. "Upon Cheeke's books and learning, as well as his birth, he leaves a blot, saying, he was '*pedantic enough.*' He translated two orations of Chrysostom into elegant Latin. He wrote *The True Subject to the Rebel*, in the time of the insurrection, under this King; and there were letters in Latin passed between Bishop Gardiner and him, from Cambridge, concerning the right pronunciation of the Greek tongue, which were afterwards published, with other letters printed occasionally, which no man can depart from the reading of, but with very high opinion of his great ingenuity and gravity. He was a man of great reading: an excellent *Platonist*, *Orator*, and *Philosopher*; one of the first restorers of good polite learning in Cambridge. Dr. Thomas Wylson, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and his contemporary at the University, and one that knew him well, called him that '*rare learned man and singular ornament of the land.*'" As to the *occasional* pedantry of his style, of which we have ourselves given a specimen, it was the fashion of the day, and scarcely to be altogether avoided; but his reputation as a scholar, a divine, or a philosopher, is not to be affected by such instances of false taste. Strype has done him admirable justice in his Life, to which we refer; though we shall have more to say of him, his near connexion with Lord Burghley rendering this necessary.

the post of public orator; and of whom Ascham thought so highly, as to attribute to him most of the improvements that had taken place in that eminent seat of learning. This appears from another letter addressed to the Archbishop, in which he gives him an account of the progress of the "New Learning;" and from the relationship subsisting between Cheke and Cecil, and the constant attention paid by both, to the interests of their old college and the University in general, we shall transcribe some parts of it, as descriptive of what was passing, and of the course of studies pursued there, towards the commencement of King Edward's reign.

He tells the Archbishop, "that there were very many began to affect the study of *Divinity* [a new study it seems then; the Pope's laws and the Schoolmen having before employed the heads of almost all*]: that some among them made the reading of God's word their daily exercise: many studied hard the tongues; the knowledge of languages began to be affected; and such as studied them were reckoned the best masters, as qualifying them best for teaching of others, or understanding themselves. That for oratory, they plied Plato and Aristotle, from whose fountains, among the Greeks, *loquens illa prudentia* (as he styled oratory), that *speaking prudence* might be fetched; and to those among the Latins they added *Cicero*. They conversed also in *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*, the three lights of chronology, truth, and Greek eloquence; and which brought a great lustre to their other studies. The Greek *Poets* which they took delight in, were *Homer*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*; the one the fountain, the two others the streams, of all eloquence and learned poetry; which they were of opinion, did more largely water their other studies than *Terence* or *Virgil*, which in some former years were chiefly read."

The great setter on foot of this ingenuous learning in the Uni-

* Strype.

versity, says Mr. *Strype*, from whom we have extracted the above, was Sir *John Cheke*, of St. John's College, now preferred to be the King's tutor; a person for whom the Archbishop had a very tender love and affectionate kindness. For so Ascham writ to him in his former letter: "That many had addicted themselves to this course of study, by the aid and conduct, example and counsel, of that excellent man: and that they bore the better his going from them to the court, who had brought them on in so good a course, because they knew their disprofit was abundantly recompensed by the profit and safety that would accrue to the whole commonwealth by him:" applying that of *Plato* to him, "Plurimum reipublicæ interesse, ut unus aliquis existat semper præstans excellensque vir, ad cujus virtutis imitationem, cæteri voluntate, industriâ, studio et spe erecti, totos sese effingant et accommodent."

As the Universities were beginning to improve, waiting only for encouragement and support from the King and parliament, so had the worthy Archbishop, before the expiration of the first year of King Edward's reign, effected many changes in the church, as set forth in the third part of his Homily on *Good Works*. The history of these times cannot be properly understood without a just view of the strange superstitions and abuses which the friends of the Reformation had to correct or remove; and which the people were now taught to think, they were mainly interested in endeavouring to preserve or restore, under a pretence of waiting for the majority of their youthful sovereign.

The following, then, are some of the superstitious observances which Cranmer had been already able in a great measure to suppress.

"Briefly, to pass over the ungodly and counterfeit religion [he means of monks and friars] let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical superstitions and abuses, as of beads, of lady-psalters

and rosaries, of fifteen O's, of St. *Bernard's* verses, of St. *Agathe's* Letters, of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of stations and jubilees, of fained relics, or hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, psalms, candles, fire, and such other; of superstitious fastings, of fraternities or brotherhoods, of pardons, with such like merchandise: which were so esteemed and abused, to the great prejudice of God's glory and commandments, that they were made most high and most holy things, whereby to obtain to the everlasting life or remission of sins. Yea also vain inventions, unfruitful ceremonies, and ungodly laws, decrees, and councils of *Rome*, were in such wise advanced, that nothing was thought comparable in authority, wisdom, learning, and godliness unto them: so that the laws of *Rome*, as they said, were to be received of all men, as the four Evangelists, to the which all the laws of princes must give place. And the laws of God were also partly left off and less esteemed, that the said laws, decrees, and councils, with the traditions and ceremonies, might be more duly kept in greater reverence.—Whereupon did grow such error, superstition, and idolatry, vain religion, overthwart judgment, and great contention, with all ungodly living." But we must forbear: to attempt to recount all the superstitions brought to light by those who had to examine, for the purposes of reformation and for the framing of a new form of prayer, the popish offices, would be quite incompatible with the purposes of this history. We would refer the reader, for farther information, to the celebrated work of Burnet, under the year 1548, and the two following numbers of his Appendix, viz. xxvi. for a list of indulgences, and No. xxix. for some of the collects and hymns addressed to the saints, in which immediate adoration is offered to them, and those things asked which God only can give.* In the

* As the Reformation proceeded, and superstitions began to abate, changes took place, that exhibited a curious contrast between the old and new times: In Edward's reign, 1551, testaments ran in this simple and intelligible form: "I commend my soul to God my Maker,

removal of these abuses, and the measures necessary to accomplish so great a task, the young King could not be said to be taken by surprise, or hurried into any steps inconsistent with the views and intentions of his father. They had evidently been begun by Henry, and had Cranmer always stood clear of the interference of Gardiner, ever ready to snatch the good seed of the gospel truth out of the mind of Henry, or had Melancthon been prevailed with to come into England to assist Cranmer, or even had Henry's life been of very little longer duration, it is highly probable that things might have been much farther advanced under that King's reign than was actually the case.

This deserves the more to be attended to, because Gardiner chose to remonstrate with the Protector for "urging the son to go beyond his father, which was no less than to cast a reflection on the latter;" whereas Henry himself had relaxed in many important points, on the judgment of Cranmer, and had by no means determined against all farther reformation; the Protector, therefore, in answer to Gardiner's caution, "that he should be careful, by resisting innovations, to put the church and state into the King's hands, on his majority, in the same good condition he found them," had certainly fair reason to reply, that "he hoped when His Majesty came of age he should deliver the government to him with improvement rather than disadvantage." He had, indeed, as we have before shewn,* endeavoured to set the Princess Mary right upon this very head, when she would have had all things reduced

faithfully believing to be saved by the shedding of Christ's blood, and my body to be buried in order as a Christian."—But the papistical style was far different: "I bequeath my soul unto Almighty God, and to our Lady his Mother, and to all the celestial company of Heaven; and my body to be buried in the church-yard of St. Peter of Ey. *Item*, I bequeath to the Mother Church of Hereford, iijd. *Item*, To the high altar of the Church of Ey two tapers of the weight of two pound of wax, there to bren (burn) before the blessed sacrament. *Item*, To Sir Hugh Holden, my ghostly father, to pray for my soul and all Christen souls, iiis. and iiijd."

* See p. 143.

to the state they were in at her father's death; by appealing to her own knowledge of Henry's last sentiments, and of his avowed intention of carrying things further, should his life be spared.

In the very year in which he died indeed, King Henry had a conversation with Bucer, which is very remarkable. The latter having cause to answer two reproachful letters (*convitiatrices* Bucer calls them), which Gardiner had published against him, he communicated his design to the King; but Henry desired him for the present to desist. "He hoped," he told him, "that he should with a more quiet and sedate mind discourse with Winchester, and other learned men of his kingdom, concerning this and other controversies in religion, to find out some godly reconciliation, and restoration of the church." Which purpose," the King feared, "might be somewhat obstructed, if Winchester, whose sharpness in writing," he told Bucer, "he liked not, should be provoked to write further against him." As the dispute between Bucer and Gardiner turned on the single life imposed upon priests and monks, which Bucer maintained was no law of God, "but rather the pest of laws, whereby all true sanctity, as well of the clergy as the laity (following the chastity of priests), was in a horrid manner laid waste," we may reasonably conclude that the King's mind, when he died, was in no manner settled, in regard to some of the leading principles and tenets of Romanism. A still stronger instance, perhaps, is to be found in the case of the French ambassador, D'Annebaut, as related by Cranmer. D'Annebaut had been actually sent to England by Francis, to confer with Henry upon some points regarding a farther reformation of their kingdoms (whether honestly intended or not appears uncertain). They discussed together the propriety of changing the mass into a communion, and utterly renouncing all dependence on the See of Rome; and it is stated that both monarchs came to something like an understanding that they would join in recommending these

reformations to the Emperor, for the benefit of his Flemish subjects at all events. Cranmer was present at one of these conferences, and afterwards gave this account of it to Morice his secretary. The scene took place, probably, in August, 1546.

"After the banquet done, the King leaning upon the ambassador (D'Annebaut) and me (Cranmer), if I should tell what communication between the King's Highness and the said ambassador was had, concerning the establishing of sincere religion, a man would hardly have believed it. Nor I myself had thought the King's Highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared."*

Henry's disgraceful sacrifice of the Howards, at the close of his reign, though probably a good deal owing to dissensions in their own family, and more so than to any formal conspiracy on the part of the Seymours and their *associates*, as Catholic writers allege; as well as his removal of Gardiner, or exclusion of him from the list of his executors, must tend to shew, that Henry was not much inclined to leave his son during his minority in the hands of popish counsellors, while the care he had taken to give to his son's proclamations, as well as to his own, the force of law, leaves little room to doubt but that Henry contemplated, with no marked dissatisfaction, the probability of farther changes as soon as he should be dead.

We have noticed, p. 81. the remarkable testimony that Foxe bears to the reforming principles of Henry, whenever Queen Ann, T. Cromwell, Bishop Cranmer, Mr. Denny, Dr. Butts, &c. had much influence with him.

It could not, therefore, have been fairly alleged, as a matter of any certainty, that the proceedings of the King and council

* Foxe, 1135, as cited by Mr. Soames in his History of the Reformation under King Henry VIII. vol. ii. 616; see also p. 633-4, as to a similar conversation the King held with the Saxon ambassador, a short time before his death.

with regard to religion, were discordant with the views of Henry; it was a mere pretence on the part of Gardiner and Boner, to gain time, forcing upon the government, as it were, a necessity for rigorous proceedings, which the latter, in particular, seems to have defied with no small want of decorum, and which terminated in his deprivation and imprisonment to the end of the reign; being committed to the Marshalsea in October, 1549.*

* These deprivations were founded upon the "*durante bene placito*" clause, in the commissions they had taken out, of which sufficient notice has already been taken.

CHAP. XXI.

Troubles in the Lord Protector's family—Different causes assigned—The Secretary accused by his enemies of having fomented these disputes and differences—Execution of Lord Seymour—Formation of a party against the Protector—Charges against him—Character of his rival the Earl of Warwick—The Protector is sent to the Tower.

But it is time that we should turn to other matters, more immediately connected with the subject of this history. It was the fate of the Lord Protector, very soon after his nephew's accession, to be exposed to trials, from a quarter least to be suspected, according to the course of nature. Sir John Seymour, the father of Queen Jane, mother of Edward VI., had two sons, of such different temperature and disposition, as was likely enough, in the elevated sphere to which they were raised, to breed confusion and contention; more especially as he, who had the most unruly ambition and subtle contrivance, was thrown below the other in the management of state affairs and government of the kingdom, during the minority of their royal nephew. Sir Edward Seymour, the Protector, who had been created Earl of Hertford by Henry, and Duke of Somerset by Edward, is represented to have been of an open nature, free from jealousy and dissimulation, and affable to all, a valiant soldier, and a favourite with the army:* his brother, Sir Thomas, the youngest of the two, and who had been made a Baron by Edward, was as well experienced in naval affairs, and held the high office of Lord Admiral of England. The latter, not

* Sir John Hayward has spoken as slightingly of the Duke as of Mr. Cheke, and stands equally corrected in Kennet's Lives.

being precluded from familiar access to his nephew, and having obtained many considerable estates, had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himself with the young King, by more liberal supplies of money when he wanted it, than he could obtain from the Protector; and these being advanced to him, not for profligate purposes, but to be expended creditably, and often charitably, were calculated to leave no unfavourable impressions on the mind of the amiable young Prince, either as to the character or the motives of his uncle. In former times, it was asserted, as a substantial ground of jealousy, that in a similar case of there being two such near relatives standing in the same degree of affinity to the reigning monarch, one, during the period of his minority, would have been the Governor of his person, and the other Protector of his kingdom.

But some writers have found the chief cause of the unhappy differences which so soon divided these two brothers, in the rivalry and jealousy of their wives; and it was certainly something very extraordinary, that when the wife of the elder brother, a daughter of Sir Edward Stanhope, a "lady of high mind and haughty undaunted spirit," as Lloyd describes her, and proud of being descended even from a royal stock, Thomas of Woodstock, the seventh son of Edward III., should, by her husband's elevation to the Protectorate, have been raised as high amongst the females of the realm, as any circumstances of official station could exalt her; the younger brother, Sir Thomas, should have wedded the widowed Queen of Henry, Katherine Parr, having been, as she herself is said* to have asserted, an object of her attachment, before she had contracted marriage with the King. This marriage had also given him free access to the Princess Elizabeth, who at that time lived with the Queen; nothing but the Protectorate, therefore, could seem to place his brother above him

* Strype's Memorials, ii. 206.

in the eyes of the world; and nothing could tend in the natural course of things, so immediately to depress the Duchess of Somerset below her rank, not only in the state, but in her family, as the double alliance of the younger brother with the *Royal* family. These things, at all events, were calculated, in a censorious world, to lay foundation for the story adopted by some historians, that the enmity of the two brothers, which terminated in the execution of one, if not of both, originated in a mere dispute about precedence, between the Queen and the Duchess. Such jealousies may have aggravated matters, but the aspirings of the Lord Admiral were in themselves too bold and conspicuous to be overlooked or tolerated; and though they led to a bloody catastrophe, in which the hand of a brother should not have appeared, if by any possibility it could have been avoided; yet to say, as Sir John Hayward has asserted, that the charges against the Lord Seymour were frivolous and trifling, seems not to be borne out by facts.

So much, however, does the story alluded to, of the disagreement between the consorts of these two great men, appear to have been current, as the leading cause of all that ensued, that Lloyd, in that chapter of his book which treats of the two Seymours, introduces, in his own peculiar style, the following remark, to stand at the head, as it were, of their private history.

"Very great the animosities between the two wives; the Dutchess refusing to bear the Queen's train, and in effect justled with her for precedence: so that what between the train of the Queen, and the long gown of the Dutchess, they raised so much dust at court, as at last put out the eyes of both their husbands, and occasioned their executions."

But Sir John Hayward goes farther, and taking it for granted as true, though neither Stow nor Hollinshed mention it, nor the young King in his journal (and Strype pronounces it to be de-

rived only from lying Sanders* or vulgar report), most ungallantly seizes upon it, as a fitting occasion to declaim largely against female influence and interference. "O wives!" says he, "the most sweet poison, the most desired evil in the world! certainly is it true, as Syracides saith, that there is no malice like the malice of a woman, so no mischief wanteth, where a malicious woman beareth sway. A woman was first given to man for a comforter, but not for a counsellor, much less a controller and director; and therefore in the first sentence against man, the cause is expressed, because thou obeyedst the voice of thy wife." We have been almost obliged to notice this strange story, in order to destroy its credit, as not generally noticed by historians;† for if it had been true, among the malicious insinuations of the enemies of the great man whose life we are recording, it was one of the first, that he had been instrumental in fomenting these female squabbles, and instigating the Duchess against the Lord Admiral and the Queen. We shall presently have occasion to shew how many things concur to weaken the probability of such a charge. At present we shall proceed with Sir John Hayward.

"Doubtless," he goes on to say, "the Protector, by being thus ruled to the death of his brother, seemed with his left hand to have cut off his right; for hereupon many of the nobility called out upon him that he was a blood-sucker, a murderer, a parricide, a villain; and that it was not fit the King should be under the protection of

* Foxe mentions it as well as Sanders, whence Dr. Lingard, without relying on either, is still disposed to conclude, that two writers, so violently opposed to each other, could scarcely have concurred in this, had there not been some foundation for its truth.

† Camden notices the fact in his account of the death of the Duchess, and attributes to the Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) the first endeavours to excite a jealousy between the Duchess and the Queen, by persuading the former that, as the wife of the Protector, she ought not to bear the Queen's train; thus early beginning to plot the ruin of the house of Seymour. But there is evidence still in existence, that even in the Admiral's family, the enmity of the Duchess was mere matter of surmise (Haynes 69); Warwick, however, became a partizan of the Admiral.

such a ravenous wolf. Soon after it was given forth, and believed by many, that the King was dead; whereupon he passed in great state through the city of London, to manifest that he was both alive and in good health. Whether this speech were spread either by adventure, or by art, it is uncertain; certain it is, it did something shake the strength of the King's affection towards the Protector."

That there was such a rumour on foot, we cannot deny, for it is still to be seen recorded in the King's journal, to the following effect (the original exceeding all transcriptions):

"*In the mean season bicause there was a rumour that i was dead, i passed through London.*"

But that this was owing to any foul reports of the Duke of Somerset, does not exactly appear, though some writers attribute it entirely to the mischievous calumnies of the Duke's enemies. It is by no means improbable, that Edward may have been inclined to prefer the younger uncle to the elder, but even this does not appear from anything recorded in his journal. Even in the presence of the council, when his sentence was under discussion, he is reported to have concluded their deliberations, by an extemporaneous and voluntary consent, that justice should have its course: "We perceive, that there are great things objected and laid to my Lord Admiral, my uncle, and they tend to treason, and we perceive, that you require but justice to be done: we think it reasonable, and we will that you proceed according to your request."* The record of the Lord Admiral's condemnation and execution in his journal, is simply this:

"*Also the Lord Sudeley,† Admiral of England, was condemned to death, and died the Marche ensuing.*"

* Burnet.

† It has been common with many writers to call the Admiral, Lord Sudeley, or Sudley, instead of Lord Seymour, which was his true title. The difference is well explained by Mr. Nicolas in his Life of Lady Jane Grey. As the King calls him by both titles, it may possibly have been customary to do so in those days.

In the same journal, however, we find the following entry: "*The Lord Protector was much offended with his brother's marriage;*" and we have ground to think that this was the true origin of the ill-will that prevailed in the Lord Admiral's family, because a letter is still extant from Queen Katherine Parr, to her husband Lord Seymour, in which, though of an amiable disposition in general, she expresses herself in terms of no very feminine meekness against the Protector personally: "Thys schalbe to advertysche yow, that my Lord your brother hathe thys afternone a lyttell made me warme; yt was fortunate we war so muche dystant, for I suppose els I schulde have bytten hym." There is more to the same purport.* But this otherwise amiable lady had been precipitate and clandestine in matching with the Lord Admiral, who, besides marrying privately, after having kept his

* There can be very little doubt but that Queen Katherine herself bore an ill-will towards the Somersets, on the score of her marriage with Lord Seymour, very early in Edward's reign, and was for urging her lord to procure the King and council to act against or without the Protector. There is no exact date to the following letter, but the spirit of it is very manifest.

"My Lord, as I gether by your letter delyvered to my brother Harbat, ye ar in sum fere how to frame my lord your brother to speke in your favour: the denyall of your request schall make hys foly more manyfest to the world, wyche will more greve me than the want of hys spekyng. I wold not wyssche yow importune for hys good wyll, yf yt cum not frankly at the fyrst, yt schalbe suffycyent ones to have requyre yt, and after to cesse. I wold desyre ye myght obtain the kynges letters in your favour, and also the ayde and furtherans of the moost notable of the counsell, such as ye schall thynke convenyent, which thynge obtayned, shalbe no small schame to your brother and lovynge syster, in case they do not the like." — *Ellis's Original Letters*, series i. vol. ii. 151. where may be seen also a very judicious letter from the Princess Mary to Lord Seymour, on the subject of his marriage, p. 150.

In the work entitled the British Plutarch, by an eminent Divine, there *appears* to be a remarkable contradiction within the compass of a few pages: at p. 312, vol. i. in the account of Bishop Gardiner, Queen Katherine is said, by favouring Cranmer and the friends of the Reformation, to have rendered herself extremely obnoxious to the popish party; which was indeed true: but at p. 214, preceding, she is expressly said to have been a bigoted Roman Catholic. She had been bred a Catholic, indeed, and was a zealous theologian, but latterly espoused the Protestant cause. So far the two passages are reconcileable; but the change in her opinions is not sufficiently noticed, and we question the term "*bigoted.*"

marriage secret for some time, had, unknown to his brother, procured from the King a letter, recommending him to the Queen for a husband;* so that the Protector had good cause to be displeased on these accounts: Rapin, indeed, expressly says; "here began the quarrel." While the consorts of the two brothers could not be expected, under such circumstances, to associate very kindly with each other, independently of all other motives to jealousy, it might have been difficult to reconcile them, but it could scarcely have been worth any person's while, who was a friend to the Protector, to set them more against each other;† and many things tend to shew that Lord Burghley, in particular, entertained a high opinion of the Queen, and had he been a fomenter of quarrels which bore so hard, or have been thought to have borne so hard, upon the Lord Admiral, it would be difficult to account for his constantly standing so well with the Princess, afterwards Queen Elizabeth; who, it is most reasonable to think, had been beguiled into a real liking of the Admiral, and is known to have shewn a particular attention long afterwards to his two servants, Parry and Harrington, for *his* sake.

According, indeed, to the Romish traducers of the great man whose life we are recording, if the servants and adherents of the Lord Admiral were admitted after his death to the particular favour of Elizabeth, for the Admiral's sake, there was quite as much reason for *excluding* Lord Burghley from all such tokens and testimonies of esteem; for to him, his enemies have not hesi-

* Edward in his journal makes this entry. "The Lord Seimour of Sudley married the Queen, whose name was Katherine, with which the Lord Protectour was much offended."

† Sir William Paget, who was much devoted to the Protector, during the absence of the latter, in Scotland, in the first year of the King's reign, observing how the Admiral tried to ingratiate himself with the King, remonstrated with him upon the subject; but being answered in a way that did not satisfy him, he gave intimation of it to the Protector, which was the cause that the latter returned so hastily from his expedition.—*Rapin*, 37.

tated to impute* the interference of Latimer, who, after the Lord Seymour's execution, preached a sermon, in which he asserted, that just before he suffered he had written letters to be clandestinely conveyed to the Princess Mary and the Princess Elizabeth, urging them to *avenge* his death. Sanders indeed, from whom we derive the story, very rudely disputes Latimer's veracity, but the lying forgeries of Sanders are at this time as generally known and acknowledged, as the fact, that Latimer died a martyr to *truth*. As to the many severe allegations, indeed, against the Admiral, which were advanced in the sermon alluded to, and which are to be found in one edition only, being justly deemed offensive, and therefore expunged from the edition in 1571, Latimer publicly declared before the King (as though he forecasted, says the commentator in Kennet, that some such calumny should afterwards be laid upon him), "that which he spake of the Admiral and his writing, he spake it of a good zeal and on good ground, and that he neither *feigned* nor *lied* a jot." The many accusations brought against Lord Burghley by the disappointed Romish party, are indeed but so many testimonies of his zeal for the Reformation, and pure scriptural knowledge.

That the Princess Elizabeth would have prevented the Admiral's death, if she could, there can be no doubt; she could scarcely, therefore, have regarded with so very favourable an eye, as was always the case with Burghley, a person suspected of being one of the chief causes of that catastrophe. As to Lord Burghley's

* It is rather curious that Elizabeth, in a letter addressed to her sister Queen Mary when she herself was in trouble, and wished to be admitted to an audience, should say, "In late days I harde my Lorde of Sommerset say, that if his brother had bine suffered to speke with him he had never suffered: but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought to belefe that he could not live safely if the Admiral lived; and that made him consent to his dethe."—*Ellis's Original Letters*, second vol. new series, 256. The Duke may have said so certainly, but the persuasions of his friends might not be without good foundations; we have noticed the interposition of Paget.

private opinion of Lord Seymour there is no saying what his sentiments might be; but certain it is, that Queen Katherine derived but little comfort from him, and hurt her character by giving way to his too familiar and indecorous treatment of the Princess Elizabeth, while under her care.

But, in truth, painful as it is to contemplate the tragical event of Lord Seymour's death as *sanctioned* and *countenanced* with no small signs of fraternal apathy* by the Protector, he was certainly not guiltless of a design to interfere with the latter, in a way that, had it succeeded, might have been quite as fatal to the Protector himself; for he certainly sought to get the King into his power, and to extort by force from the council the great object of his ambition, namely, a marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, the King's sister, after the Queen's death, an object he is judged to have had in view before his union with the latter.† In short, if both were ambitious, the Admiral was certainly the most viciously so, the Protector being much more chargeable with weaknesses and errors than with crimes; much more correct in his private character, and much more honest in his treatment of the young King.‡

* He was undoubtedly present in the House of Lords during the proceedings against his brother, and even signed the warrant for his execution, though, upon one occasion, "*for natural pity's sake,*" he has credit given him in the council-book for having desired to withdraw.—*See Burnet, and Cobbett's State Trials.*

† He had other projects in view, fatal to the plans and interests of the Protector. He had got the Roman Catholics on his side; he had engaged the Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland), the greatest man of power, and the Marquess of Dorset (afterwards Duke of Suffolk), the greatest man of interest, by proposing to marry the son of the former to one of the King's sisters, and the daughter of the latter (the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey), to the King himself.

‡ "It was not in the power of envy or pride so to have divided these two brothers, had not nature had its share in the feud as well as Providence; that giving them different constitutions, as the other had created them different interests. For the Protector was mild, affable, open, and well-meaning, and had he been as free from covetousness as he was from jealousy, he must needs have had the better of his younger brother. The other was fierce, turbulent, and am-

After all, it seems to have been discovered, four years afterwards, that, as has generally been the case, the French had no small hand in fomenting the fatal disagreement between the two brothers, in hopes of bringing on a civil war, to serve their own purposes, particularly with regard to Scotland.*

The bill of attainder against the Admiral was read on three successive days in the House of Lords, and passed with the common consent of all the peers; the judges having previously declared that the acts charged amounted to treason, and evidence having been heard as to the facts. The bill was transmitted forthwith to the Lower House of Parliament, and agreed to, after going through the usual forms. He had been sent to the Tower on the 16th or 17th of January ;† the bill of attainder had passed through all its forms, and been committed March 5, and the 20th of the same month he was executed. It was, therefore, decidedly for treason-

bitious, but withal very generous and munificent: and had not his resolution tended to rashness, he must needs have had the better of his elder brother."—*Secret History of the Kings and Queens of England.*

* In 1552, Sir Thomas Gresham, being in the Low Countries, had a curious paper put into his hands by the Regent there, purporting to be instructions to Mons. d'Avoys, sent to England by the French King, anno 1548, to the following effect:

"Premierement yra trouver le Sieur de Selve, Ambassadeur du Roy par de là, et luy dira, que ayant icelluy Seigneur receu la lettre qu'il a escrite du 19me. jour de ce present mois, par laquelle il luy fait entendre la prinse de *l'Amyral* et plusieurs aultres grands Seigneurs de de-là, et l'occasion d'icelle; semblablement la souspecion duquoy le Protecteur *d'Angleterre* et aultres, estans pres la person du Roy *d'Angleterre*, sont entrez de ceste conspiration: et pour autant qu'il semble au Roy, que telles choses viennent grandement à propos pour accommoder et faciliter ses affairs en *Escosse ;* et qu'il desireroit bien trouver moyen d'y faire brouiller plus fort les cartes, qu'elles ne sont, affin de mettre dedans le dit Royaulme *d' Angleterre*, s'il etoit possible, une guerre civile, et les avviser à se venger les ungs des aultres, pour d'aultant rendu ses affayres plus faciles, tant du costé *d' Escosse*, que de celluy de dechà."—*Burghley State Papers, Haynes,* 135.

† 19th, *Soames*—but his forfeiture runs from the 17th of January, which was probably therefore the day of his committal.—*See Cobbett's State Trials.*

able practices that he lost his life, and that upon the opinion of the Judges and by the decree of parliament.*

But the death of one brother by no means gave additional security to the life of the other; as Hayward, in a passage already cited, observes, "The Protector, by being thus ruled to the death of his brother, seemed with his left hand to have cut off his right." The execution of the Lord Seymour gave every advantage to the enemies of the Protector, who were anxiously waiting for so favourable an opportunity of degrading him in the eyes of the people. His conduct about inclosures had alienated many of the nobility and gentry not immediately attached to the court or council; but among those most in the way of accomplishing his fall stood the Earl of Southampton, who had been turned out of his Chancellorship, and the Earl of Warwick, son of the noted Dudley, jointly with Empson, the oppressive minister of Henry VII., and who had been sacrificed to the public clamour early in the reign of Henry VIII. Warwick's ambition was great, and he proceeded very warily to the accomplishment of his purposes. The Duke of Somerset, in many instances, had been imprudent, so that when a party was once raised, it was not difficult to frame charges against him likely to arouse the attention of the nation, and irritate a superstitious populace. The consent he had given to his brother's death had certainly not been attended with such open marks of concern and reluctance as might have been expected;

* "After a very impartial trial," Mr. Lodge says, in his Illustrations of British History. But this admits of some doubts, at least, as to certain of the articles brought against him, and the manner in which they eluded his demand of being confronted with his accusers; nor is it possible in these days to look with any favourable eye on process by attainder: but that he had projected a violent over-ruling of the King's government and council, there can be no doubt. That he had interfered in a very gross manner with the mint and coinage of money at Bristol, and connived at the acts of pirates on the seas, for his own gain and advantage, seem to have been articles as fully proved against him; so that to talk of his having been condemned on frivolous or trifling charges, or on a mere personal grudge of his brother, is absurd.

he is said, indeed, to have more than once privately admonished him of the danger he was incurring, but his hand had not been visibly stretched forth to save him from the ignominy of a public execution: hence an opportunity was taken by his enemies, of denouncing him to the people as a murderer, a fratricide, a monster, a cruel and unfeeling man, unfit to be trusted with the guardianship or the person of his royal nephew. But there was another most obnoxious charge to which he had imprudently given occasion, that of sacrilege: besides depriving some of the Bishops of their town residences which obstructed his designs, in order to perfect and complete the magnificent palace he was building on the bank of the Thames, still known by his name, he had meddled too freely with various sacred edifices, to their absolute ruin or serious dilapidation;* not sparing even the costly tombs with which many of them were adorned, and even removing by cart-loads the remains of persons buried in them.

It could not be expected that such things would be overlooked, at a time when the spoliation of the church had become a matter of just offence; nor could he, perhaps, have possibly afforded a better handle to his enemies, to alienate from him the affections of a people always disposed to reverence the silent mansions of the dead.

The main object, however, was to excite suspicions as to the

* The churches of St. Mary le Strand, and St. Margaret's, Westminster, were sentenced to demolition. The former perished, but the latter was timely protected by the parishioners in arms. Westminster Abbey was threatened, but redeemed by a grant of estates, by the Chapter. Some chapels in the eastern parts of London were destroyed, of recent erection, as was the case also with the church of St. John of Jerusalem, near Smithfield, the steeple of which he caused to be blown up with gunpowder. An immense quantity of human bones, disinterred, were conveyed away to be deposited in Finsbury Fields. [Bloomsbury.—*Strype.*] One very curious circumstance marked this heedless and imprudent attack upon the dead—under many of the bodies were found caskets full of popish pardons, carefully folded together.—*Strype, Soames,* &c.

safety of the monarch in such hands; at first, as we have intimated, false rumours of his demise were scattered abroad, but, as these were easily contradicted by the appearance in public of the King himself, more direct means were taken to remove the Duke at once from the King's person and presence. Southampton and Warwick were at the head of the discontented party, which soon became too formidable, and in some instances too respectable, to be resisted, several of the privy counsellors seceding, being such as were not likely to be ruled and governed by merely factious motives. The enmity of Southampton it was not difficult to account for, and Warwick's ambition was easily stimulated to a personal rivalry, from the circumstances of his military career; his bravery and undaunted spirit in the conflict at Pinkey was universally acknowledged, and in Norfolk he had successfully combated against rebels, before whom other commanders had been very ignominiously obliged to retire—rebels, whom the Protector's lenity had been supposed to encourage; he had also conquered in France. Some steps lately taken by the Protector, affecting the military strength of the country, were much disapproved; he had, against the opinion of the council, withdrawn some garrisons from the northern parts, and was accused of not having duly supplied and supported such as had to contend with the French on the continent. By acting in these things too much upon his own authority, he unquestionably gave some ground to the council to be jealous of his power with the King, whom he had constantly with him, at some of the palaces, and whom, when the council appeared disposed openly to question his proceedings, he sought to surround with additional guards, as though he would retain him prisoner. It was easy under such circumstances for the adverse party to manifest their loyalty, by warning the King himself of the constraint that seemed to be put upon his person, by one who had in his hands the actual power of the crown. From

Hampton Court, which comparatively was contiguous to the metropolis, the Protector, as soon as he was apprised of the meeting of the privy counsellors opposed to him, indiscreetly removed the King in haste to Windsor, and taking down all the armour to be found in the palaces, armed such as he could gather about him, for the preservation of both.

The adverse counsellors now exhibited a formidable appearance, consisting of the Lord St. John, President; the Earls of Warwick, Arundel, and Southampton; Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edmund Pecham, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton: they were soon joined by Secretary Petre, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, and the Lord Chief Justice Montague, the Lord Russel, the Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Browne, Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir John Baker, Speaker of the House of Commons. It is impossible to look at this list, without being brought to conclude that the Protector's conduct had been imprudent. Among them, there might be some real enemies, actuated by sinister and selfish views; but others were consummate statesmen, and persons of too fair character, to compass his ruin for any base ends. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, were restrained from receiving the orders of the Protector; while every attention was shewn to the King, by sending provisions to him from London, and giving him the strongest assurances of their regard for his person, and fidelity to his crown.* That they entertained a suspicion that the King would be carried farther from them, is evident from a letter addressed to the Archbishop and others,† who adhered to the Protector in the midst of his

* All these papers and letters are to be seen among the records in Burnet's History of the Reformation.

† Sir William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, &c. dated Oct. 10, 1549.

difficulties, and whom they endeavoured to alarm, seeing the King surrounded with armed strangers, as they called the Duke of Somerset's men.

The Duke, seeing that the course his opponents were pursuing was too serious to be tampered with, and sensible probably that he had in too many instances neglected the advice and co-operation of the council, originally appointed to assist him in the government of the kingdom, was not unwilling to submit to such communications as might bring things to an accommodation; and to this he was also encouraged by his best friends, Cranmer and Sir William Paget. On the 12th of October the whole council repaired from London to the King at Windsor, having previously taken measures to restrain the Duke from withdrawing himself, and given directions that Sir Thomas Smith the Secretary, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynne, Edward Wolfe, and *William Cecil*, should be confined to their chambers till they examined them. The King on their arrival received them kindly, and thanked them for their care of him, assuring them that he took all they had done in good part. Burnet relates that on the 13th "they sate in council, and sent for those who were ordered to be kept in their chambers; only *Cecil* was let go. They charged them that they had been the chief instruments about the Duke of Somerset in all his wilful proceedings: therefore they turned Smith out of his place of Secretary, and sent him with the rest to the Tower of London." They then exhibited articles of misdemeanors and high-treason against the Duke, amounting in all to twenty-eight, and procured him also to be sent to the Tower; the King being carried back to Hampton Court, and six lords, viz. the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, the Lords St. John, Russel, and Wentworth, being made governors of his person.

CHAP. XXII

Imprisonment of Mr. Cecil as an adherent of the Protector—Is liberated, and becomes Secretary of State—Obtains a grant of the Rectory of Wimbleton—Appointed one of a special commission to inquire into the errors of the Anabaptists—Receives the honour of Knighthood—Charge of having deserted his Patron and joined the Duke of Northumberland, refuted—Execution of the Duke of Somerset.

It is at this period that Mr. Cecil has been accused by his enemies of deserting his first patron and friend; it will be necessary, therefore, to investigate this affair more fully. We have seen that Burnet states, that in the examination of the Duke's adherents at Windsor, "only Cecil was let go." The charge against the others having been, that they had acted as his chief instruments in all his *wilful* proceedings, it could not redound much to the discredit of Lord Burghley, if he had been let go, as less instrumental than the others in such transactions, for it was undoubtedly a great imprudence on the part of the Duke, to have acted so much as he had done, not only in neglect of, but often in opposition to the council: these were what they denominated his *wilful* proceedings;* and it may possibly have appeared, that though Lord Burghley must have been in a great degree implicated in all the Protector's public measures, yet that he had remonstrated, or not given to them that full consent, as appeared to be the case with the others.

But as to any betrayal or desertion of the Duke, the case seems

* See Strype's references to Sir William Paget's Secret Letters, Memorials ii. 283—285. and the letters themselves, Repository, G. G. H. H. from the Cotton Library. Tit. F. 3.

to have been very different. In fact, we are rather bound to conclude, that he suffered with the Duke, as well as others; for notwithstanding what Burnet alleges, and Rapin also, who asserts that he did not go to the Tower, we have a document still extant, in his own hand-writing, affirming the contrary. The Duke was committed to the Tower on the 12th of October, 1549, and though we have no proof that Lord Burghley went thither exactly at the same time, yet the following entry in his Journal is very explicit as to his being there in the month following: "Mense Novembris iii. Edw. VI. fui in *Turre*;"* the third of Edward VI. according to Mr. Nicolas's excellent tables in his *Notitia Historica*, extending from January 28, 1549, to January 27, 1550: so that his residence in the Tower must have commenced soon after the Duke's, if it did not exactly coincide with his commitment.

There is rather greater difficulty in ascertaining the public station he held at the time. In his Journal we find the following entry; "Sept. 1548, Cooptatus sum in officium *Secretarii*." The author of the Biographia Britannica tells us, that "upon his return to court (after the Scotch expedition), he was advanced to the high post of Secretary, which he enjoyed twice in that reign; and for want of distinguishing this, some eminent writers have fallen into great confusion." This confusion the learned compiler of that interesting work endeavours to clear up in a note to the following effect.

It does not appear that any of our historians had the least intimation of Mr. Cecil being *Secretary of State* so early. The writer of his Life says, that in the second year of King Edward VI. he

* Lord Burghley's Memorandums are liable to lead us into some errors. This entry, for instance, stands opposite to the year 1547, so that the Ao. 3. (anno tertio), is the only thing to determine it to the year 1549, reckoning the first year 1546, which some historians have constantly done, because he came to the crown in the month of *January*, reckoning by the civil or loyal year, 1546, instead of the true historical year, 1547. See this explained in Nicolas's "*Notitia Historica*," already mentioned.

Drawn & Engraved by H. Meyer.

The Right Hon.ble

THOMAS CECIL, EARL OF EXETER,

From the original Picture by Mark Gerrard

In the possession of

The most Noble The Marquis of Exeter

London, Published by Saunders & Otley, Conduit Str.t April, 1828.

was committed to the Tower about the Duke of Somerset's first calling in question; that he remained there a quarter of a year, and was then enlarged: he then proceeds thus,—'The Duke of Somerset, perceiving the King's great liking to Mr. Cecil, about the third year of the King's reign, preferred him to be Secretary of State, being then but twenty-five years old, and anno 5 Edward VI. he was made a Knight.' All which is equally confused and incorrect: for Mr. Cecil was much older than he speaks of when King Edward came to the crown; and it was not in the third, but in the second year of his reign, that Mr. Cecil was made Secretary of State the first time; which we learn from his own Diary, 'Sept.' 1548, cooptatus sum in officium Secretarii,' *i. e.* I was admitted to the office of Secretary in Sept. 1548. It appears from Bishop Burnet, that when the great disturbance happened in October, 1549, Sir William Petre and Sir Thomas Smith were Secretaries; but as we hear nothing of his removal, it is very probable that Mr. Cecil was Secretary likewise; since, as the reader will observe in the text, there were afterwards three Secretaries in this reign. It is plain that Bishop Burnet was mistaken in affirming, that Mr. Cecil was discharged at Windsor and not committed to the Tower, since both himself and the writers of his life positively say the contrary. King Edward, in his journal, makes no mention at all of Mr. Cecil being removed from his post, or of his being sent to the Tower; but he takes notice, that Dr. Wotton was made Secretary of State at this time; and though Bishop Burnet is clear that it was in the room of Sir Thomas Smith, yet it might as well be in the room of Mr. Cecil; for Mr. Camden, who mentions Sir Thomas Smith being Secretary in this reign, says, that he was made so when Cecil was the other Secretary, and from thence it is not possible to tell when he was made. It appears from King Edward's journal, that Mr. Cecil did not long continue in disgrace, but was very soon brought into business again, though he was not restored

to his office. When this happened, we learn from those words in the King's journal, 'Sept. 6, 1550, Mr. Wotton gave up his Secretaryship, and Mr. Cecil got it of him.' In the month of October following, the King granted him an annuity of one hundred pounds, in consideration of his said office, during his Majesty's pleasure, to be paid from the Augmentation Office, from the Michaelmas preceding. And thus we have done all in our power to clear up this matter."

But we doubt if the matter be sufficiently cleared, even by this rather laborious investigation. We are strongly disposed to question the fact of his being one of the King's principal Secretaries of State so early as is pretended. We think he could not be Secretary of State when sent to confer with Bishop Gardiner, since the Protector, in his subsequent letter to that prelate, calls him, "My servant William Cecil," which looks much more like the designation of a private Secretary, than of one of the King's principal Secretaries of State.* Though it might have been an appointment of

* Burnet expressly calls him Secretary to the Protector; in Strype's Cranmer, vol. ii. L. LI. LII. LIII. LIV. LV. are several letters from foreigners, *John a Lasco, Michael Angelo Florio, Valerandus Pollanus,* all addressed to him, but with this difference; the five last, of the dates of 1551, 1552, are superscribed, Domino Gulielmo *Cæcilio* (or Sycillio) *Regiæ Majestatis Secretario;* Secretario *Regio; Regii Consilii* Secretario, and so forth; but N°. L. dated from Embden, April 9, 1549, is addressed, Clarissimo Viro Domino Sicilio, a consiliis et libellis supplicibus Illustrissimi Domini Protectoris. In one of the volumes of MSS. entrusted to me by the Marquess of Salisbury I found a page thus headed, "The Register of mixt matters. *Lrēs to my late lo. Trēr whē he was Secretary to k. Ed.* 6." the date of which we make out to be 1551. We have examined many letters at the Museum, to endeavour to clear up this point, but without success. Some marked with the dates 1550 and 1550-1, are certainly addressed to him as Secretary to the King's Majesty, but there are letters in 1550, particularly two from Thomas *Sicill,* Oxford, a person to whom Lord Burghley appears to have been very indulgent in consequence of the name, though no affinity could be traced, but who on that account was not likely to omit any title of such distinction as that of Secretary of State, and they are addressed, one "To the Right Worshipful Mr. *Cycill,* with my Lord of Somerset his Grace;" and the other "To the Right Worshipful Mr. *Cycill,* attendant upon my Lord of Somerset his Grace." Though these letters were written in 1550, yet as it was in the month of August, it was clearly before

great public trust: "*Cooptatus in officium Secretarii*," is certainly no decisive evidence of his being made Secretary of State. He might have been private Secretary to the *Protector*, a place, no doubt, of great confidence and importance. Other Secretaries of State are distinctly mentioned, as Sir William Petre and Sir Thomas Smith. The appointment of *three* Secretaries of State at the *close* of the reign, was, in all likelihood, as we shall have occasion to shew, a point of singular and particular management. In the commission for examining Boner, in the third year of the King's reign, Burnet says, the *two* Secretaries of State were included, Sir Thomas Smith decidedly being one, and Sir William Petre, to the best of our belief, the other.* In Haynes's Collection, the first letter ad-

his appointment to succeed Wotton. The thing most noticeable is the connexion with the Duke, rather than the King.

* It would be very difficult to decide this point of history by any comparison of authors, even with themselves. In Strype's Cranmer, i. 269, Petre and Smith are decidedly spoken of as "The Two Secretaries," 1549; and yet at p. 294 of the same work, speaking of one of Bale's books, it is observed, that he spake freely in it of some of the court, "not sparing *Paget* himself, though then Secretary of State," 1549; but Paget in that year being at Windsor with the Duke of Somerset, signed the letter to the council, and was addressed by the latter in reply, as *Comptroller of the Household*, Sir Thomas Smith signing the letter at the same time as Secretary of State.—See *Ellis's Original Letters*, First Series, Letters clxxiv. clxxv. Burnet says, that *Secretary Petre* having been sent to the council, in the King's name, "joined himself to them." From Mr. Soames' account, vol. iii. pp. 469. 475, Smith and Petre appear to have been undoubtedly the "Two Secretaries of State." In Strype's Life of Smith, however, p. 33, it is said, that in the year 1548, Dr. Smith was advanced to be Secretary of State, as in September of the same year, William Cecil, Esq. was preferred to the like office, both having been servants to the Protector; probably he alludes to their having both held the office of Master of Requests, under the Duke; yet at pp. 42, 43, in a note, Petre is said to have been joint Secretary with Smith, when the latter lost his office in 1549; and it is particularly specified, that there were but *two* principal Secretaries of State, that Wotton succeeded Smith, "the other Secretary being Petre," and that Cecil succeeded Wotton. Lastly, from Haynes's Burghley Papers, under the year 1548, Petre appears to have been, even at that time, Secretary. We still therefore incline to think, that in 1548 Cecil became Secretary to the Protector, continuing so possibly till the latter fell into disgrace, when he was committed to the Tower with the others; and that afterwards, as his Domestic intimates (though with a mistake of names), *not* the *Duke of Somerset*, but the Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, "perceiving the

dressed to Mr. Cecil, as Secretary of State, is from Dr. Wotton, dated January 2, 1550, "To the Right Honourable Mr. William *Cecyll*, one of the King's Majesty's two principall Secretaries," having been appointed, according to the King's journal, on the 6th of September, 1550: with those who began the year in March this would be accordant. The next letter, addressed in the same manner, is from Bruxelles, in May, 1551; but in the same collection is a letter from Frauncis Yaxlee, from Greenwich, June 7, anno 1549, containing extracts of letters from the council of Bulloine, and addressed to "The Right Worshipful and his especiall and singler good master, Mr. William *Cicill*, Esquier:" he could not then surely be Secretary of State, or he would, upon such an occasion, have been so addressed; and there were only nine months passed since the appointment mentioned in his Diary, September, 1548.

Sir Thomas Smith was certainly Secretary of State when the Duke was committed to the Tower; then he lost his office, and another was appointed; the other being Sir William Petre. Wotton retired September 6, and *Cecil* succeeded; Wotton, by the King's special order, remaining in the council. Strype, in his Memorials, seems to think, that though he was first appointed Secretary of State, September 5, 1550 (it should be September 6, to agree with the King's journal, the council book however has it September 5), yet that he had officiated in that place a year before; concluding so from the entry in his Diary so often referred to. That he had acted *as Secretary* there can be no doubt, but probably rather as Secretary to the Protector than the King. When appointed in the

King's great liking of Mr. Cecill about the third year of the King's reign, viz. 1550, preferred him to be Secretary of Estate and Counsellor to the King."

We have one thing further still to note: in a list of the names of King Edward's council, upon his first access to the crown, to assist the Protector, Sir William Paget is put down as *chief Secretary*, and Sir William Petre *one* of the *two* principal Secretaries, but the other is not named. The next list is of the Privy Counsellors in 1552, where Sir W. Petre and Sir W. Cecil are put down as Secretaries.

room of Wotton, according to the account in the Biographia Britannica, the King we find gave him an annuity of one hundred pounds *in consideration of his office*:—we may be allowed to ask, why not before, if he held the same office before? Stowe says, he was appointed Secretary, October 11, 1551 (5 Edward VI.) but he was only knighted then, being Secretary before. Goodwin says, he was knighted on the very day he was made Secretary: this also is wrong. The reference we have made to Strype must not be passed over without adding what he subjoins, as arising out of the very mention of the *name* of CECIL:—

"This man deserves to stand upon record, as meriting highly of this church, I may say above any one person about King Edward or Queen Elizabeth, and taking vast pains in settling it in that good condition wherein it stands. He was a man of great wisdom and sincere religion and integrity, and endued with abundance of admirable qualities, both as a Statesman and a Christian: and was the very basis under God, of Queen Elizabeth's government, and worthily esteemed in those days, the very Nestor of his age."*

In the year in which, according to the King's account, he became Secretary of State, he had the Rectory of Wimbleton in Surrey granted him in reversion, for threescore years, according to a letter sent by the King, dated in January, to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, to whom the said Rectory belonged. Sir Robert Tirwhit, Knight, being at the time in possession by an old lease, and Cecil having Sir Robert's interest in the same.† We shall have more to say of this hereafter. He seems, however,

* Strype takes an opportunity, at the same time, of endeavouring to rescue him from a charge rashly or ungratefully brought against him, of plundering the Bishopric of Peterborough, a charge taken, he says, from Heylin, "a too hasty and passionate writer." Strype professes to doubt the fact, adding, with a friendly resentment of the wrong, "But I must needs say, it is very ungratefully done of the age, especially of the clergy, to set this great and good man in so bad a light, to blacken his memory as they do, and to forget so many and so great good turns, for one *supposed* ill one."—*Memorials*, ii. 386. We shall have more to say of these things hereafter.

† Strype's Memorials, ii. 443.

very soon to have taken possession of his new residence (a residence continued, as it would appear, through the next reign), since we find from his Diary, that in May, 1551, he suffered a severe and dangerous illness there; "x° Maij, 1551 [vi. Edw. VI.] laboravi febri Wymbletonia [in Com. Surr.] ad mortis periculum."

It was about this time that he was nominated one of a special commission, at the head of which was Cranmer, to search out, correct, and punish all Anabaptists, and such as did not duly administer the Sacraments according to the Book of Common Prayer set forth by the King's Majesty. The Commissioners were in number thirty-one, reducible, as in like cases, to a quorum of *seven*, and lastly to *three;* the lowest number by whom any act could be carried into execution. It is needless to observe, how complimentary to the importance of the persons selected in the way of such gradations, the nomination of such a *quorum* usually is; and therefore we have only to add, that the commission being originally directed to thirty-one, or any *three* of them, of these three, either the Archbishop, the Bishops of Ely, Norwich, and Rochester, Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Petre, CECYL, Cox, Hales, and May, were to be one.*

Mr. Cecil had not been a year Secretary of *State* (the second time as some think, but as we are more disposed to believe, the first), before he received from the King the honour of Knighthood,† viz. Oct. 9. [5 Edw. VI.] 1551: "a rare thing," says his

* This commission originated in the complaint made to government, that with the strangers that were come into England, some Anabaptists had come over, who were disseminating their *errors*, and making proselytes. The errors of one branch of the Anabaptists were so contrary to all the first principles of civil society and public order, that it was indispensably necessary to put a check upon their proceedings. As to the other sort of Anabaptists, who only denied infant baptism, Burnet alleges, that he found no severities used to them. The *anarchical* Anabaptists deserved the less pity, because they were abusing the privileges of the very asylum that had been so liberally opened to all *peaceable* but persecuted foreigners.

† His being knighted at this time seems more strongly to confirm our conjecture, that he was not made Secretary of *State* in 1548; Sir Thomas Smith (if not Sir William Petre) having

Domestic, "or a signe of rare gifts, for so young a man, to be called to such places of honor and estimation wherein he contynued 'tyll the King's death." Other persons of great note received honours at the same time, of whom Sir John Hayward gives this account:—

"Now the King supposing his estate to be most safe, when indeed it was most unsure, in testimony both of his joy and his love, advanced many to new titles of honour. The Lord Marquess *Dorset*,* a man for his harmless simplicity neither misliked nor much regarded, was created Duke of Suffolk; the Earl of Warwick was created Duke of Northumberland; the Earl of Wiltshire was created Marquess of Winchester; Sir William Herbert, Lord of Cardiff, was created Earl of Pembroke; Sir Thomas Darcie, Vice-Chamberlain, and Captain of the Guard, was created Lord Darcie; William CECIL was made one of the Chief Secretaries;† Mr. John *Cheek*, the King's Schoolmaster, and one of the guides of his industry and hope, and with him Mr. Henry Dudley and Mr. Henry Nevill, of the Privy Chamber, were made Knights;"‡

been *previously* knighted on his first appointment to that high station. It is mortifying to find so accurate and diligent a compiler of history, as Strype, making mistakes, and it is almost hazardous to attempt to correct him; but it is difficult to reconcile pp. 31. 33. of his admirable Life of Sir Thomas Smith, Oxford Edition, 1820: in p. 33, we find the passage already cited, stating, that in the year 1548, Dr. Smith was advanced to be Secretary of State, Cecil being appointed to the like office; whereas, in p. 31, he is not only said to have been "at last, made Secretary of State with a knighthood," but, in a note at the foot of the page, we find it recorded in so many terms, that "he married his first wife in the year 1549, April 15, having *the day before* been made Secretary of State."

* Father of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Two sons of the former Duke of Suffolk had died of the sweating sickness but a short time before; the title becoming thereby, as to that branch of the family, extinct; but as these unfortunate young men were the brothers of the Marquess's wife, the title might seem rather to be *restored*. The estates of the former Duke of Suffolk were divided among many heirs.—See an interesting account of the two young noblemen who died, in *Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. 492-3.

† This is decidedly an error; being Secretary, he was now knighted.

‡ As no notice is taken here of Sir Henry Sidney, father, by a daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, of Sir Philip Sidney, and his incomparable sister, the Countess of Pembroke,

Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Duke of Northumberland's sons, was, at the same time, sworn one of the six ordinary Gentlemen. As this was afterwards the celebrated Earl of Leicester, we have added his name, without annexing all that Sir John in this place has thought proper to say against him, calling his appointment, "the accomplishment of mischief." Nor indeed is he quite right in this instance, any more than in that of Mr. Cecil, since Sir Robert had two months before been made a Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, with the celebrated Barnaby Fitzpatrick, the favourite companion of the young King.*

It was not long after he was made Secretary of State, that two splendid embassies took place, in which he had officially, as might be expected, some concern. The first was to convey to the King of France the English Order of the Garter, and the other to invest Edward with the French Order of St. Michael. In June, 1551, the English embassy arrived in France, Parr, Marquess of

we shall transcribe what is to be found of him in Hollinshed, from a note of his life and death by Edward Molineux: "I have many times heard him say, and by occasion have seene the same written in his owne letters, that he was dubbed Knight (by that noble and vertuous prince, King Edward) the self-same daie Sir William CECILL (then principall Secretarie, now Lord Treasurer of England) was; by meanes whereof, and that Sir William Cecill was (yea, even in those days) esteemed a most rare man, both for sundry and singular giftes of nature, learning, wisdom, and integrity, and partlie by the friendlie good offices of that true paterne of humanitie and courtesie, Sir John Cheeke, then schoolemaster to the King (a choise deare friend to them both), that there began such an entrie of acquaintance, knowledge, love, mutuall good will, and intire friendship betwixt them as continued alwaies stedfast, firme, and unvincible till his dieing daie. *Nihil autem est amabilius, nec copulantius, quàm morum similitudo bonorum, in quibus enim eadem studia sunt, eædemque voluntates, in his fit ut æquè quisque altero delectetur ac se ipso.* So that manie times in his life time he would acknowledge and confesse how greatlie he and his were bound in good will, and tied in dutie and friendship, to this right worthie and noble personage, [Sir W. C.] *Verus pater patriæ*; to whom manie ages nor worlds can scarce once afforde a fellow or peere, for speciall favors, loving courtesies, and amiable benefits and good turns they had received by his meanes, and at his owne hands sundrie waies."

* See the Observations of I. S. (Strype) on Hayward's History, where cautions are thrown out against trusting too far to the strictures on Sir Robert Dudley, as derived from Parsons's book, entitled Leicester's Commonwealth:—"'Tis true," adds honest Strype, "this man was none of the best, but is represented worse than he was in the book above."

Northampton, brother of the late Queen Katherine, being at the head of it, "a person," says Strype, "of a very courtly and brave behaviour and gallantry," being accompanied by many other great persons. The ceremony of investiture took place on the 20th. In the next month the Order of St. Michael, with no less state, was dispatched to the English court. In July the French ambassador, Claude la Val, entitled Monsieur le Mareschal St. Andre, landing at Rye, in Sussex, and being received with great state, a thousand English gentlemen on horseback attending upon him; he was, in his way from Rye to London, entertained in Kent by Sir John Baker of Sissingherst, and the Lord Cobham. On the 17th, King Edward was invested with the Order at Hampton Court, answering extempore to each part of the ambassador's speech, as it is said, "solidly and wisely, beyond his years." The ambassador on this occasion dined with his Majesty, and saw him shoot, ride, play on the lute, and was admitted to his bedchamber and study. But upon the occasion of both these embassies, another topic came under discussion, namely, the marriage of the young King Edward to the French King's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth; which matter, during the French embassy to England, is particularly said to have passed through the hands of Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, and which appears indeed from the following letter of the ambassador to the Secretary, to obtain the ratification of the marriage and consent of the council.

"Te maxime rogatum velim, amicissime *Cecili*, ut juxta memorialem libellum tibi ab eo qui mihi est a secretis, hodie mane relictum, rem nostram matures, et quantum poteris festinationem adhibeas. Ea autem de causa illud a te importunius postulo, quod nudiustertius D. Magistro equitum regis nostri significaverim, me brevi, una cum literis matrimonii confirmatoriis, literas quoque alias missurum, quibus testatum in posterum haberemus, probantibus et consentientibus regis vestri consiliariis, rem confectam.

Utrasque autem ad regem mittere statueram per quendam ex nobilibus meis qui crastino die profecturus est. Bene vale, amicissime *Cecili*. Tuus omnino,

"CLAUDIUS LA VALLUS."

As this match never took effect, it is unnecessary to say more of it here. The reader may see farther particulars concerning it in Strype's Memorials, under the year 1551. The French Queen seems to have been very anxious to promote the match.

The writer of Lord Burghley's life, having recorded his advancement to the honour of knighthood, passes immediately to a circumstance in his life, on which we shall be obliged to dwell some time, in order to wipe away the slanders which, as in other instances, his enemies have been eager to advance against him.

"The twoe Dukes of Northumberland and Somersett strived to wynne the *Secretarie* sure to them, both using him exceeding kindly, tempting him with great offers and gifts. He shewed duty to both, but wold take gifts of neither, and so with difficulty, he carried himself even to both all King Edward's tyme."

This passage appears to us to be of singular importance, as tending to exonerate Mr. Cecil from all charges of deserting his patron, till his patron deserted him; or rather, for that seems to be nearer the truth, till the latter so committed himself, as to leave him as it were in the hands of Northumberland, or, much more, of the King. For in the issue, as we shall afterwards shew, by refusing to go all lengths with Northumberland, as had previously, in all likelihood, been the case with Somerset, he incurred his great displeasure.

Of those who were taken into custody on the Duke of Somerset's *first* fall (for it must always be recollected that he fell twice), besides *Cecil*, who certainly was imprisoned as well as others, there were Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir John Thynn, and Edward Wolfe. In regard to the imprison-

ment of Mr. Cecil on this occasion, his Domestic writes thus:—"The cause of this has not, I think, been very clearly explained by any of our historians, and therefore I conceive I shall do the public a pleasure in setting it in a true light. It was one of the articles in charge against the Duke of Somerset, that he had set up a Court of Requests in his own house, which was construed into a crime,* because he therein heard poor men's causes, or sent him with his letters recommendatory to Chancery, styled by these sage politicians, altering and perverting the course of justice. Now, as Mr. *Cecil* had been his Master of Requests, those who made the deed a crime, could not help falling on the instrument as guilty in some measure, though he acted under the Duke's direction; however, his moderation in office, his great abilities in matters of state, and the King's personal affection for him, wrought so powerfully, that in about three months he was discharged from his imprisonment."

* How far this was a crime may be judged from the following account:—"And as for his Court of Requests, surely it deserved no such hard censure; serving as some check to the rigorous and unjust dealings of the rich and the mighty exercised upon the poor, who were not able to contend with them at law, by reason of their countenance and wealth, whatsoever great wrongs were done them; which at this court might easily and cheaply be shewn and complained of, by way of request and petition. Here many controversies were made up, and restraints laid upon the destructive designs of the rich against the poor; and according to the cognizance of the causes brought before the Duke, he would sometimes send his letters to the judges that were to hear them, not to warp their judgments, but to incline them to do justice impartially, and not to favour the great in their extortions upon those of meaner rank and degree: sometimes he would appoint intelligent and honest men as arbitrators, to consider the complaints referred to him, and with speed to make a just determination and conclusion between party and party, without the long expensive formality of law."—See *Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. 286, where may be seen a letter from the Protector, appointing such an arbitration. We would wish, however, to observe, in addition to what has been said, that the Protector's interference with the courts of justice, in those days, must not be measured by our modern standard of British jurisprudence; when no attempts can be made, as is well known, we believe, and *felt*, even by the King on the throne, to "alter or pervert the course of justice," by tampering with the judges. In those days the proceedings of our courts of justice were not so pure, as may be seen in the same author, vol. ii. 132, 3, 4.

[1549.

We are disposed to look upon this as one of the most correct accounts to be found of the whole transaction. Though the Court of Requests thus complained of, had much in it that reflected credit on the heart and feelings of the Protector, it is probable that he might (being weak in other points of political prudence) occasionally overstep the boundaries of law and right, by too peremptory directions, or indiscreet remonstrances; and perhaps, Mr. Cecil seeing this, had expressed some scruples as to being any longer his instrument; for there is *some* ground to believe that he was dismissed from the office by the Duke himself, though we cannot directly say so: the Life states, that "he *had been*" Master of Requests. We know, from a letter still extant, addressed to him by the Duchess of Suffolk,* that he lost *a*

* In the excellent Catalogue of the Lansdown MSS. this letter is stated to be a letter "from the Duchess of Suffolk to Mr. *Secretary* Cecil, declaring her concern for him on some troubles he now was in, being discharged of his place in the Duke of Somerset's family, probably Master of Requests."—The letter is difficult to decipher; but having obtained as good a copy as could well be taken of it, I shall introduce it here. The date is Nov. 16, 1549, at which very time we know, from Mr. C.'s own memorandum, that he was *in Turre*, in the Tower. The letter is in itself curious;—

"Thowgh I dowgt not but that you are better armed agenste the assaults of froward fortune then I am ably to geve you counsel for yor byetter dyfence, yett consedering that the same is not thankes worthe to —— I have thowght it my partt to clere myselfe from the commen confecsion of feyned frendship, declaring unto you, that tho the plasse fayll you to do me suche plasers, and commodettes as always I have found you most rede to do, yett I shal newer fayl you, and as I dowght not but the same mind countewethe stel, so I do in maiene be the same good wel I do stel resave them from you, nether weld I not be so forgetteful of the traveles you have taken for me as I have thowght my thankes dewe to you for the same. Nether shal you thinke yor deserts so ill bestod as I shuld not glaydly reqwyth it in al that I can; for your trobles as I can not be but sory, yett whan I conseder you I fend some coumfort, it grevethe me to se yor burden, but counttenthe me to thinke how lyttel you have deserved to find ill. I am sore countrary fortuen dothe put you to the tryal of yor frends, and yett be you hape of suche as you to trye them; but I am most sory that my powr servethe me no better for the showe of my good wel towards you; good Cyssel, mystruste not but you shal have al that I can do ye, and if there be any thing whiche you thinke I may do, forbere me not, use me as I have been bold to yous you, and lay away al dowtes and ceremonys, and playnly reqwire me, and even so much I also desire your wyffe, to hom I have me harttily commended, and thus

place in the Duke of Somerset's family, an event upon which she wrote to condole with him; and we know besides, that Sir Thomas Smith, previously to the commitment of Somerset, had succeeded Mr. Cecil in that particular office. We are inclined also to think, that though he might have lost that office for some such reasons as we have hinted, yet that his "great abilities in matters of state" were by this time become so notorious, that the Protector could not bring himself to renounce his services, and therefore put him into the place either of his private Secretary, or, if Secretary to the King, not actually one of the "principal Secretaries of State."* Things being so, probably Sir Thomas Smith went to prison as much for having been Master of Requests, as for being Secretary of State, and Cecil as Secretary to the Protector, and for some time the Duke's Master of Requests also; and that his early release was again owing to the opinion

wyshing I war in my letters plase whan it shal be delevared you, I comett you to that God in whos fear you have s'ved, not mystrustyng but he wel delyver you from the malis of mann. From Kyngston the xvj. of Novbr. your very frend, C. SUFFOULK."

The writer was Catherine, Duchess of Suffolk, relict of Charles Brandon (brother-in-law to Henry VIII. by marriage with his sister, Mary, Queen of France), and who, after his death, married Mr. Bertie; and, in the next reign, became a refugee. We are disposed to think the letter was written on his imprisonment with the Duke, and long after he ceased to be Master of Requests, and alludes to his imprisonment.

We shall have more to say of this worthy lady, this "devout woman of God," as Strype calls her, in the next reign.

That he was in the Tower *with Somerset*, seems probable, from there being extant at this day, among the Cottonian Charters at the British Museum, the paper of questions put to that nobleman in prison, and indorsed by Cecil himself, "Wryting of the Duke of Somerset in the Tower of London."—*Ellis's Original Letters*, Second Series, vol. ii. 214. Among these questions, it does not appear that there is the slightest reference to any communications the Duke had held with the Secretary himself, which must have been the case if Cecil had been one that had betrayed him, or, as Hayward states, "given evidence against him."

* "While his talents and consummate application rendered him most useful to any one placed at the head of affairs, his decided attachment to the Reformation, of which Somerset was the avowed patron, pointed him out as a person particularly fit to be advanced, at this period, to public trusts."—*Lives of British Statesmen by Macdiarmid.*

entertained of his "great abilities in matters of state," and "the King's personal affection for him;" and that so far from being compelled to acknowledge either the Duke of Somerset or the Duke of Northumberland as patrons, in the common acceptation of the term, *they* were both rather compelled to *court* his aid and assistance. "He has been much blamed," says the author of the General Biographical Dictionary, "for this transfer of his services, as a sacrifice of his gratitude to his interests, and many excuses, palliations, and even justifications have been urged for him. The best seems to be, that his pretensions to the promotion were founded, not on his servility and dependence on one or the other of these great men, but on his superior fitness for the office. It is universally allowed that he possessed great abilities, and his credit was now increased with the young King."

We are not seeking to find excuses for ingratitude, or to undervalue the claims of patronage, but being strongly impressed with the foul charges alleged against Mr. Cecil by his enemies on this particular occasion, we have, according to what we conceive to be the strict duties of a biographer, sought to unravel what other historians have left in a state of mystery or obscurity. In many respects his conduct towards the Duke of Somerset does not appear to have been duly weighed and considered by historians in general.

There is something very remarkable, as it appears to us, in the account given by his Domestic, of his particular conduct towards the *two* Dukes: he stands blamed by some, and very heavily so, for having, as has been before shewn, basely abandoned his first patron the Duke of Somerset. From the passage, however, referred to, he seems very plainly to have been solicited by *both* parties, to do something which went against his conscience: each strove, it seems, "to wynne the Secretarie sure to them, both using him exceeding kindly, tempting him with great offers and

gifts; he shewed duty to both," the writer goes on to say, "but wold take gifts of neither." It would appear, then, that he was *tempted*, by the gifts he *refused*, to some *treachery;* and if so, being, as it seems, much in the confidence of both, he "shewed his duty to both" in the best manner he could, by betraying *neither*. This interpretation seems also to agree with what Sir John Hayward and others have written of the Duke of Somerset's defence; for in reply to the charge of having assembled men to kill the Duke of Northumberland, Somerset is reported to have said, that "he determined not to kill the duke of Northumberland, or any other lord, but *spake of it only*, and determined the contrary." This interpretation would also seem to bear the Secretary out in the *hard* speech so often repeated of him, and which he is said to have made to Somerset, when he sent for him, and observed to him, "That he suspected some ill meaning against him."—"*Whereto Mr. Secretary answered, That if he were not in fault he might trust to his innocency; if he were, he had nothing to say but to lament him.*"

Such speech, though we must allow that "it *seems*," as an eminent writer has observed, "to savour more of prudence than of gratitude," might very well imply, that though he himself were no party to any evil designs on the part of Somerset, he yet saw and knew enough, to make him apprehensive that the Duke might have been so indiscreet as to commit himself beyond the power of *his* help or assistance; in which case he could only *lament* what he had been unable to *prevent*.

Sir William Paget's letters to the Protector, still extant, serve to shew how probable an interpretation of the Secretary's *hard speech* this really is. The Protector seems decidedly to have thrown himself into bad hands, and to have acted against the advice and remonstrances of his best friends and most faithful adherents; since those who decidedly stood by him on his first

fall, appear not to have been implicated in the heaviest charges brought against him; Sir Thomas Smith in particular, who lost his Secretaryship, and who has always been ranked among the steadiest and most respectable adherents of the Duke, was soon restored to favour. And upon the Protector's last fall, he is supposed to have acted upon the special advice of two who were actually executed as accomplices, Sir Michael Stanhope and Sir Miles Partridge. The Secretary's near relation, indeed, Sir John Cheke, was *accused* of having given him *bad advice*, but saved by the special interposition of the Duchess of Somerset, who asserted his innocence: and we shall have some such testimony to bring forward in defence of Mr. Cecil.

In fact, notwithstanding many amiable and intrinsic good qualities, the Protector had foibles and weaknesses, which no doubt prevented his best friends from serving him so effectually as they would have done, and exposed him to difficulties, which left them no other alternative than grief and lamentation for his misfortunes. Sir William Paget's earnest expostulations and remonstrances upon such points, are sufficient proof of what is here alleged: "If I loved not your Grace so deeply in my heart, as it cannot be taken out, I could hold my peace as some others do, and say little or nothing." Thus he begins a letter, in which he strongly remonstrates with him for his rough and haughty treatment of some of the council; but some other passages from the same letter will set matters in a still stronger light, as plainly shewing that his indiscretions were many and great. "Now then, Sir," he writes, "if other honest men, not so wel acquainted with your nature as I am, having to do with your Grace in the King's Majesties affairs, and having occasion by your own appointment and wil to say their opinions honestly and sincerely unto you, shal be snapped, God knows what loss you shal have by it. By the living God, if I knew not how much men of service be troubled withal, I would never

write this much. Poor Sir Richard Alte this afternoon, after your Grace had very sore, and much more than needed, rebuked him, came to my chamber weeping, and there complaining, as far as became him, of your handling of him, seemed almost out of his wits, and out of heart. Your Grace to be sure have put him clean [out of countenance]. I know that like fashion of the King, that dead is, to him had almost cost him his life. Your Grace peradventure thinketh it nothing: but by God, Sir, if you would, as I writ once to you, cal to your remembrance, how that as you speake sometimes to men, saying their opinions contrary to that which you have conceived, if a King or a Cardinal in times past should have spoken to you, it would have pricked you at the stomac. You shal wel feel that words spoken by the Lord Protector goeth to a man's heart.—A King which shal give men occasion of discourage to say their opinions frankly, receiveth thereby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authority, as your Grace is, using such fashion, is like to fal into great danger and peril of his own person, beside that to the common-weal: which for the very love I bear your Grace, I beseech you, and for God's sake, consider and weigh wel. I beseech the Almighty to give you his Holy Spirit and grace to do al things to his glory, the King's Majesties honor, and your own surety and preservation."

This letter is dated May 8, 1549, and the Duke was committed to the Tower in the October following. There is no saying, therefore, how much others of the Duke's adherents may have remonstrated with him, before even his first fall, or how much he may have given reasonable cause of alarm to those who were unable to check the impetuosity of his temper at that particular and trying period; for that something had occurred to alter his natural disposition, may be concluded from another passage in the same letter; "Howsoever it cometh to pas I cannot tel, but of late your Grace

is grown in great cholerick fashions, whensoever you are contraried in that which you have conceived in your head."*

It is vain, therefore, to attempt to prove that Sir William in any manner behaved ungratefully to the Duke, by serving under Northumberland; for though Somerset might have stood originally in the light of a patron, Cecil had the King for a master; and if the nephew could not by his royal prerogative save the uncle, how could it be expected that the Secretary could save his patron, or indeed escape ruin himself, by any fruitless and ineffectual attempts so to do. Had he behaved in any manner so basely, as his enemies among the Romanists afterwards alleged, how are we to account for his standing so well, as we know to have been the case, with those friends of the Protector who have been praised for *not* deserting him, as Archbishop Cranmer in particular, Sir Thomas Smith, and others; or how shall we account for his receiving, under the *will* of the *Duchess* of Somerset in *after times*, a particular token of *esteem* and *friendship?* a circumstance very much overlooked by historians.

In the "Memoirs of William Cecil Lord Burghley," published in 1738, from papers originally inserted in the *Gazetteer*, and intended as a parallel between Lord Burghley and Sir Robert Walpole, the author thus notices the account given of these matters by Sir John Hayward:

"Sir John Hayward, in his Life of King Edward VI., tells us, that Sir William Cecil gave evidence against him; which might have thrown some odium on this great man's memory, if Sir John had not told us what the Secretary said; which was no more than

* How much the Duke must have been changed, to have exposed himself to such remonstrances as are contained in Sir William Paget's letter, must be evident from the almost general concurrence of historians in representing him to have been, as he is described by Rapin particularly, "humble, affable, civil, courteous to all the world." But Rapin endeavours to account for this change, by imputing it entirely to his great zeal for the Reformation, and the envy of the nobles, which he had to counteract.

this; that the Duke complaining to him of his fear that something was brewing against him, he answered, 'That if he was innocent, he might trust to that; and if he was otherwise, he could but pity him.' Sir John says, that the Duke, upon this, defied the Secretary by letters; which agrees little with the Duke's character, but perfectly well with the historian's, who writes frequently things that existed no where but in his own head, and who is seldom pleased to quote any authority for what he writes. It is probable that Sir William Cecil was very cautious in these perilous times; but that he was either false to the Duke of Somerset, or attached to the Duke of Northumberland, is inconsistent with his character, and the best memoirs we have of King Edward's reign."

There was no need, indeed, to love the Duke of Northumberland, in order to be employed as before, under the King; Northumberland himself was too wary and too subtle to discover his whole designs prematurely, and probably judged it safest to consult the King's wishes and inclinations in the choice of persons to serve about the court, than run the risk of totally thwarting either his private inclinations or his public designs. It is well known that Northumberland's Romish friends, who had opposed the Duke of Somerset, soon felt themselves deserted; and even the King was taught to believe, that his new guardian and protector was a zealous reformer; in fact, it is highly probable that Sir William owed his enlargement from prison, and appointment to be Secretary of State, entirely to Northumberland's art and the King's attachment; for when the former observed how much the King was inclined to the reformed party, he being suspected of having himself no religion at all,* forsook the Earl of Southampton, a known papist, and So-

* The court of France, as *Rapin* observes, believed he was of all things the farthest from a *Protestant*; and the Romanists at home so much relied on his restoring their religion, that Gardiner and Boner actually wrote to him from the Tower, to congratulate him upon having freed the nation from the tyrant, as they called the Duke of Somerset. Of the use the Duke of

merset's chief adversary, and, to the disappointment of the Romanists in general, espoused the cause of the Reformation; and to please the King, placed those about him that were most favourable to it, and Sir William Cecil, as we may conclude, for one; an appointment therefore which so far from being called upon to accept, by the sacrifice of any public principles, it must have been as well a matter of private as of public duty to accept, as the King's friend. It was Northumberland rather who forsook both friends and principles, if indeed he had any of either.

Upon a full view of the matter, it seems to this day quite capable of proof, that the unhappy Duke of Somerset fell entirely through his own imprudence. Trusting to false friends, in neglect of those who would have served him better, thereby exposing himself to the subtle and treacherous contrivances of his great rival and enemy, and suffering himself to be betrayed into an avowal of vindictive designs and purposes, which perhaps his heart, at last, would not have suffered him to carry into execution;* for that he was infinitely the

Northumberland made of some of his popish adherents, and of his curious requital of their services afterwards, a good account is to be seen in Strype, taken from Ponet, Bishop of Winchester's book, entitled a *Short Treatise of Politic Power*, published in the year 1556 (if indeed the book be really his, which has been doubted).—*Memorials*, vol. ii. 536. anno 1551. "Paget fares ill in this book, as unfaithful after all to Somerset; he is called there the *Master* of *Practices;* and as he was a Papist, one would think he could scarcely have been any fast friend to the Protector, though his remonstrances might be intended to uphold his power; and indeed Northumberland soon cast him off, as the book cited above is careful to shew. He is committed to ward, his *garter* with shame pulled from his leg, his robes from his back, his coat armour pulled down, spurned out of Windsor church, trod under foot, &c. &c." In fact, he was degraded from the order of the Garter, and heavily fined for extortion, and robbing the King in his office of Chancellor of the Duchy, of which also he was deprived. But Northumberland's rage against him was excessive, and in the instance of degrading him, as too meanly born to be worthy of the Garter, absurd; for, as Burnet says, he could not then be of any meaner blood, than when King Henry gave him the order. Cecil has the credit of having procured portion of his fine to be remitted.

* The following story of the Duke is to be found in some books, and particularly in the "True Secret History of the Lives and Reigns of all the Kings and Queens of England, by a Person of Honour," 1702:—That "Somerset, a man of an extraordinary mild and good

better man of the two, none can doubt; but so ill did he manage matters, in giving a handle to his enemies to misrepresent his designs, that it was not left even to the King his nephew to doubt that he had contemplated the foul crime of murder. For in a letter written by Edward to his favourite companion, Barnaby Fitzpatrick,* after the Duke's trial and sentence, he concludes with telling him, that when the Duke heard the judgment pronounced upon him, he "fell down on his knees and thanked the court for his open trial; after, he asked *pardon* of the Duke of Northumberland, Marquess of Northampton, &c. whom he *confessed*, he *mean't* to *destroy*;"†

nature, provoked with the continual injuries of Dudley (for patience too much wronged turns at last to fury), began to consider by what means he might make away with his enemy; and after some thoughts about it, resolved, under pretence of visiting the Duke of Northumberland in friendly manner, to execute his intended purpose: having therefore put on a privy coat of mail, and brought along with him other armed men, whom he left in an outward chamber, he went in to see his enemy, purposing to kill him; but being admitted to him, and finding him naked and unarmed, lying upon his couch, and being received by him with all humanity and friendly respect, his heart presently failed him, so that he would not execute what he purposely came for, leaving the Duke of Northumberland as he found him. At his departure, one of those that he had brought along with him, asked him *if he had done the fact?* and the Duke answering, *No;* he replied, Then *you are undone;* and so it proved, for this very thing was his ruin, they that were privy to it betraying him, so that now again he is publicly accused: and the matter being revealed to the Lords of the Council, they send him presently to the Tower, where he is committed, with the Duchess his wife, the Lord Gray of Wilton, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundel, and several other of his friends." For an account of these several persons see *Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 542.

* This young gentleman, of high connexions in Ireland, had been bred up with Edward from a child, and afterwards sent to the French King's court, to "learn fashions, and better serve the King on his return," as expressed by Edward, in a letter written with his own hand to the King of France: he was also furnished with instructions in the King's hand-writing.—[See *Burnet*, ii. 415, and *Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. 507. 574.] Burnet says, he was reported to be King Edward's *whipping boy*, who, according to the fashion of educating princes in those days, was always to be whipped for the King's faults. In the reign of Elizabeth he was made Baron of Upper Ossory in Ireland, his native country.

† Whatever Edward's sentiments might really be as to the guilt of his unhappy relative, the entry in his Journal, still extant, is very brief. "The Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning;" but, to do the King justice, accounts are in existence of his feeling deeply for the event, often expostulating with himself for

whereas he appears only to have asked their pardon generally for his "*ill intentions*" towards them, without defining their extent.

Somerset, when he first fell, too readily acknowledged all the charges brought against him; but his conduct in the case just cited, was certainly most extraordinary; and must tend to shew, how much he had given way to dangerous persons, either employed by Northumberland to betray him, or capable of suggesting to him expedients to rid himself of his enemies, very inconsistent with his general character. It has been strongly suspected that Palmer, the chief witness against him, was a creature of Northumberland's, and that much of his evidence was not true; or that, if it were true, Somerset had been beguiled by him to sanction the measures for which, though unaccomplished, he was made to suffer.

But the enemies of the noble Lord whose Life we are writing, in seeking to blacken his character by charging him with a base and unprincipled adherence to Northumberland, to the positive overthrow of his best friend and patron, the Duke of Somerset, seem to have forgotten that they had fixed upon a *wrong time* for such an accusation. We have endeavoured to impress upon the minds of our readers a recollection that Somerset fell *twice*. When he first fell, Mr. Cecil went to prison, as an adherent: he obtained his liberty in three months and became Secretary of State, the administration of public affairs having passed, with the King's knowledge and consent, from the hands of Somerset to those of Northumberland, but not by Mr. Cecil's means; nor by any secret or dark cabal of a mere faction. For, as before in-

suffering his judgment to be beguiled, and sighing, or shedding tears upon any mention of his name.—See the *True Secret History*, p. 226.—See also *Hayward*, 325, where the brief remark of Strype, however, should be attended to—"A good speech made for the King, but not by him." I. S. There is something remarkable in the King's entry of the Duke's first fall:—"The Lord Protector by his *alone agreement* and *submission*, lost his Protectorship, Treasurership, and Marshalship, &c."

timated, among the first accusers of the Duke, besides the Duke of Northumberland, were the Lord Chancellor, the Lord St. John, President of the Council, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Arundel, Southampton, and Shrewsbury, the Lords Russel and Wentworth, the Chief Justice Montague, Sir Edward North, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edmund Peckham, Secretary Petre, Sir John Gage, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Sir Anthony Browne, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir John Baker, Speaker of the House, and Dr. Wotton. And though in this list is to be found, indeed, a great mixture of Romanists and Reformers, yet it cannot be denied that some were persons of high and distinguished reputation; while Northumberland himself, as a representative of the crown in foreign embassies, had constantly conducted himself to the satisfaction of the court, had signalized himself in the wars, even as lieutenant-general to Somerset in Picardy and Scotland; and in an especial manner displayed great judgment as well as bravery in the field at Musselburgh, where Mr. Cecil was present; and more recently subdued the rebels at Norwich, under Ket, to the great relief and quiet of the nation.

But after all, it is but reasonable to inquire, what became of Somerset upon this occasion; (for it was upon his first fall that *Cecil* is accused of having deserted him.) It was not at this time that he passed from prison to the scaffold;* it was not at this time that Northumberland and himself were irreconcileably op-

* There is to be seen, in Mr. Ellis's most valuable Collection of Original Letters and Papers, a most extraordinary list of necessaries of dress and other accommodations, which the Duke and Duchess prayed to have delivered to them at the Tower. "Grandeur in a dungeon," says the learned editor, "is not often desired by a captive;" but it is probable that they did not actually occupy a dungeon; still the remark of the editor is not thrown away. The list is exceedingly curious.—See Second Series, vol. ii. 215. The common enjoyments of life in the Tower could not indeed be great, if we consider one of the entries in Queen Mary's Council Papers, to allow the Lady Montague, wife of Sir Edward Montague, "in consideration of his weakness, to repaire to him in the Tower, at convenient times, *to dress his meat.*"—*Hatfield House MSS.* D. 9. 6.

posed to each other; it was not at this time, that to unite with Northumberland was no less than a formal renunciation of all that had been done by Somerset. Even Cranmer and Paget, when Sir Philip Hoby arrived at Windsor, with a message from the council, concurred in advising both the King and the Protector to grant what they asked, and Somerset himself may be said to have capitulated.* The real circumstances of the case have been so well set forth by the author of the Lives of British Statesmen, that we cannot do better than transcribe his words:

"Cecil's sudden release, and subsequent elevation, by the enemy of his old patron, have exposed his motives to suspicion. It has been alleged that he had a secret understanding with Northumberland even before the fall of Somerset, and that his new preferment was the reward of his treachery: but while no grounds are produced for these accusations, the events which they are adduced to explain, seem otherwise sufficiently accounted for. In joining Northumberland, Cecil abandoned none of his own principles; for the same measures, both in regard to religion and politics, were now (however hypocritically with regard to Northumberland himself) pursued as under the Protector: and [after all], if his conduct in uniting with the decided enemy of his patron be thought [by some to be] little consistent with honour or generosity, he only acted a part which Somerset himself speedily imitated. Northumberland, having completed the degradation of his rival, by extorting from him a public confession, in which he *acknowledged himself* guilty of *rashness*, *folly*, and *indiscretion*, accounted him now so little formidable, that he ventured to affect the praise of generosity, by restoring him not only to liberty, but to his seat in the council. Somerset, as mean in adversity as he had been ostentatious in his better fortune, gladly accepted the boon; and after all the indignities he had undergone, consented

* Burnet, ii. 254. and the King's journal as before.

to give his daughter, Lady Jane [Ann] Seymour, in marriage to Lord Dudley,* the son of his adversary."†

By this marriage it would be difficult to deny that the two Dukes, if not reconciled, were yet so united, as to absolve the adherents of either from any charge of gross treachery, in accepting or holding places at court, especially in the immediate service of the King; so that in all that befel the Duke of Somerset afterwards, we must be careful to distinguish between the new friends he took into his confidence, and the old friends who could not with any safety confide in him any longer, having no control over his actions, privately or publicly. There is to be seen in Strype's Memorials a prudent and wise letter from a great nobleman in the North, supposed to have been Lord Shrewsbury, professing,

* Lord *Lisle*, Edward's Journal.—The King himself was present at this marriage, according to the following entry in his Journal: "June 3. The King came to Shein, where was a marriage made between the Lord Lisle, the Lord Warwick's son, and the Lady Ann, daughter to the Duke of Somerset; which done and a fair dinner made, and dancing finished, the King and ladies went into two antichambers made of boughs, where first he saw six gentlemen of one side, and six of another, run the course of the field twice over. Their names here do follow:

"The Lord *Edward*, Sir John *Appleby*, &c.: and afterwards came three masters of one side and two of another, which ran four courses apiece.

"Last of all came the Count of *Regunete*, with three Italians, who ran with all the gentlemen four courses, and afterwards fought at tournay; and so after supper he returned to Westminster."

On the day following the King was present at another marriage in the same family; no other than that of the celebrated *Earl of Leicester* to the daughter of *Sir John Robsart*, whose unhappy end is so well known. The King's own entry is too curious to be omitted:

"June 4. *Sir Robert Dudley*, third son to the *Earl of Warwick*, married *Sir John Robsart's* daughter; after which marriage, there were certain gentlemen that did strive who should first take away a goose's head, which was hanged alive on two cross posts."

† The account in *Thuanus* is as follows:—That the Earl (Warwick), by seeming desirous of the restitution of the Romish religion, had gained the good opinion of all that were against the Reformation; and that his dissimulation herein being discovered, and fearing lest he should be forsaken of them whom he had deluded with false hopes; the consideration thereof, and of the Duke's mild and free disposition, would endear him to them; to prevent which danger, he contrived this alliance with Somerset, and procured his liberty.

on being informed by some of the court, of the misunderstanding between the two Dukes, to take part with neither nobleman against the other, but to mind impartially the business intrusted with him by the *King*.

That Somerset fell as he did, all good men who read his history will lament; but all wise men, who know any thing of political affairs, and the many changes and chances to which the life of a courtier is exposed, will read his fate in the three faults he was brought to acknowledge, *rashness*, *folly*, and *indiscretion*. No friend could expect to save a minister subject to such failings, especially from the machinations of so ambitious and subtle, but compliant an adversary as Northumberland. After, however, behaving weakly as an accused culprit, he died nobly, asserting to the last an innocency of intention, and glorying in what he had done towards the Reformation of Religion. While he was on the scaffold indeed, a scene took place, the most trying, perhaps, to which any man in such a situation could be exposed; but to one who had occupied so exalted a station, and was so highly connected, and so much pitied, beyond description embarrassing. In the midst of his address to the populace, the sudden and hasty approach of a body of men, appointed to assist in keeping the peace, but above all of Sir Anthony Browne, one of the King's council, led the people, by whom he was greatly and justly beloved, to indulge a hope that the King had sent a pardon; so that the air for some moments resounded with the eager and joyful acclamations, of "*A pardon, a pardon! God save the King!*" to the interruption of the Duke's speech. But the mistake being discovered, the Duke was the first to restore quiet, beseeching them to indulge no such vain hopes, but to hear him to the end, and allow him to die in peace—and in this collected manner submitted his neck to the stroke of the axe:—a remarkable instance of fortitude and composure at such an appalling period.

CHAP. XXIII.

Sir William Cecil's great attention to the settlement of the Church, the liquidation of the King's debts, the improvement of the Revenue, and advancement of Trade—His great assistance to the learned Foreigners resorting to England, from various parts of the Continent, to avoid persecution—Want of able ministers in the Church—Bishop Hooper's anxiety on the subject, as expressed in letters to Sir William Cecil.

HAVING endeavoured to rescue the subject of these Memoirs from the foul charge of being false to Somerset, it must not be supposed to follow, that he became actually attached to Northumberland. The very next passage, indeed, in his Life by a Domestic, bespeaks the contrary; where we read, that after the King died, "he was greatlie threatened and disgraced by the Duke of Northumberland, for mislyking, or not consentynge, to the Duke's purpose, toucheing the Ladie Jane. Yet he carried the matter so temperatlie, that he kept his conscience free, his truth to the crown, and himself from danger."

But before we enter into the particulars of this new difficulty in which he became involved, it will be proper to notice some other public transactions of King Edward's reign.

"What little was worthily done," says the Author of the Memoirs of William Cecil Lord Burleigh [Burghley], before cited, "in the remainder of that short reign, was chiefly owing to *our Statesman;*" and he then glances at the commission for a new compilation of ecclesiastical laws, of which Sir William was a member; the practices set on foot for the payment of the King's debts,

and regulations of the revenue of the crown; and at the projects entertained for the advancement of trade, by the establishment of marts at Southampton and Hull. "I have," says he, "insisted the more fully on these heads, that it might appear, on what *maxims* this Statesman *set out*, and how worthily he behaved in the *worst* of *times*; lest it should be surmised that the *fortune* of the famous *Elizabeth* had borne up her *Minister's reputation*, and that he owed his *fame* rather to his *Mistresses felicity*, than to any *high parts* of his *own*."

We quite agree with this author, as we have before remarked, that it is doing a great injustice to Lord Burghley to connect him so much with Elizabeth's reign, as though he were scarcely known as a statesman, until then. He was as excellent a statesman in Edward's reign* as in that of Elizabeth, and might have

* Perhaps we might say, in Henry's reign, for there is upon record an instance of that King's selection of him to discharge a most confidential service, in which the *word* of the King himself was to be his only authority. We shall copy the passage from Lodge's Portraits of Illustrious Personages. It is to be found in his account of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel.—He had it probably from Lloyd, as it is to be found in his *State Worthies*.

"Henry loved bravery, but he loved yet better implicit obedience, of which he received shortly after from this nobleman a remarkable proof. He had been appointed, with others, to negotiate a treaty with the Scots, the terms proposed for which had received the unanimous approbation of the council, but were secretly disliked by the King. Henry, unwilling to disoblige his ministers, permitted them to write in his name to the Earl to conclude the treaty; but, in the same hour, commanded *Cecil*, whom he had lately received into much confidence, to repair privately to the Earl, in Scotland, and to tell him, that whatsoever he, the King, had ordered by his letter, it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should immediately break up the treaty. *Cecil* observing to the King, to use the words of my author, 'that a message by word of mouth, being contrary to his letter, would never be believed:'—'Well,' said the King, 'do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his own choice.' Upon Mr. Cecil's arrival, the Earl of Arundel shewed the other commissioners as well the message as the letter: they are all for the letter. He said nothing, but ordered that the message should be written, and signed by his fellow-commissioners; and thereupon immediately broke up the treaty, sending *Cecil* with the advertisement of it to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud, 'What, will he do it or no?'—*Cecil* replied, that his Majesty might understand that by the inclosed: but then the King, half angry, urged, 'Nay, tell me, will he do it or no?' Being then told it was done, he turned to the lords, and said, 'Now you will hear news, the fine treaty is

done as much good to his country, might have as much promoted her best interests in Church and State, had Edward lived, and Elizabeth never come to the throne; and probably with less trouble and less blame, than was actually the case. For though he had in Elizabeth undoubtedly a most magnanimous mistress, and one who knew how to support him against enemies and traducers, one who gratefully acknowledged and liberally requited his services; yet that he had a hard task at times to combat her prejudices, her pride, and her caprice, will be seen in abundant instances in the course of this history; whereas, had Edward lived, having fewer enemies, and no competitors for the crown, it would be impossible to say how much more rapidly, under the auspices of *Cecil*, the nation might have proceeded to that state of prosperity, glory, and comparative security, in which Elizabeth and her great minister left it. As it proved, nothing is more remarkable, than that the same person who saw the beginnings of the Reformation under Henry, was high in office while it was advancing under Edward, remained in the kingdom to witness the distressing interruption it had to struggle against under Mary, should have lived to be the main instrument of its completion under Elizabeth.

The affairs of the Church, from the first dawn of the Reformation in England, were so blended with those of the State, that it is not to be wondered, that those who had to administer the affairs of the nation were compelled to attend to both; yet the concern

broken.' Whereat one presently answered, that he who had broke it deserved to lose his head. To which the King straightly replied, that he would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, rather than one such servant as had done it; and therewith commanded the Earl of Arundel's pardon should be presently drawn up, with letters of thanks and assurance of favour."—If the story had told us that Cecil was *consulted*, and the *King's* interposition proved to be *right*, it might be more to our purpose. It may have been so; and the term *confidence* seems to imply it; otherwise it would appear to have been a very arbitrary and hazardous stretch of the prerogative on the King's part.

which Lord Burghley had in the establishment of the Church, and in the private as well as public interests of ecclesiastical persons, foreign as well as English, is scarcely to be conceived. It is well known that in this reign, great communication was kept up with the foreign Reformers, particularly that highly respectable man *Bullinger*, the chief pastor at *Zurich*, who seemed not only interested in the progress of the Reformation in England, but was anxious to send his own countrymen hither to partake of the advantages. He endeavoured to procure for those he sent the high patronage of Northumberland himself; but though the latter listened to his application and promised to assist, nothing would have been done without the aid of *Cecil* and *Cheke:* they stood forth voluntarily in behalf of the disciples of *Bullinger*, and in the cases of *Joannes de Ulmes*, and *Alexander Smutches*, helped them both to fellowships in St. John's College, Oxford. To shew farther how much the affairs of the Church and State were blended together at this time, it is well known, that at Sir William's house, while he was Secretary of State, several very curious conferences and disputations took place on the subject of the Eucharist, himself bearing a part.*

It was one of the chief glories of England, in the then unsettled state of Europe, to become the asylum† to which all the respectable but persecuted reformists of the Continent had recourse, from Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and other countries; and none, perhaps, were more called upon or more ready to succour them in their distress, to administer to their wants, to attend to their complaints, or reward their merits, than Archbishop Cranmer,

* See Strype's Memorials, b. ii. ch. viii. anno 1551, and his Life of Cheke, ch. iv. sect. iii.

† "Ad vos, ceu ad *asylum* et portum tutissimum, sub sanctissimi regis alas, confluebant *Germani, Galli, Hispani, Itali, Poloni, Scoti*, ut illic Deo suo in fidei libertate servirent quam ipsis patria ingrata negabat."—*Gualteri* Præfat. in 1 Epist. D. Pauli ad Corinthios. England is particularly called by others, *Christi asylum*, and the English φιλοξενους.—*Strype's Cranmer.*

and his friend and co-adjutor,* Mr. Secretary Cecil. We have already shewn, that to both these eminent persons, in the first instance, the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were in the habit of preferring all their complaints and communicating all their wishes; as is proved by the correspondence that took place upon these occasions, and which is still preserved.

But in the hospitable palace of the Archbishop in the year 1549,† an immense number of learned foreigners, some specially invited thither, were liberally and generously entertained; with every one of whom, almost without a single exception, Sir William Cecil seems to have kept up a continual correspondence and intercourse. *Bucer*,‡ *A'Lasco*,§ *Peter Martyr*,‖ *Paulus Fagius*,¶

* See Strype's Cranmer, i. 644, 645. Cecil, in his office of Master of Requests, (or *Secretary*; for the letter in the *Appendix* is addressed, Clarissimo viro Domino Sicilio illustrissimi Principis Protectoris Angliæ, *à secretis*; another proof that, after being Master of Requests, he was secretary to the Protector.—See before, fol. 306.); was the very person to whom Cranmer recommended all the foreign refugees, not merely as the proper medium of approach to the Protector and the King, but because, says Strype, "he well knew that *Cecyl* had a great esteem for those learned men, and that their letters would go a great way with him." One of these learned foreigners, *Michael Angelo Florio*, who had given him some offence, thus expresses himself, lamenting his fault; "Cujus auxilio, consilio, et favore nitar, si tu, qui omnium sacra anchora es (et numinis loco te habent omnes), me prorsus tuo destituas auxilio?"

† In France, this year, the persecution of the Protestants was carried to such a high pitch, that on occasion of the inauguration of the King (Henry II.), when he had to pass through the city of Paris, the burning of martyrs in several of the streets made part of the ceremony.

‡ *Martin Bucer*, born in 1491, at Schelestat, in Germany, was for twenty years Professor of Theology at Strasburgh, and invited to England by Cranmer.

§ *Johannes A'Lasco*, a Polish nobleman, who, forsaking his country and honours for the sake of religion, became a preacher to a Protestant congregation at Embden, in Friezland, before he took refuge in England. He had lived upon terms of intimacy with Erasmus, at Basle, in Switzerland, and was the purchaser of the library of that great scholar. A long account is given of him in *Strype's Cranmer*, b. ii. ch. xxii.

‖ *Peter Martyr* was a native of Florence in Italy, born in 1500; his real name being *Vermigli*; of a good and wealthy family. Following the tenets of *Zuingle* and *Bucer*, he became a reformist at *Naples*, and had nearly been arrested. He retired first to Lucca, then to Zurich, to Basle, to Strasburgh, and then, upon invitation, to England; whence being obliged to retire in Mary's reign, he ended his life at Zurich, 1562.

Peter Alexander,* *Tremellius*,† *Bernardine Ochin*,‡ *Matth. Regelius* § (who had accompanied Bucer and Paulus Fagius into England), *Gualter*,‖ *Dryander*,¶ *Michael Angelo Florio*,** and *Justus Jonas*,†† were among those particularly noticed at this time, several of them receiving valuable appointments, in the Universities especially; as *Bucer* and *Fagius* at Cambridge,‡‡ and *Peter Martyr*, preferred to the Divinity Chair at Oxford. The *Dutch* had the church of Austin Friars assigned them, and John *A'Lasco* was their minister.§§ *Saxons*

¶ *Paulus Fagius*, or Bucklin, was born in the Palatinate, and called to England by Cranmer.

* *Peter Alexander* was a native of Artois, and in England before Bucer or P. Martyr.

† *Immanuel Tremellius* was an Italian, converted from Judaism to Christianity in Cardinal Pole's palace at Viterbo; he became reader of Hebrew at Cambridge, when his protestantism was ascertained; and by the special care and interposition of Lord Burghley, was made a prebendary of Carlisle.

‡ *Bernardine Ochin* was a reclaimed Italian capuchin; he was a friend of Peter Martyr, and accompanied him in his retreat from Italy. Both Ochin and P. Martyr had preached with great effect at Naples.—See an account of him in *Mosheim*, iv. 133, and *Dr. M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy*, ch. iii. vi.

§ *Matthew Regelius* became afterwards a minister at Strasburgh.

‖ *Gualter* [Rodolpe] was born at Zurich, 1529; he was a relation of Zuingle, and succeeded Bullinger.

¶ *Dryander*, his real name was Enzinas; he was by birth a Spaniard, but having become a Lutheran at Wittenberg, and given some offence there, retired, 1545, to Calvin at Geneva.

** *Michael Angelo Florio*, a learned Italian, for some time much in favour with Cranmer and Cecil, till guilty of a misdemeanor, which exposed him to the censures of the church.

†† *Justus Jonas* (the younger) resided at Lambeth, the translator of the German catechism, the model of Cranmer's.

‡‡ *Bucer* was appointed Professor of Divinity, and *Fagius*, Professor of Hebrew: but unfortunately *Fagius* died before he could enter on the duties of his office, and *Bucer* the year after, both much lamented, and buried with much distinction, *Bucer* in particular. *Fagius* was not more than forty-five years old, and yet had distinguished himself highly in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning, as the list of his works, preserved by Strype, may serve to shew. *Bucer* was considerably older; an eminent scholar and theologian, and a friend to episcopacy: he died poor. Edward VI. invited Melancthon into England to succeed him at Cambridge, but in vain.

§§ For the settlement of the Dutch congregation under John A'Lasco, a Polish nobleman, see *Strype's Life of Cranmer*, book ii. ch. xxii. After giving the Archbishop the credit of having

and other *High Germans*, had the same liberty, as had also the *Italians*, under *Bernardin* and *Michael Angelo Florio*. Valerandus *Pollanus* was pastor of a Walloon congregation at Glastonbury; *French* Protestants and *Spanish* had the same freedom. There were also French and Walloon churches at *Canterbury*, *Sandwich*, *Norwich*, *Colchester*, &c. They preached their own doctrines, observed their own rites, and practised their own discipline. Latimer pleaded their cause in his sermons; Cranmer procured orders of council for them; and the crown not only tolerated them, but actually pensioned some of their great men abroad; John *Sleidan** had two hundred crowns a year, and *Justus Jonas* a similar pension.

Nothing of this kind seems, however, to have been carried on without the personal aid and interposition of Sir William Cecil; and constantly, with the most satisfactory proofs of the private interest he was by all his correspondents acknowledged to take in the success of their pursuits and applications, as a friend to learning, to the Reformed religion, and to the persecuted of all countries. As many if not most of these letters have been already printed in the valuable collections of Burnet, Strype, and others, being, besides, almost all written in Latin; we shall not introduce them at length into the present work, though in all instances they will be found highly creditable not only to the public character, the learning, and discrimination of their author, but to his moral

the chief hand in forming these strangers into distinct congregations, he adds, "CECYL and Cheke joining with him in this pious design, and furthering it at court, with the King and Duke of Somerset; and this they did both out of Christian charity and Christian policy too: this being a probable means to disperse the Reformed religion into foreign parts."

* Sleidan obtained his pension at first through the representations made to the Marquess of Northampton, brother to Queen Katherine Parr, by Bucer, Peter Martyr, and A'Lasco.—*See Strype's Cranmer*, i. 278. But *Cecil* appears, in many instances, to have been the principal channel through which this eminent historian received assistance, and obtained the notice of the King and the Protector.—*See his Letters in the British Museum.*

feeling.—We shall now proceed to mark the progress of events as affecting the Church.

In 1549 it was enacted, that in conformity to a plan devised and much pressed by Archbishop Cranmer five years before, the King should appoint a commission to examine, revise, and new-model the whole code of Ecclesiastical laws, the old being in many respects quite unsuitable to a state which had renounced the Pope's authority, and most of the Romish superstitions.* Such a commission was accordingly proposed, though not issued till the year 1551; when we find the commissioners, thirty-two in number, divided into four classes, of Bishops, Divines, Civilians, and Lawyers; in the third of which classes Sir William *Cecil's* name appears, as joint Secretary of State with Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Petre, (another commissioner), Sir Thomas Smith, Taylor of Hadleigh, Dr. May, Mr. Traheron, Dr. Lyal, and Mr. Skinner. Sir John Hayward has said, that this commission took *no* effect, and pretends to assign a reason for it, but he is wrong in both; for it may certainly be said, that ultimately, though not immediately, it did take effect, nor was it hindered by the difficulty he has assigned. Some, indeed, at first protested against it, and the whole process of revisal was long and tedious. Some of the commissioners were even dead before it was fully completed; but yet it was far from being ineffectual, since in the year 1571, from the materials prepared and collected at this time, a complete body of Ecclesiastical laws was drawn up and printed under the title of REFORMATIO LEGUM ECCLESIASTICARUM, with a copious preface by John Fox.† These were printed again at a period beyond the scope of these Memoirs, viz. 1640. Those perhaps who had most hand in the revisal, were, Archbishop *Cranmer*, Sir John

* See Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, vol. ii. part i. 589.

† It was digested under fifty-one heads, besides an Appendix *de Regulis Juris*, or upon the rules for administering justice.

Cheke, Haddon, and *Peter Martyr*.* The rules of Christian discipline being obnoxious to many, were supposed to be the chief causes of its so slowly obtaining the force of law.†

But as far as regarded the advancement of the Reformation in the Church, there were things wanting, of more urgent necessity than the revisal of the Ecclesiastical laws. On the Duke of Somerset's fall, strong expectations were entertained by those who favoured the Romish cause, that the Latin service would be restored.‡ It became entirely requisite, therefore, that some authorized form of worship and belief should be as soon as possible provided for the use and edification of the people. To answer the first demand the *Liturgy* was formed, and the *Articles* to supply the last; the former, upon the principle wisely adopted by Cranmer and his coadjutors, to alter nothing for the mere sake of altering, was compiled with as much attention as possible to the purest of the ancient forms, many of the services, prayers, and formularies being adopted without any material changes; and a set of Articles prepared for those employed in the ministry to subscribe, as a test of their belief and persuasion, that they were in all respects conformable, or at least not contrary, to the written word of God.

How necessary these things were, may appear from the very earnest letters written at this time to Mr. Secretary Cecil by

* Eight were at first commissioned to prepare matter for the consideration of the thirty-two, *viz.* two prelates, Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Goodrich; two divines, Dr. Cox and Peter Martyr; two civilians, Dr. May and Dr. Taylor; two common lawyers, John Lucas and Richard Goodrick. Dr. Haddon and Sir John Cheke were selected to translate the work into Latin, who, taking the Pandects of Justinian for their model, and discarding the unclassical terms of the papal canonists, accomplished their task in a manner worthy of admiration. Some variations are to be found in the lists of the several Commissioners; but in all instances the names of the two Secretaries of State, Sir William Petre and *Sir William Cecil*, occur. As the publication of the code in 1571 will fall within the scope of our biographical researches, we shall reserve what we have more to say upon this subject till then.

† Macdiarmid. ‡ Strype's Cranmer, i. 276.

Hooper, afterwards the Martyr, but then Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, who, after objecting greatly to the episcopal habits and forms of consecration, being by a long residence in Switzerland a Zuinglian in principle, at last relented, and was appointed to preside over the diocese of Gloucester, holding Worcester in Commendam, anno 1550.

To shew the low estate and gross ignorance of the inferior clergy at this time, it will only be necessary to transcribe the interrogatories put to the *Ministers* in these dioceses by this very learned and very zealous prelate, and to which, we are told, there were many priests and curates, who "could say but little." "Some could say the *Pater Noster* in Latin, but not in English; few could say the Ten Commandments; few could prove the articles of faith by Scripture, *that was out of their way.*" The questions proposed to them by this learned prelate, were (strange to relate!) no other than these.

I. Concerning the Commandments.
1. How many Commandments?
2. Where are they written?
3. Whether they can recite them by heart?

II. Concerning the Christian faith.
1. What are the Articles of the Christian faith?
2. Whether they can recite them by heart?
3. Whether they can corroborate them by authority of Scripture?

III. Concerning the Lord's Prayer.
1. Whether they can say the petitions by heart?
2. How they know it to be the Lord's Prayer?
3. Where is it written?

These were the questions to which the *Ministers* of the Church in those days, at a Bishop's visitation, were found to be able "*to say but little.*"

Well might this zealous Diocesan write with the earnestness he did to Mr. Secretary *Cecil*, to accelerate the publication of proper Articles of Religion, in the year 1552. Well might he represent to him the need the country stood in of "good jus-

tices and able ministers." Well might he express himself in the following anxious and urgent terms: "Ah! Mr. Secretary, that there were good men in the cathedral churches!* God then should have much more honour than he hath; the King's Majesty more obedience, and the poor people better knowledge: but the realm wanteth light in such churches, whereas of right it ought most to be."—"There is hone," he adds most feelingly, "that eat their bread in the sweat of their face, but such as serve in public vocation."—"YOURS is wonderful, but mine passeth; now I perceive that private labours be but plays, nor private troubles but ease and quietness."

"For the love of God cause the Articles that the King's Majesty spake of, when we take our othes, to be set forth by his autorite.—I dout not but they shal do mouch good."

"Your health is not the surest, favor it as ye may; and charge it not too farre. Ye be wyse and comfortable for others; be so for yourself also."

It is remarkable that while this amiable prelate was giving this friendly advice to Sir William, he was personally labouring in the discharge of his episcopal, or rather ministerial duties, so as to induce his wife, who was a German, to address a letter to *Bullinger* at *Zurich*, praying him to write to her husband to take more care of himself, observing that he preached commonly thrice, but sometimes four times in one day.†

To shew how much the good Bishop relied on the knowledge, judgment, and favour of Sir William, we shall transcribe the beginning of one of the letters already referred to:

* He as well as Harley, afterwards Bishop of Hereford, were, in 1552, particularly opposed and very rudely treated by two of the prebendaries of Worcester, Johnson and Jolliffe, in the course of their visitations. Harley was in consequence despatched to London to report the case to the Secretary, who laid it before the council.

† Burnet, iii. part i. 361.

—"The grace of God be with you for ever, AMEN.—I have wroten herewith long letters to the councel; yet not so long as the matter conteynyd in them dooth require. I trust it will be your chance to read them, that the mater may be the better understand. You know that I am but an ivel secretarie, do the best ye can they may be wel taken. It is truth which I write, and Goddes cause, let God do as his blessed pleasure is with it."—"But, I see, Mr. Secretarie, mouch myschefe in mens hartes by many tokens, and souch as speak very feu meaneth crauftely, and nothing less than they speake; I have to good experience of it."

It must be obvious to any reflecting mind, that so great a work as the Reformation of a corrupt church, or rather its Restoration to its primitive purity, by new arrangements, could scarcely be accomplished without reducing it to almost a chaotic disorder and confusion, in which the separation of heterogeneous matters, and new combinations of principles, might be allowed due time to act, so as finally to settle into any thing like order. There was much to be taken away, with which numbers were unwilling to part; and it was absolutely impossible to avoid questions and disputes in attempting to determine what might absolutely require to be removed, and what might without hazard of bad consequences be allowed to remain. Those, in the meanwhile, who were to be called out of darkness, were not likely to have their vision so suddenly cleansed, as to be able to bear the light in its full force, much less to see their way at once so well and so surely, as to be able to direct others;* so that one of the first and most deplorable deficiencies in the Reformed church, was found to be the want of teachers. Those who quitted the ministry of the Romish church were in no manner qualified

* It is an admirable remark of an able Catholic writer, in regard to the first Reformers: "A prisoner, when his chains are broken off, walks out with unsteady steps."—*Villers.*

to enter immediately upon the duties of the Reformed church, but stood, in general, as much in need of instruction as the lowest of the people; while the alienation of church property, and its passing into lay hands, left but small chance of the churches being so sufficiently supplied with able ministers, as the extreme urgency of the case demanded. The impropriation of the tithes of benefices left so little for the ministering clergymen, that it is upon record, that in many parishes there was scarcely sufficient left to buy bread for the incumbents and *their families;* for it was among the anomalies of this Ecclesiastical Revolution, that the reduction of beneficiary incomes accompanied the abolition of clerical celibacy, so that it must be admitted, that there is but too much truth in the facetious remarks of Collier, that "when the tithes were taken away in many places, and the parish duties (*i. e.* fees) lessened, they had the *freedom* of *engaging* in *a more expensive way of living*. When the revenues were cut short, 'twas at their option to increase their charge. They had an opportunity of wanting more things, where the means of procuring them were more slender than ever. Thus they had *liberty* without *property;* they might if they pleased be *legally* undone, and starve by *act* of *parliament*."

CHAP. XXIV.

Differences among the Reformed Ministers themselves, on points of discipline, or things accounted indifferent—Refugees on their return found to be strongly tinctured with Foreign prejudices, to the great disturbance of the Reformation at home—Hooper himself much affected in this way—His objections to the Episcopal habits—Opinions thereupon—Finally, with some allowances, complies, and is consecrated Bishop of Gloucester, &c.—Earnest with Cecil to procure a set of Articles.

THE ill supply of the Church, however, was but one out of many concurrent causes of confusion and difficulty; there were many to be found among the Reformists themselves, as little disposed to conform to the new discipline, as others were to subscribe to the Established* doctrines. Some were for doing much more than others, and reducing things below the common standard of Reformation approved by many;* or in their reductions and opposition to the ancient superstitions, were inclined to be much too precipitate and hasty. In the mean while the Reformation could scarcely be regarded as a merely national concern. Similar revolutions were on foot in Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and Scotland, and besides that, what was doing here had already attracted the attention of many learned foreigners and zealous continental Reformists. The troubles under Henry, the rigour of the Six Articles particularly, had driven many Englishmen abroad, as was the case also with regard to Scotland, through the bigoted interference of Cardinal Beaton:

* Namely, to change nothing for novelty's sake, or merely because it had been formerly used.—*Burnet.*

to the latter, England at least was thrown open again, so that many returned, but, as might be expected, more or less tinctured with the fashions they had seen abroad.

Hooper himself was one of these. Since he had thrown aside the Monk's cowl, for he was once of the Cistercian order, he had been much in Germany, and still more in Switzerland, where having married a native of Burgundy, he had lived in intimacy with *Bullinger* and *Gualter*, the son-in-law of Zuingle, a great declaimer against the Pope, and all popish superstitions: so that though Hooper, on his return to his native country on Edward's accession, met with every flattering encouragement, on account of his known learning, piety, charity, general worth, and ardent zeal for the Reformation, yet on his nomination to the Bishopric of Gloucester, he hesitated about the *habits*. Averse from retaining any thing that savoured, as he thought, of the pomps and vanities of popery, he held the newly established episcopal dresses and ceremonies, though stripped of many offensive incumbrances, to be little better than antichristian and idolatrous: he also objected to the oath of supremacy, as giving too much power to the civil magistrate in ecclesiastical matters; which was known to be also the opinion of Calvin, who is said to have declared that he was shocked when he saw the supremacy assigned to Henry VIII. As his services were much wanted, every attempt was made that reasonably could be made to overcome his scruples. Cranmer, of course, in support of the established laws, though pressed by Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and to whom Hooper was chaplain), refused to dispense with any thing absolutely required by the canons or form of consecration; and though Hooper actually obtained from the King and council, a letter discharging the Primate from all penalties incident to such a stretch of power, yet he held even the King's letter to be no proper security againsta wilful breach of the laws.

No one indeed could be more anxious than he was to place Hooper in a conspicuous situation in the Reformed Church, or induce him to comply with what the law required: to this end therefore, he called in the aid of *Ridley*, *Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*; nor was Hooper himself at all backward to submit to these learned and very respectable persons his objections to the episcopal vestments. *Ridley* conferred with him; *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* wrote long letters to him, which, being still extant, may be read at large in other places; but some of their remarks are scarcely to be passed over, as bearing upon a question, in which for many years the illustrious subject of these Memoirs was compelled to take a part; for this may be regarded as the first beginning of that severity of discipline, which, being imported from Geneva, gave for many years such trouble to the early English Reformers, as greatly to impede the quiet settlement of our excellent church.

As *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* were both foreigners, it may be well to know, that agreeing much together upon the point referred to them, they hesitated not to represent to Hooper, that "though in the Popish Church the habits might have been abused to superstitious purposes, and for that reason they could *wish* they *might* be dispensed with, yet they judged that it by no means followed, that they might not be retained in the Protestant Episcopal Church of England without any such offence. If the Papists had accounted them Apostolical, and therefore indispensably necessary and essential, it by no means prevented the Reformed Churches from regarding them rather as a human invention, and therefore indifferent, and such as might be cast aside, or conscientiously complied with, if of legal appointment. That it was going too far to condemn such indifferent things as having become impious through abuse or otherwise, since many would retain them; and in condemning them so peremptorily, offence might be given to some true Gospel Churches. That it behoved him and others to

take heed that the Church of God be not pressed with too much *servitude*, so as it may not have *liberty* to use *any thing* that belonged to the Pope. Our ancestors took the idol temples of the heathens, and used them for sacred houses to worship Christ; and the revenues which were consecrated to the Gentile Gods, and to the games of the theatre, and of the vestal virgins, were made use of for the maintenance of the ministers of the church; when these before had served not only to Antichrist but to the devil. That so far from regarding the habits as any inventions of the Pope, Hooper ought to know, that long before the tyranny of the Church of Rome, there was a distinction of garments in the Church; but even if invented by the Pope, yet '*to the clean all things are clean;*' what *they* had abused might, by a different order of men, be used to holy and godly purposes.—*Bucer* did not attempt to deny, that he was himself for a greater simplicity in such things, but that they were not of importance enough to deter Hooper from taking upon him the Episcopal charge, and conforming to the laws in so doing;* he went indeed so far as to say, that he could not venture to affirm that richness of habits might not in the eyes of the vulgar give character and consequence to the ministry, as, in civil cases, it is known to do, to the magistracy."

The opinion of these learned foreigners is of the more importance, not only because they had belonged to the same congregations abroad as Hooper, and thought with him that the vestments†

* Bucer seems to have been generally of a conciliatory disposition.—*See Mosheim*, new edit. vol. iv. 93, note (e).

† It may be seen that *Beza*, many years after, viz. 1567, though of opinion that, as connected with Popery, the habits had better have been laid aside, yet he judged them to be by no means of the order of things wicked or profane in themselves, and therefore rather to be borne with than desert the ministry, or ferment disputes.—*Strype's Life of Parker*, b. iii. ch. xvi. and *Life of Grindal*, Appendix, No. xvi. Haddon made no scruple of writing to Archbishop *Parker*, in 1566, that in his opinion, the sentiments expressed upon the subject by *Bucer* and *Peter*

savoured too much of Popery; but because another eminent foreigner, who should in all prudence have abstained from interfering, did all he could to encourage Hooper in the opposition he was making to the counsels of his other friends and the demands of the law. This was the celebrated A'Lasco, who actually wrote a book against the *Habits*, which he dedicated to the King, comparing the Romish garments and frippery to the unchaste adornments of licentious females; whom any good father would not only endeavour to bring back and reduce to a more sober course of life, but, having done so, strip them of all those meretricious ornaments which had marked their former course of life; he ventured to remind the King, that *he* stood in the light of such a father to the Church, which having rescued from the popish brothels, he should be careful to restore to it that virgin-like attire with which it was of old adorned.—We have been induced to notice this the more particularly, because the question, as agitated and discussed between Bucer and A'Lasco, at this time, was afterwards brought into a short scheme by the direction of Archbishop Parker, not for his own use only, as Strype relates, but chiefly for the use of *Cecil*, among whose papers the very scheme itself, entitled, "*Summa Controversiæ de re vestiariâ inter Bucerum et A'Lascum*," was afterwards found. It is printed at length in the Life of Archbishop Parker, b. ii. ch. xxiii. where may be seen the account of another curious paper, superscribed by *Cecil* himself, "Reasons pro ἀδιαφόροις, containing six Reasons against the ἀδιαφόρα or indifferent things, such as habits, meats, &c., with excellent answers to each by *Guest*, Bishop of *Rochester*." It will be seen when we come to the reign of Elizabeth, how much Lord Burghley had to do with these questions of ecclesiastical discipline.

That all ornament, as A'Lasco would have insinuated, was me-

Martyr, ought to carry with them sufficient authority, to satisfy the minds of all persons of common sincerity.

retricious, could scarcely fail to be a wrong conclusion, if we carry back our views to the Aaronical vestments, which were surely of God's own appointment; and though, as Hooper himself objected, we ought not to return to the priesthood of Aaron,* yet the Jewish vestments are a case in point, as to the lawfulness of ministerial habits, if not themselves abused to unholy purposes. It was good advice sent from Gregory the Great to Austin in England, by Mellitus, by no means to destroy the temples of the idols in England, but to cause the idols themselves to be broken to pieces, holy water to be sprinkled through the temples, altars to be constructed, and relics from Rome to be placed therein, that people might assemble at their accustomed places of worship, and more easily concur in the new religion. We may smile at some of the means of purification, and regret the more serious accommodations of Popery to heathen fashions and opinions, too many to be enumerated at present: but there was good sense in preserving what might rather further than impede the conversion of the multitude, and admitted of being kept from all further abuse.

* Hooper's arguments upon this head, are such as reflect no great credit on his understanding. Because Christ came to annul the Aaronical priesthood, and *hung naked on the cross*, this was no doubt done to shew, that *his* priesthood, being truth itself, no longer needed coverings and shadows. "Neque verò mysterio suo caret, quod Servator Noster Jesu Christus *nudus* in cruce pendebat. Nam *Aarvnici sacerdotes* in suo ministerio *Vestimentis* utebantur, quia sacerdotii ipsorum veritas, Christus ipse, nondum venerat; Christus vero, quando ipse esset sacrificandus, *omnibus vestibus exutis* suum ex eo sacerdotium ostendens, quod cum ipsa esset veritas, nullus jam amplius opus haberat *velaminibus* aut umbris. Ex libro MS. D. Hooperi Reg. Consiliariis ab ipso exhibito, 3 Oct. 1550." As it may be matter of curiosity to some of our readers to know, what these vestments really were which caused all this disturbance, we would observe, that the episcopal dress consisted principally of a rochet and chimere; the former being a garment of white linen, which had been worn by bishops from a very early age. The chimere is a robe worn over the rochet, and furnished with sleeves of white lawn; the rest of this vestment used to be made of scarlet silk, changed to black satin under Queen Elizabeth. The square cap was another part of the dress, and equally objected to.—See, for a farther account of these things, *Soames's History of the Reformation*, iii. 566, 567. Many Popish ornaments were discarded.

The spirit by which our early Reformers were actuated, should have secured them from much of the opposition they endured, especially with regard to the hierarchy and ceremonies. These were not new inventions. The only question was, whether or how far they were to be retained as of divine institution, or *might* be *retained*, as consonant, or, at all events, not repugnant to Scripture and the patterns of antiquity; and these were questions which depended on the decision of the rulers of the Church and State: it belonged to them to say, how far it was *necessary*, upon the principles on which they were acting, to *abolish* and *discard;* and when their own minds were made up, they ought not to have been expected to give way. These are questions which must remain constantly open to investigation as long as we have the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical history to refer to. The course of the Reformation may still be examined; but it must be known, that the hierarchy has been judged and *determined* by *competent* authorities to have a foundation in Scripture and primitive antiquity; and the ceremonies of the Church, however absurd or encumbered in time past, to be rendered harmless under the Protestant regimen. Without some to decide authoritatively on such points in particular churches, nothing but confusion can be expected to ensue; indeed, at the very time that Hooper was objecting, not only to the vestments, but to altars, Day, Bishop of Chichester, was just as earnestly contending against the removal of altars and substitution of *tables*, going to such a length in this dispute, and in resistance of the King's injunctions, as to be sent to the Fleet;* of which dispute we must digress a little to give some account, as connected with our subject; and as it may serve further to shew the prevalent disposition to question every change in contemplation.

From the Fleet, Day, according to the custom of those times, was allowed to remove to the more honourable custody of the

* Soames, iii. 569-577.

Bishop of Ely, Goodrich, Lord Chancellor, where in the year 1552, according to Strype, he held a curious conversation upon the subject with Secretary *Cecil* himself, being still under restraint, and anxious to obtain his liberty, through the Secretary's means, with whom having discussed the matter with apparent temper and moderation, the Secretary advised him to write down the communication they had together, to be shewn at court; he therefore addressed a letter to *Cecil*, soon after, to the following effect:—"That to treat of that argument could be no less unpleasant and dangerous unto him, than it would be to a merchant to sail again in those seas wherein he had suffered shipwreck before; yet he had gone about to accomplish the Secretary's will and pleasure, and had devised with himself how and what he should write of that matter; but he professed, in good truth, he could not tell what he should write therein, otherwise than he had answered to the Lords of the Council before he was committed to prison, and afterwards to the Commissioners, at the time of his deprivation, *viz.* that he sticked not at the *Altar*, either at the usual *form* of the *Altar*, or of the situation thereof, or of the matter, stone, or wood, whereof the *Altar* was made; and that he then took, as he did at present, those things to be indifferent, and to be ordered by them that had authority. But that the commandment which was given him to take down all *Altars* within his diocese, and in the lieu of them to set up a *Table*, implying in itself, as he took it, a plain abolishment of the *Altar*, both the *name* and *thing*, from the use and ministration of the Holy Communion, he could not with his conscience then execute, as he told the Lords of the Council; and what he should now answer further, he could not tell."—But herein, says Strype, *Day* seemed not fairly to relate the matter; for the Commissioners, finding him so much to insist upon retaining the name of Altar, because he found it used in the old doctors, and, as he pretended, in the Scriptures too, told him, that touching the naming of the holy table an Altar, it was in-

different, and left it so to him.—To continue the letter; Day added, "That if the *Secretary* and Sir John *Cheke* would, in consideration of the loss of his living, and two years' imprisonment, obtain for him the liberty of a subject, if he should hereafter abuse it, he would not desire to live; and he would pray for the King's Majesty, and his most honourable council, and them his deliverers; but that if his liberty must be bought with a new conflict and hazard of his conscience, he thought it better to want it than to purchase so poor a commodity at so great a price."* This Prelate, it may be observed, was not allowed to retain his bishopric; he suffered deprivation, was restored by Mary as a zealous Papist, and became an active commissioner for trying, judging, and sentencing the Protestant divines, and other professors of religion. But to return—

Hooper was for a long time inexorable, endeavouring to excite the populace to countenance his non-compliance, by addresses from the pulpits of the metropolis, calculated to move their passions, rendering himself thereby so obnoxious to the government, as to occasion his being sent to the Fleet, and when excluded from the pulpit he had recourse to the press; but at last, with some allowances, he was brought to comply; nor was his compliance at all taken amiss by those abroad, who were supposed to be friendly to the simplicity of apparel for which he had so strenuously contended. They were, on the contrary, extremely rejoiced that he *had* complied, having previously lamented, that by such a contention he should have run the risk of impeding, for one moment, the course of the Reformation in England, and given occasion to disputes and contentions very unsuitable to their hopes and expectations. After this difficulty was got over, it is scarcely necessary to observe, since we have touched upon it before, that nothing could exceed the zeal, the piety, and the personal sacri-

* Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. part ii. 58, 59.

fices with which this good man executed the offices of his episcopal and ministerial charge. We shall, in the course of this history, however, see the disciplinarian questions revived, and with much greater hindrance to the projected settlement of the Church.

Hooper, then, was at length consecrated according to the appointed forms,* in the proper Episcopal vestments; took the oath of supremacy, after some erasures made by the King himself;† and by great zeal, courage, activity, and learning, became a main instrument in the further purification of the National Church, becoming at length one of its *chief*, and, according to Foxe's dreadful account of his burning, undoubtedly one of its most *suffering* Martyrs.

But we must return to the account of his exertions in the Reformation of the Church. So soon as ever he became Bishop, and had made himself acquainted with the deplorable state of his *two* dioceses, Gloucester and Worcester, the more deplorable from the suspension of all ecclesiastical censures, penalties, and discipline whatsoever, he began, as we have already shewn, to call loudly for a set of *Articles*, to which the clergy might put their hands, receiving them as much as guides to their own understandings as to their ministry, enabling them the better to comprehend the liturgy they were henceforward to use, the English Bible they were publicly to read, and the grounds upon which they were to separate themselves from the Church of Rome.

Before we enter upon the subject of the Articles, however, it may be proper to give some account of the Liturgy, compiled and promulgated during this short reign, and, with very few alterations, in use to this day.

* He had been nominated, May 15, 1550, but was not consecrated before March 8, 1551.

† The form of the oath being "by God, by the *Saints*, and by the holy Gospels." The King, being present when Hooper objected to the terms before the council, with his own pen struck out the objectionable words, observing that no *creature* was to be appealed to in an oath. Other alterations were made, for which see *Soames's History of the Reformation*, iii. 267.

CHAP. XXV.

Measures adopted to change the Service of the Church, first by a new Communion Book, and secondly, by a Liturgy compiled from the ancient Roman forms, but freed from all idolatrous supplications—History of the Compilation and revision of it—Receives a Parliamentary sanction—Remarks on this—Dr. Comber's character of the Book.

TILL late in the reign of Henry VIII. the people at large had no means of understanding the prayers commonly used in the public worship, as they were wholly in the Latin language, and of course intelligible only to the learned; the use and the knowledge of that tongue having become much less general than was the case before the present vernacular languages of Europe had, by the mixture of Goths and Arabians, become so fixed, as to supersede the ancient Roman in most of the western parts of Europe;* but as soon as the influence and authority of the see of Rome began to be shaken, and the spirit of the Reformation had excited the attention of the more enlightened members of the Church in this kingdom, permission was obtained to remove this preposterous impediment to all true devotion, by translations from the Latin rituals of a great part of the matter which forms the foundation of the Book of Common Prayer; and (some time before the year 1535, in which was published a *second* edition)† a Book of Prayers,

* Mr. *Soames*, in his recent work on the Reformation, speaking of *Gothers'* Papist Misrepresented, in which the use of a language unintelligible to the people is vindicated, reasonably enough observes, that it might be a difficult task to shew, why the old Latin ritualists used a language which was *then* vernacular, if it was not fit at other times. The *Tenth* Century has been fixed upon as the period when the modern languages of Europe, as combined of the Latin, German (and Morisco), dialects, began to be formed.—*See Miller's Philosophy of Modern History*, vol. i. 476, &c.

† Strype's Memorials, ch. xxxi.

called "*A Goodly Primer*," (and even "The *King's* Primer," as printed *Cum privilegio regali*), was put forth, with a preface by Cuthbert Marshal, containing, as Strype says, "very sharp and severe reflections upon the popish doctrines and praying to saints;" so sharp and so severe it seems, as to have occasioned Bishop Boner afterwards, in the year 1542, to include it in his list of heretical books or writings. Besides prayers, the Primer contained an exposition of the Ten Commandments and Creed, of the Lord's Prayer; and to the second edition a Liturgy was added, with meditations on Christ's passion, and another preface against praying to saints, which no doubt rendered the book so obnoxious to Boner. The royal authority under which it was originally published, has induced Strype to suppose that *Cranmer* had no small hand in it, which was probably the case.

At the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. however, 1547, the Convocation took the matter up in a more deliberate manner, the first step being to provide, that, contrary to the practice of the Roman church, the Holy Communion of the body and blood of Christ should be administered to all persons in both kinds, the Bread and the Cup, and that the People should receive with the Priest, and not the Priest alone; thereby virtually abolishing the whole system of Private Masses: and a suitable service was accordingly framed and put forth, being printed by Grafton, in the first year of the King's reign, and called "The Communion Book;" a Committee having been specially appointed by the King to draw up a new order of Communion for public use, to be promulgated, after receiving the Royal assent, as a law of the land. And to destroy more effectually, if possible, the idea of the Holy Communion being in itself a Propitiatory Sacrifice, as the Romanists held, Tables were in most places substituted for Altars: though this did not take place quite so soon.

The same Committee, however (or such at least of the original Commissioners as chose to act, for some seceded), to whom the ordering of the new Communion service had been entrusted, were soon called to another work as necessary as the former, namely, to draw up Public Offices, not only for Sundays and holidays, in the room of the Latin Mass Book, but for Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Burial of the dead, and other special occasions; the same method being pursued as had been practised in similar cases in the last reign, every office being submitted to a select number of Bishops and other divines, that each should give answers in writing to the questions and points submitted to them; the great object being to provide one uniform mode of worship, there having hitherto been *many* liturgies or services in use, as those of *Sarum*, *York*, *Lincoln*, *Hereford*, *Bangor*, &c.; and what was worse, many, having presumed upon the liberty newly granted of praying in the vulgar tongue, had framed devotionary forms of their own, or indulged themselves in extemporaneous prayers, little to the edification or behoof of their congregations. A public and general form, therefore, became the more necessary, in order to repress irregularities, and secure an uniformity of outward worship, the object of all liturgies: and great care was taken to introduce as few changes as possible, but rather to transfer all such of the old forms and services as could by any means be considered consistent with the principles and belief of the Reformed, to the new Book of Prayer; after the pattern of our Saviour himself, who did not disdain, in the very institution of the two sacraments, to follow the rites of the Jews. And the ground of proceeding might reasonably be considered as exactly the same, since as the Jewish religion, though superseded by the Christian, was originally divine, and therefore not wholly to be discarded as a pattern and exemplar; so even the Romish, once the most uncorrupt of all the primitive Churches, might well be expected, among much superstitious and

absurd additions, to supply, in her public formularies, as was really the case, much of pure unsophisticated Christianity. We have before suggested, that the term *Reformation* does not justly set forth what was doing in the sixteenth century; the term *Restoration* would more adequately describe the endeavours of those, who, in discarding the tinsel of Romish superstitions, were seeking to restore and bring to light the solid gold, which lay hidden under the half pagan additions of Popery. Those who would wish to see what was done at this time, how the new form differed from the Mass Book, why so much was altered, and no more, may consult Dr. *Glocester Ridley's* Life of Bishop *Ridley*, book iv., and the Discourse of Ceremonies, placed at the end of King Edward the Sixth's first Book. Bingham's Antiquities also, of course, may be consulted for the ancient Liturgies. The following are considered as the most material differences between the Reformed Common Prayer and the Roman. 1. The service in the language which the people know. 2. Lessons from the Scriptures instead of legends. 3. The Scriptures orderly read through, instead of a broken and interrupted course. 4. The Creed more properly disposed. 5. The Lord's Prayer, more agreeable to Christ's appointment before reading and prayer. 6. Repeated aloud instead of secretly. 7. The Ave Mary and Commemoration of the Virgin omitted. 8. The metrical hymns rejected. 9. As also prayers for the dead. And, 10. Addresses to saints; together with the superstitious consecrating and exorcising of salt, water, bread, incense, candles, palms, leaves of flowers, grapes, fire, bells, images, altars, crosses, vessels, and garments. The commissioners had a form before them ready purged from all the idolatrous Popish supplications, by the worthy Archbishop of Cologne, *Herman*, which had already been published in English, the year before the Common Prayer Book came out.

By the efforts of the Commissioners, reduced probably to but a

few, but these decidedly the most "learned and discreet,"* the whole Liturgy was completed in only a few months, set forth by the common agreement and with the full consent of both Houses of Convocation, in the second or third year of the King's reign, and shortly afterwards confirmed by act of Parliament; at which time also, though after much debating in the House of Lords, a bill was passed to allow the Clergy to marry.

In 1550-1, some exceptions being taken to certain passages and rubrics in this first Book of Common Prayer, it was subjected to a revisal; and the opinions of *Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* being required, they suggested many alterations, particularly Bucer, though rather inconsistently with a former declaration, in which they had both joined, namely, that they found nothing in the new service but what was either taken out of the word of God, or was at the least not contrary to it, if fairly interpreted. The celebrated Scotch reformer, *Knox*, at that time one of the King's six chaplains or preachers, has the credit of one material alteration. Bucer, indeed, wrote a long comment upon the book; but after all his objections, or rather proposed amendments, had been duly considered, the book, thus revised, and in some points altered, was again confirmed in Parliament, 1551,† at which time it was declared, with reference to the former book, that "the alterations that were

* They were so styled in the act, the Archbishop being at the head. It is probable, that those who were chiefly, if not exclusively, occupied in the compilation of the "Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England," as the title ran, were, Archbishop Cranmer; Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; Holbeach, of Lincoln; Ridley, of Rochester; Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, a pious opponent of all the Romish superstitions; Dr. Taylor, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln; Haynes, who after being exposed to trouble for his adherence to the principles of the Reformation, as Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, died Dean of Exeter and Prebendary of Westminster; and Dr. Cox, Almoner to the King, Dean of Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford, and subsequently Bishop of Ely. —*See Strype's Memorials*, ii. 134. *Soames's History of the Reformation under King Edward VI.* 354—6. and *Bishop Mant's excellent Prayer Book.*

† 1549. Strype.

made in it, proceeded from *curiosity* rather than any worthy cause;" that is, they regarded things *indifferent*, as rites and ceremonies, rather than any point of doctrine.

Every precaution, indeed, seems to have been taken to prevent its being thought, on the publication of the new Prayer Book in 1551, that the first stood at all condemned by it, as contrary in any essential points to Scripture. "There is no stroke of censure," says Collier, "no charge of superstition, no blemish either with respect to doctrine or ceremonies, thrown upon it. Thus *Bucer's* and *Calvin's** animadversions are, in effect, declared frivolous and of no weight. The men, 'tis likely, meant well, but then they ventured beyond their talent, and their judgment failed them." But Collier, in this, as in other instances, goes rather too far in representing the animadversions of these learned foreigners as decidedly "frivolous and of no weight." Though some of their suggestions were not attended to, others were; and in a letter written by Peter Martyr to Bucer, from Lambeth, in the month of January, 1551, he seems to pride himself on the intimation he had received from Cranmer, that at the meeting of Bishops it was agreed that *many* things should be changed, "ut multa immutentur;" and though he professes not to know the nature or extent of such proposed alterations, yet he had evidently communicated his own thoughts to the Archbishop, being at the time his guest at Lambeth; and, in fact, most of the alterations suggested by him and Bucer seem to have been adopted, if, indeed, they had not previously occurred to the assembly of Bishops, which the author of the Life of Bishop Ridley seems to say: he adds, in the same letter, what we would rather have wished otherwise if entirely true, that Sir John

* Calvin, though not formally consulted, had put himself forward to tender his assistance, and in a letter to Cranmer, expressed so great a wish to be of any service to him, that, might his labours stand the Church in any stead, ne decem quidem maria, not ten seas should prevent his passing to England for that purpose.

Cheke had written to him from court to say, that if these alterations should not be made by the *Bishops*, the King would do it himself.*

* "Verum hoc me non parum recreat, quod mihi D. *Checus* indicavit; si noluerint ipsi efficere, ut quæ mutanda sint, mutentur, *Rex* per *seipsum* id faciet. Et cum ad Parliamentum ventum fuerit, ipse suæ *Majestatis authoritatem* interponet."—*Strype's Cranmer*, Appendix, No. lxi. If this be true, as it certainly seems to be, it must be attributed to some false notions the King had imbibed of his supremacy, though, indeed, the Bench of Bishops at that time was not such as Edward could be *generally* satisfied with; and his great objections to the Romish ritual whenever it appeared to be at variance with the revealed word of God, may well account for his earnest desire to see his own Service-book purged of all questionable forms and ceremonies. The extraordinary circumstance however is, that Peter Martyr should be, we shall not say, *non parum*, not a little, but *ever so little*, pleased, or expect Bucer to be pleased, by the promise of such an interposition; both of them being conversant with the sentiments and feelings of the Swiss reformers, who were so strongly set against any exorbitant stretch of the *Regale*. The explanation of these matters is probably to be found in Burnet. Bucer had written a book strongly in favour of ecclesiastical discipline; he presented it to the young King, who appears to have been led by it to project a general reformation of the nation, ecclesiastical as well as temporal, and he actually drew up a discourse upon the subject, to be found among his Remains.—*Burnet*, ii. part ii. p. 98. Oxford edit. It appears, however, from an examination as well of this discourse as of Bucer's book, that they both distrusted the *clergy* of *those days*, that is, the "*generality*" of the clergy, "the greatest," or "most part," as it is expressed in the papers themselves. Bucer, therefore, despaired of the renewal of any discipline without the King's *especial* interposition with the *clergy;* and the King was for purifying the Bench and the sacerdotal order, before he should commit to them *generally* such an authority as was contemplated. "But as for discipline, I would wish no authority given *generally* to *all* bishops, but that commission be given to those that be of the best sort of them, to exercise it in their dioceses." Here is nothing intimated of proceeding totally without or in despite of the bishops, but a distrust, in consequence no doubt of the circumstances of the times, of a large proportion of the existing bishops and pastors. Calvin thought the same: the Papal hierarchy he totally disclaimed, but a *purified episcopal* hierarchy he was so prepared to acknowledge, as to be ready to anathematize those who should neglect to reverence it; and he answers for others as well as himself, his words being these, as Leslie renders them: "If they would give us such an hierarchy, in which the bishops should so excel, as that they did not refuse to be subject to Christ, and to depend upon him as their only head, and refer all to him; then I will confess that they are worthy of all anathemas, if *any such shall be found*, who will not reverence it, and submit themselves to it with the utmost obedience."—*Calvin de necessitate Eccles. reformand.* Beza is another authority to the same effect: "Si qui sunt autem (quod sane mihi non facile persuaseris), qui omnem *episcoporum* ordinem rejiciant, absit ut quisquam satis sanæ mentis furoribus illorum assentiatur;" that is, "If there be any (which

The truth seems to be, that *many* judicious, if not absolutely necessary alterations were made, some certainly that were considered to be of importance, though merely as relating to forms or ceremonies, *liable to be misunderstood* or *misinterpreted* by the vulgar, to the upholding of the ancient superstitions.* Bucer, indeed, seems to have acquired great influence with the young King,† so as to have induced him to contemplate greater changes than were by others judged necessary; not affecting the hierarchy, for neither Bucer, Peter Martyr, nor even Calvin, were averse from the Episcopal Establishment in England; but as it appeared likely to reduce the bishops too much under the power of the crown, and giving thereby countenance to those who were actually opposed to the hierarchy, or fearful of falling again under an ecclesiastical tyranny, which was the case with several great men who had shared in the spoils of the Church.

you shall hardly persuade me to believe), who reject the whole order of episcopacy, God forbid that any man in his wits should assent to the madness of such men."

* Whoever wishes to be convinced of this, may see a summary of Bucer's objections and proposed alterations, in Soames's History of the Reformation under Edward VI. As things liable to misinterpretation they might deserve attention, and some seem decidedly to have been adopted, and wisely so, as in the baptismal service, the dismissal of the chrism and white habit, and the ceremony of exorcism; and yet in justice to the original compilers of King Edward's first Service Book, these were forms not derived from the Romanists in their corrupt state, but from much earlier times; and though they appear among Bucer's proposed alterations, it is not known that they were discarded solely on that account; many changes, as it is asserted, having been agreed upon before these learned foreigners were consulted. In January, 1550, it is very obvious that Bucer did not expect to be consulted at all; when, writing to a friend, he observes, "Quod memores de puritate rituum, *scito hic neminem extraneum de his rebus rogari.*" But it was Cranmer's way, and redounds greatly to his credit, to obtain the fullest information he could before he acted, especially in cases of such importance; he therefore did consult both Bucer and Peter Martyr; but the former died before things were finally settled, and many things were settled before either of them were consulted.—*See G. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley*, and *Laurence's Bampton Lectures.*

† See Art. *Bucer*, Dict. Historique, as to the young King's attention to the comforts of this learned man. In the Article it is stated that he had a greater respect for the episcopal order than Calvin: "Il respectoit plus que *Calvin* l'ordre episcopal."

It is scarcely to be credited by those who have not had opportunities of examining the documents still in existence relating to this period of history, to how great an extent Lord Burghley was made a party to all the disputes arising out of the questions regarding both doctrine and discipline, which agitated men's minds under the several sovereigns who occupied the throne during the sixteenth century. Setting aside for the present the friends and advocates of Popery, who were always struggling to resist the changes that were going forward, the Bishops continually appealed to him against the Disciplinarians, and the Disciplinarians against the Bishops, while he seems to have acted steadily with Cranmer in the work of the Liturgy, Articles, Ecclesiastical laws, and above all things, in endeavouring to supply the Churches with competent and unobjectionable Ministers, the hardest task of all; a concern which Bucer, as much as any man, shared with him, being, in reality, a zealous friend to the English church, and especially apprehensive of its failure, from a want of proper ecclesiastical discipline, and the neglect of the pastoral charge. In 1551, six of the most eminent preachers were appointed to wait on the Court by turns, two at a time; the other four being sent out as itinerant preachers into all the counties of England, to supply the defects of the ordinary incumbents, who, says Burnet, were generally very weak and faulty. There is a long letter extant among the Harleian MSS. from Calvin to the Lord Protector, on this very subject.

Having spoken of the new Liturgy, as confirmed by acts of Parliament, it may be necessary to observe, since the Papists took every opportunity of depreciating the work and the Reformation in general, by calling the so Reformed Church a *Parliamentary* Church, and the Reformed religion a *Parliamentary* religion; that though, through the interposition of Parliament, the Liturgy received a lay and civil sanction, it derived its ecclesiastical

authority solely from the consent and approbation of the Bishops and Clergy in their provincial synods, the Parliament confirming it entirely as an act of the Convocation, without an attempt at alteration, merely adding to it the sanction of the Law, to render it obligatory on the subject *in foro civili*, as an ordinance of Parliament, leaving it as a synodical decree to operate on the minds of Christians, and the professed members of the Church, as equally obligatory on them, *in foro conscientiæ*.

The completion and publication of this great National Form of worship, one of the most important acts of Edward's Reign, and which, with very few exceptions, may be said to be in use to this day, induces us, in justice to the original compilers, and because not many years afterwards it was traduced and vilified by the Papists, as "full of blasphemies and stored with errors," to transcribe the opinion of the learned Dr. Comber upon its excellencies, its great propriety, and its manifold beauties of style and language.

"Though all churches in the world," saith he, "have, and ever had forms of prayer, yet none was ever blessed with so comprehensive, so exact, and so inoffensive a composure as ours; which is so judiciously contrived, that the wisest may exercise at once their knowledge and devotion; and yet so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding: so full, that nothing is omitted which is fit to be asked in public; and so particular, that it compriseth most things which we would ask in private. Its doctrine is pure and primitive; its ceremonies so few and innocent, that most of the Christian world agree in them; its method is exact and natural; its language significant and perspicuous, most of the words and phrases being taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and the rest being the expressions of the first and purest ages; so that whoever takes exception at these, must quarrel with the language of the Holy Ghost, and fall out with the church in her purest innocence: and in the opinion of the most impartial and excellent Grotius

(who was no member of, nor had any obligation to this church), the English liturgy comes so near to the primitive pattern, that none of the reformed churches can compare with it.

"And if any thing *external* be needful to recommend that which is so glorious *within*, we may add that the compilers were [most of them] men of great piety and learning, and [several of them] either martyrs or confessors upon the restitution of Popery; which as it declares their piety, so doth the judicious digesting of these prayers evidence their learning; for therein a scholar may discern close logic, pleasing rhetoric, pure divinity, and the very marrow of the ancient doctrine and discipline, and yet all made so familiar, that the unlearned may safely say, Amen!

"Lastly, all these excellencies have obtained that universal reputation which these prayers enjoy in all the world; so that they are most deservedly admired by the Eastern churches, and had in great esteem by the most eminent Protestants beyond sea, who are the most impartial judges that can be desired. In short, this Liturgy is honoured by all but the Romanists, whose interests it opposeth, and the Dissenters, whose prejudices will not let them see its lustre. Whence it is that they call that which the Papists hate, because it is Protestant, superstitious and popish."

The last passage well sets forth the two sorts of objections advanced against the Liturgy during the progress of the Reformation; and shews how necessary it was for those who wished to place it on a firm and durable foundation to keep as much as they could a middle course,* not retaining any thing that ought de-

* To shew how difficult it was to attain to this middle course in regard to ceremonies, we may instance in the case of the Cross. Nothing had been more abused by the Romanists, than the veneration due to the cross of Christ; besides innumerable relics, which were supposed in all instances to possess a sort of magical virtue, the genuflexions and other forms prescribed to be used before it, were such as to amount to the highest degree of adoration, *Latria*. And yet there was as much danger in discarding it entirely, as in retaining it: in the latter case, it was sure to incur the charge of unexploded Popery; in the former, there were as many to

cidedly to be dismissed as vain and superstitious, yet not yielding so far to those who were for demolishing every thing that had been abused by the Romanists, as to leave the Church denuded of all its dignity and grandeur; carrying their rage for simplicity so far, as in the sight of the vulgar to sink the Ecclesiastical far below the Civil State, and without any seeming regard to the difference of times, or an advancement of civilization, seeking to trace back their steps to the very age of the Apostles in externals and things indifferent. We shall see to how great length this reducing system was carried in a subsequent reign, and the great trouble it occasioned to Lord Burghley.

cry out, that all veneration for the cross of Christ was abandoned. It was therefore preserved as a sign or symbol, and no more; as a badge of Christianity, betokening our determination to become the servants of Christ, and "manfully to fight under his banners against sin, the world, and the devil." As a sign or badge, it was at least as old as Tertullian's time, and therefore older than Popery.

CHAP. XXVI.

Articles of Religion called for as necessary to secure an uniformity of doctrine among the regularly ordained and appointed Ministers of the Church, and to preserve the people from the disturbance arising from the opinions of ignorant teachers—Cranmer and Ridley, but the former especially, most concerned in their compilation—Originally in number Forty-two, reduced ten years after to Thirty-nine—Referred by Cranmer to the special judgment and opinions of Cecil and Cheke—Remarks on the subscription required.

We now come to the Articles of Religion, so loudly called for by Bishop Hooper in his letters to Cecil,* and so necessary to give a character of uniformity to the National Church, and to mark the precise doctrines she meant to uphold and establish as in a state of separation from the Church of Rome,†

* Thus he wrote to the Secretary, July 6, 1552: "For the love of God, cause the Articles that the King's Majesty spoke of when we took our oaths, to be set forth by *his authority*. I doubt not but they shall do much good; for I will cause every minister to confess them openly before their parishioners, for subscribing them privately in the paper I perceive little availeth; for notwithstanding, they speak as evil of good faith, as ever they did before they subscribed." Bishop Hooper to Sir William Cecil, Secretary of State.—*Strype's Cranmer*, Append. No. xlviii. This was at the time when he received great interruption from the two prebendaries, Jolliffe and Johnson, before spoken of, who had refused to subscribe the Articles, or sketch of the Articles, when first submitted to them on the *King's* authority; Hooper, indeed, calls them *Regios Articulos*.—See *Laurence's Bampton Lectures*.

† "Scarcely," says Archbishop Laurence, "had the idol of Papal infallibility fallen to the ground, before every man began to make a God of his own conceit, and to deem himself infallible. The Arian derided the Enthusiast, and the Enthusiast detested the Arian; while the one extolled reason above Scripture, the other disregarded both, consulting only secret voices and internal revelations. Many remained wholly, and many only in part addicted to ancient superstitions."—*Bampton Lectures*, p. 32.

and, consequently, more or less in conformity with the other Reformed Churches of Europe; her system being so far of the eclectic kind, as readily to unite with all other Christian churches upon every point which might admit of *scriptural* proof, no other authority whatsoever being acknowledged for matters of doctrine; while at the same time no backwardness was shewn to weigh and consider every thing alleged by the learned and zealous of other countries, to the adoption of all that might be found, in their several opinions, to stand the test of Scripture, but fearlessly, and with the utmost independence, rejecting whatever should seem contrary thereto, or not called for by the peculiar exigencies of the Church of England; for it deserves to be considered, that advice, if not remonstrance, was pouring in from all parts, and that the Church of England may be judged to have stood at this time opposed, upon *some* points, not only to the Church of Rome, but to the Reformed Churches of Germany and Switzerland. Could a general meeting of the friends of the Reformation in all countries have been assembled, so as to agree upon *one* summary of Faith, and *one* standard of Orthodoxy for all, it is well known that *Cranmer*, *Melancthon*, *Calvin*, and *Edward VI.*, wished to have convened such an assembly; but there was not time for it, nor had it taken place, is it likely that the members of it could, upon all points, have been brought exactly to agree. The idea seems to have originated with *Melancthon*.*

Of those who had the chief hand in drawing up the Articles, Cranmer and Ridley have generally the credit of being the foremost; but the latter, by his own account, only as a referee, to overlook and sanction what Cranmer had composed. The former had been much pressed to undertake the task before, but is supposed to have very prudently deferred it, till men's minds should, by the agitation and discussion of particular questions, be more

* Laurence's Bampton Lectures, p. 224.

prepared to receive and sanction professed and acknowledged truths, and waiting, perhaps, to see if there might arise any prospect of such a meeting as has been spoken of. It seems to have been committed to him in the year 1551, to prepare the Articles to be submitted to the two Houses of Convocation; but it is much questioned, whether they ever were regularly submitted to that assembly at this time, as was undoubtedly the case afterwards, or only to a committee appointed by the two Houses. Yet, says Collier, "there can be no doubt they stood upon the bottom of a Convocation authority." They seem to have been ready for publication in 1552, though not actually ratified, printed, and published until the year after, when they appeared in Latin and English. It has been reasonably conjectured, that Cranmer had some hope of being able to submit them personally to Melancthon, who, on Bucer's death, in 1551, had been invited to fill his vacant theological chair at Cambridge, and that this caused the delay. In the mean while, and *previously* to their ratification in 1553, they had been recommended by the King to the Bishops, with directions to procure the Clergy to subscribe them; hence the difficulties Hooper incurred with the two prebendaries at Worcester, *Jolliffe* and *Johnson*, concerning whom the Bishop wrote to Secretary Cecil in October, 1552, his former letter in July, of the same year, pressing the publication of the Articles, by *Regal authority*, the main thing then wanting.* The Articles were originally Forty-two; reduced ten years afterwards to the present number of Thirty-nine, not merely by curtailing the three last Articles of the first set, but by omitting *four*, and making some alterations in the remainder. The exploded Articles were, in fact, the Thirty-ninth, the Fortieth,

* Laurence, 228. Strype's Cranmer, Appendix. Soames, iii. 650, 651. It appears that Cranmer put out, also, some Articles at the same time, for an uniformity of *Rites*; but what they were, even Strype's indefatigable industry was not able to ascertain.—*Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. part ii. 25.

the Forty-first, and Forty-second, all of them having reference only to some fanatical opinions prevalent at the period of the first compilation, as is evident from such expressions as occur at the beginning of them; as "They that say," &c. "They that go about to renew the fable of the Millenarii," &c. "They also are worthy of condemnation who endeavour," &c. In the Articles published and established in 1562, the Fifth, "of the Holy Ghost," is entirely new, and may therefore be held to supply the absence of the abrogated Thirty-ninth.

And here we have to remark, that after they had been submitted to certain of the Bishops, preparatory to their going before the Convocation, or such a Committee of both Houses as the preface to the Latin edition of the Articles seems to imply, "Cranmer sent them,"* says Strype, "to Sir WILLIAM CECYL and Sir John *Cheke*, the one the King's Secretary, and the other Tutor, being the *two* great *Patrons* of the *Reformation* at the Court; desiring them together to take these Articles into their serious consideration, for he well knew them to be both wise and good men, and very well seen in divine learning."†

It does not appear that they interfered upon this occasion,‡

* Sept. 19, 1552.

† Cranmer seems never to have scrupled consulting others, though supremely competent by his great learning and abilities to act upon his own judgment. Thus, in regard to the Articles, both Ridley and Latimer, who dwelt under his hospitable roof at the time, were probably made parties to the undertaking, having thereby, with some, obtained the credit of being joint authors or compilers of them, which, however, was not the case. [See Archbishop Laurence's Second Bampton Lecture.] Indeed, how much Cranmer himself followed the German Protestants' Confession of Augsburgh, as Archbishop Parker afterwards did that of Wittenberg, is amply shewn by the same learned writer. The 2d, 5th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 20th Articles being nearly word for word the same as the latter, and only elucidatory of those promulgated by Cranmer. The Wittenberg Confession was exhibited in the Council of Trent, the very year when our own Articles were completely arranged by Cranmer; it professed to be little more than a repetition of the Augsburgh Confession; at all events, in perfect conformity to it.

‡ "So thoroughly," says Soames, "did Cranmer confide in the learning and judgment of his two excellent friends, that in case they should approve of what he had written, he wished

and before the Articles were formally submitted to the two Houses of Convocation in 1562, Sir John Cheke was dead; but Sir William Cecil was living in great power; we may therefore, perhaps, be allowed to anticipate matters so far as to observe, that no Article, subsequently to King Edward's time, was so materially altered as the original Thirty-seventh, and which treats "of the Civil Magistrate;" at which time the objectionable title of "Supreme Head of the Church" was gotten rid of, and softened down to the much more reasonable and much less objectionable prerogative of "ruling all estates committed to their charge by God, whether ecclesiastical or temporal, and restraining with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers."

There are two ways of considering these Articles; the one positive, the other negative. Under the first they may be looked upon as containing the determinate, certain, and unalterable tenets of the Church of England, as founded on the word of God. Under the second manner of considering them, we may have respect merely to the errors denounced and exploded by them, there not being perhaps so much as one clause or passage in the whole set of Articles which may not be shewn to be opposed to some heresy or error prevalent at various times amongst the adversaries of the truth.

It would be as endless, perhaps, to attempt to enumerate all the sects discountenanced, if not absolutely refuted by these Articles, as it has been found easy to adduce texts of Scripture corroborative of every doctrine they contain. There is still, indeed, a third way of considering them, namely, as they may be found to agree

them to lay it at once before the King. They did not, however, choose to undertake this office, and therefore waited till the Archbishop himself came to court, by whom they were formally presented to the Sovereign." Here then we may reasonably remark upon the high compliment paid to the judgment of these two very eminent laymen, as well as upon the becoming deference they both seem to have shewn to the more regular Ecclesiastical authority of the Primate. —See also *Strype's Cranmer*, chap. xxvii. anno 1552.

with the confessions and creeds of other churches, the ancient fathers and apologists, the decrees of councils, and the opinions of learned divines.* If all these things be fairly taken into account, as they should be, the labour, care, and attention of the original compiler will appear to have been most extraordinary, especially at a time when prejudice and a contrariety of opinions throughout Europe must, at every turn, have interfered and interposed obstacles of no trifling nature; but that Cranmer alone was quite equal to the drawing up the Articles upon this very comprehensive but cautious plan, at once oppugning all false doctrines wherever or whenever prevalent, and adopting all the true doctrines to be found in the decrees of councils and public confessions of other reformed churches, may be judged from the encomium of his learned contemporary, Peter Martyr, speaking of his celebrated work on the Sacrament against Gardiner, declaring, that "there was none of the Fathers which he had not noted: no ancient or modern book extant that he [*Martyr*] had not with his own eyes seen noted by

* What is above asserted of the Articles, was afterwards exemplified by a learned and diligent inquirer (*Rogers*), in King James's days, who published a book, which he dedicated to Archbishop Bancroft, in the year 1607, with the following title; "The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion professed and protected in the realm of England and Dominions of the same, expressed in Thirty-nine Articles, concordably agreed upon by the Reverend *Bishops* and *Clergy* of this Kingdom, at two several meetings or convocations of theirs, in the years of our Lord, 1562 and 1604; the said *Articles* analized into *propositions*, proved to be agreeable both to the written Word of God, and to the extant *confessions* of all the neighbour churches *Christianly reformed*. The adversaries also of note and name, which from the *Apostles'* days, and *primitive church* hitherto, have crossed or contradicted the said *Articles* in general, or any particle or *proposition* arising from any of them in particular, hereby are discovered, laid open, and confuted." It may be fairly asserted that the book itself answers to this *long* title; and in a very curious manner, after dividing every article into *distinct propositions*, First, shews their agreement with the *word of God* by references to *Scripture*. Secondly, Their conformity to, and agreement with the public confessions of other *Reformed* churches, as *Augsburgh*, *Helvetia*, *Bohemia*, *France*, *Flanders*, and *Wittenberg*. And lastly, the errors and adversaries to the truth in *all ages*, which they oppose and confute, or may be held to do. The book was printed at *Cambridge*, and in the title-page, is stated to have been "perused, and by the lawful authority of the Church of *England* allowed to be publick."

the Archbishop's hand. Whatsoever belonged to the whole controversy, he said, that the Archbishop had digested into particular chapters, councils, canons, Popes' decrees, pertaining hereunto; and that with so great labour, that unless he had been an eye-witness of it, and had seen it, he could not easily have believed others, if they had told him, in regard of the infinite toil, diligence, and exactness wherewith the Archbishop had done it."*

Before we quit this part of our subject, it may not be amiss to observe, that great mistakes seem to have prevailed in regard to the subscription required. The Sixth Article specifies the terms upon which the whole were to be received or rejected as Articles of *Faith*. Subscription, therefore, on the part of those who were to be licensed as public teachers, could not but imply a comparison of the Articles with the standard of truth. Those who subscribed without looking to the Scriptures, must have done it at their own peril; but an implicit belief, without examination, could not possibly be in the contemplation of the framers of the Articles, as long as the SIXTH Article occupied the place it does. The object of the compilation is duly set forth in the title: "For the avoiding diversities of opinions, and for the establishing consent touching true religion;" that is, not by compelling a belief, but by claiming it as the proper fruit of a laborious undertaking for the behoof of the unlearned, in setting forth such doctrines, and such doctrines only, as the compilers, on the strength of their own learning and judgment, did conscientiously believe to be "requisite and necessary to" every man's "salvation," as, undoubtedly, either "to be read in Holy Scripture, or proved thereby."

And we might surely ask, how can any *unity* of *doctrine* be maintained in a Religious *society*, but by requiring of those who may be appointed to *teach*, an acknowledgment of their assent to some fundamental points as established truths, which are to *be*

* Strype's Cranmer, i. 369.

*taught?** or how, indeed, could any society exist as a *distinct* body which is regulated by no *governing principles?* Hence we may see the reasonableness of exacting subscription from ministers, which

* Ever since the separation of our Church from that of Rome, a jealousy has been evinced of all creeds, articles, tests, but especially, acts of *uniformity*, as restraints upon the very freedom of private judgment, which the Reformation professed, or was thought to profess, to restore. It should be considered that there is always a very large proportion of the community, who stand in *need* of being *taught*. This proportion may of late years have *appeared* to some to be rapidly decreasing; but at the period of the Reformation, at all events, there can be no doubt but that it must have constituted a very large majority of the population. These were to be taken out of the *hands*, and from under the uncontrollable power and authority of corrupt teachers. The aim of the compilers of our Liturgy, Articles, &c. was to produce, for the better teaching of the ignorant multitude, a set of forms and doctrines, not only more conformable, but as conformable to the Holy Scriptures, as they in their wisdom and the integrity of their consciences could produce. Being so compiled and prepared, it was an act of *charity* to give it every sanction it could receive; first, for the better teaching of the community at large; and secondly, for the guarding the ignorant from the multifarious errors of contending sectarists; and the case remains the same to this day. The Church Articles and the Liturgy constitute the provision made for the unlearned population, founded on a careful examination of the Scriptures, by the wise, learned, and conscientious of past times. None are precluded from going again into the comparison between these forms and the Holy Scriptures; those who are publicly authorized to *teach* in the Established Church, are bound by them, after an acknowledged assent; and though the act of Toleration has given great civil or temporal security to those who read the Scriptures differently, and do not therefore conform to the Established Church, the case stands upon the same footing. In every parish church, the ignorant *may* be *instructed; may* hear the *Scriptures read; may* be *enabled* to pray for all things requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul. If they will not avail themselves of this provision made for them, they may with impunity, as to all temporal penalties, go to be taught elsewhere, but as regards their consciences, and the good of their souls, it must be at their own *peril*. First, they *ought* to be *sure* that what has the stamp of authentic doctrine, put upon it by the united wisdom of the National Church and the Legislature of the Realm, is *absolutely wrong;* and secondly, that in quitting or turning away from the Established Church, they choose, amidst an immense variety of *discordant* sects, that which is infallibly right. Could it be rendered consistent with the freedom of Englishmen and the spirit of Protestantism, peremptorily to establish not one *rule* of faith (for that *is* established), but *one* construction only of that rule, it must be admitted, that in the room of the many differences and dissensions which have arisen amongst us, uniformity would be a blessing. The Established Church still displays the standard of such uniformity, willing to take the responsibility of sound doctrine upon herself; it needed not to be insisted upon, that *out* of the Established Church there is *no uniformity* either of *doctrine* or *discipline*. What then is the case? the Church urges uniformity upon the

was now first enjoined at the special will of the pious young Sovereign, thereby precluding all objections by the plain and simple alternative of *not* subscribing where any doubts prevailed; a matter entirely of private judgment upon the qualification required, as still continued. If any should question what is here affirmed, we would refer them to King Edward's own letter to Bishop Ridley, inserted in Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, book ii. chap. xxii., where it will be seen upon what terms subscription was to be required. The passage is of great importance:

"And further, we will and exhort, that when and as often as ye shall have any manner of person presented to you, to be advanced by you, as the *Ordinary*, to any *Ecclesiastical order*, *Ministry*, *Office*, or *Cure* within your diocese, ye shall, before ye admit him, *confer with him* in every these Articles; and *finding him thereto consenting*, to cause him to subscribe the same in one ledger-book, to be formed for that purpose; which may remain as a register for a record; and to let him have a *copy* of the *same Articles*. And if any man in that case shall *refuse* to consent to any of the said Articles, and to *subscribe* the same, then we will and command you, that neither you, nor any for you, or by your procurancy in any wise, shall *admit* him, or allow him, as sufficient and meet to take any *Orders*,

belief that hers is the system, which the most pious and learned of former days prepared for the special instruction and behoof of the unlearned and ignorant, in things pertaining to their eternal salvation; other teachers start up, not less earnest for an uniformity upon *their own* terms, but upon *no other;* hence as the teachers, rejecting the real standard of orthodoxy and uniformity, differ from each other, just so far are the people in danger of being split into parties; their very differences shewing, that as all cannot be right, all seceders from the National Church *may* be wrong. One only can be right, and why not, amongst such discordancies, the National Church? "The church of England," as a wise man has said, "is not in religion changed, or variable like the moon, nor affecteth novelty, or new lessons, but holdeth stedfastly and conscionably that truth which was restored by the martyrs and ministers of old, and is grounded upon God's written word, the only foundation of our faith; and so our *Churches* intention in her publick *doctrine* and *articles* revealed, being good at the first, it is so still."

Ministry, or *Ecclesiastical Cure*; for which so doing we shall discharge you from all manner of penalties or danger of actions, suits, or pleas of *præmunire*, *quare impedit*, or such like. And yet our meaning is, that if any party *refuse* to *subscribe* any of the Articles for *lack* of *learning*, or *knowledge* of the *truth* thereof, ye shall in any wise by *teaching*, *conference*, and *proof* of the same by the *Scriptures*, reasonably and discreetly move and persuade him thereto, before ye shall *peremptorily judge* him as *unable* and a *recusant*; and for the trial of his *Conformity*, ye shall, according to your discretion, prefix him a *time* and *space* convenient to *deliberate*, and give his consent; so it be betwixt three weeks and six weeks from the time of his first access unto you; and if after six weeks he will not consent and agree *willingly* to subscribe, then ye may, and lawfully shall in any wise refuse to *admit* or *enable* him."

These Regal Instructions are of the more importance, because when Cranmer in the subsequent reign fell into trouble, he was charged at Oxford with having *compelled* many against their wills to subscribe the Articles. His answer, though well known, deserves to be repeated; "I exhorted such as were *willing* to subscribe, but against their *wills* I compelled none."

CHAP. XXVII.

The King's Progress or Excursion, and the probable design of it—Cranmer and Cecil watchful to prevent its producing any bad consequences to the Church—Their Correspondence upon this subject—Great complaints of the want of sufficient and competent Ministers, and of the abuses common in such appointments.

BEFORE we quit the affairs of the Church, we must advert to what took place just before the last and fatal illness of the amiable Sovereign, who for so very few years occupied the English throne.

In 1552, after the execution of the Duke of Somerset, and to divert, as it is thought, the mind of his royal nephew from any unpleasant or suspicious reflections on his uncle's sad fate, which he is said in secret to have greatly deplored, Northumberland engaged the King in a splendid progress or excursion, so splendid in design, that at first, as Sir John Hayward states, his company and retinue amounted to four thousand persons, Mr. Secretary *Cecil* being one of the court appointed to attend upon his Majesty. Of this excursion it is necessary to give some account.

The King began his Progress in the month of June, and was out till the 26th of September. Poole in Dorsetshire was at first assigned as the limits of his journey, to return by Salisbury to Hampton Court. As a great mark of royalty, even the heralds were made to attend upon him. So little forethought seems to have been employed upon the occasion, that his first enormous retinue of four thousand was quickly reduced to one hundred and fifty, through the failure of *forage* for the *horses*. The King partook of many recreations, particularly hunting; and sometimes he rode in

be expended besides, to the amount indeed of ten thousand pounds, all which had been considered beforehand, and sent down to be ready for such purposes. Still his absence, at so particular a time, was much noticed, and so misrepresented, as to lead to the punishment of some of the offenders. One thing is very remarkable in regard to this journey: it was at this very time that information was sent to the four counsellors, who were travelling, of the peculations that had been discovered in the official accounts of *Beaumont*, Master of the Rolls, and the Lord *Paget*, Chancellor of the Duchy; of the surrender of their offices, goods, and lands; upon which intelligence, it seems, the *three lords* began immediately to cater for each other, by procuring the forfeited estates to be divided between them; *Northumberland* and *Pembroke* soliciting to have some made over to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, while *he* did the like for *them;* but the Secretary seems to have had no part given to him, or to have asked for any.*

In the course of this extraordinary excursion, Sir William seems to have paid attention to the interests of the Church, in a way that no one else probably could so well have done. By keeping up a pretty close and constant correspondence with his friend the Archbishop, he became, in some instances, a match for those who bore an ill-will, as it would appear, both towards the Archbishop and the Church. He was in the way of observing that certain persons,† having the ear of the King, and being bent on the further plunder of Church property, were busy to instil into the King's mind an idea that the Bishops were too rich; that they neglected the hospitality incumbent on persons in their rank and station, and through covetousness, were heaping up to themselves riches far beyond their wants

* See Strype's Memorials, ii. part ii. 45.

† *Sleidan*, the German historian, who knew much of what was passing in England at this time, writes as follows: "After the death of the Duke of Somerset, Northumberland brought in new Bedchamber-men about the King, and amongst these his own sons and relations."

armour. Indeed it is said, that during the whole interval between the condemnation and death of his uncle, the King had been entertained by the nobles of the Court, with "stately masques, brave challenges at tilt, and at barriers, and whatsoever exercises or disports they could conjecture to be pleasing to him. There also he first began to *keep hall*, and the Christmas time was passed over with banquetings, plays, and much variety of mirth."*

Northumberland himself went into the North when the King began his Progress, which was thought very strange; but being Lord Warden of the Marches, and many disorders prevailing there, he had probably occasion to go. Cecil accompanied him, as it appears; for on the 19th of June, 1552, a letter was addressed to the Privy Council, from which we learn that the Duke of Northumberland, the Earls of Pembroke and Huntingdon, and the Secretary himself, were at Burghley; the letter signed by all the four, being dated "from *Master Cecill's* house at Bourleigh, besides Stamford." And yet it appears from his correspondence with the Archbishop, that in July, *Cecil* was certainly with the King. Northumberland's journey undoubtedly appears to have been a journey of business, and very important business, exactly such business indeed as might require the judgment and advice of the Secretary; for it was to put that most vulnerable part of the kingdom, the marches or borders towards Scotland, with Berwick, into a better posture of defence; and to receive back to their obedience, upon the royal pardon, certain outlaws who were prepared to throw themselves upon the King's mercy. A great sum of money was to

* See Hayward; and, for *Keeping hall*, of the *Lord* of *Misrule* appointed to see to the "merry disports" of Christmas, and of the celebrated *George Ferrers*, Master of the King's Pastimes, Aikin's Court of Queen Elizabeth, vol. i., and Thomson's Memoirs of the Court of Henry VIII. vol. i. 175. Of the King's military exercises and musters, an account may be seen in Strype's Memorials, ii. 584, and in his own Journal.

and necessities. *Cecil*, seeing into their designs, and, as Strype says, "being ever a very great favourer as of the Reformed Clergy, so of their estates and honours," lost no time in communicating to Cranmer a correct statement of what he saw, being anxious to prepare himself by the answer he might expect to receive from the Archbishop, to invalidate all false reports of the nature described. Cranmer was careful to reply to him very shortly, thanking him for his friendly hints and information, and assuring him that so far from any superabundance of wealth, he had scarcely sufficient to answer the demands daily made upon him; and that with one exception only, he knew no Bishop that might be called at all rich. As the letter happens to be a short one, it may not be amiss to transcribe it:

"To my lovyng Frende, Sir William *Cycil*, one of the Kyng's Majesties principal Secretaries.

"After my most harty commendations and thanks, as wel for your gentyl letters as for the copy of the *Pacification*, and for your good remembrance of the two matters, which I desiered you not to forget, the one concernynge the B. of Colen's* Letters, and the other, Mr. Mowse: for whom eftsonnes I gyve you my most harty thanks.

"As for your *admonition*, I take it most thankfully, as I have ever been most glad to bee admonished by my frendes, accomptynge no man so folish as he that wil not heare frendly admonishments. But as for the saying of St. Paul, *Qui volunt ditescere, incident in tentationem*, I feare it not halfe so moche as I do starke beggery. For I toke not halfe so moche care for my lyvynge when I was a scholer of Cambridge, as I do at this present; for altho' I have now moch more revenewe, yet I have moch more to do withal; and have more care to lyve now as an Archbuschope than I had at that tyme to lyve as a scholer. I have not so moch as I had within

* He means *Herman*, the excellent Archbishop of Cologne.

tenne yeares passed by CLl. of certen rent, beside casualties. I pay duble for every thynge that I bye. If a good auditor have this accoumpt, he shal fynde no grete surplusage to waxe rich upon.

"And if I knew any B. that were covetous, I wolde surely admonyshe hym, but I knowe none; but al beggers, except it be one, and yet I dare wel say hee is not veray rich. If you know any, I besech you to advertise me, for peradventure I may advertise hym bettre than you. To be shorte, I am not so doted to set my mynde upon thynges here, which neither I can cary with me, nor tary longe with them. If tyme wolde have served, I wolde have written of other thynges unto you, but your servant makynge hast compelleth me heare to cut of the threde; besechynge Almighty God to preserve the Kinges Majestie, with al his councel and familie, and send hym wel to returne from his progresse. From my manor of Croydon the xxij of July.

"Your own ever, T. CANT."*

The anxiety expressed by the Archbishop towards the close of his letter, for the "Kynge, his councel, and familie," has been supposed to indicate some suspicion and apprehension that they might not return very safely from the Progress undertaken. Other passages in former letters have been judged to have had the same bearing; "as though his mind," says Strype, "had prophetically presaged some evil to befal the King, &c. in that Progress; and, indeed," he adds, "it was the last Progress that ever he made." He had but recently recovered both from the measles and smallpox; and early upon his tour, as Hayward states, complained of a

* Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. lxvii. Strype thinks the Archbishop was offended by the Secretary's letter, and that in truth, the latter might think some of the charges against the Bishops to be true. But *Cecil*, of all people, must so well have known the extent of the worthy Archbishop's hospitality, especially to foreign refugees, as scarcely to suppose he had too much; it is more probable, that he *so* wrote to the Archbishop purposely to procure such an exculpatory answer, as might be shewn the King, and prevent his giving too easy credit to false reports.

continual infirmity of body, rather an indisposition of health than any set sickness.

The Archbishop being thus by constraint, as it were, separated from the King,* began to be concerned, lest from his not being at hand to recommend fit persons to him upon any vacancies to be supplied in the Church, they might be filled up by unworthy or disaffected persons; and having communicated his fears and apprehensions to the *Secretary*, the latter, in order to be prepared against any such accidents, wrote to *Cranmer* (the only thing he could do), desiring to be furnished with such a list of worthy and proper persons as might enable him to interpose in time; "to be ready," says *Strype*, "at the least warning, to recommend fitting and worthy men to supply such vacancies, and to prevent any motion that might be made by any courtiers or simonists for ignorant persons or corrupt in religion." During the King's Progress, indeed, the primacy of Ireland became an object of great attention; to fill which important station, particular application was made by the Secretary to Cranmer, to recommend proper persons. Five were named accordingly by the Archbishop; choice was first made of *William Turner*, but he declining so great a charge, *Hugh Goodacre*, "a wise and learned man," as the Archbishop called him, finally obtained it, through the care of *Cecil*.

Bishop Ridley appears to have been under a like anxiety about Church appointments in the same year. Grindal, afterwards Bishop of London, and successively Archbishop of York and Canterbury, a great friend of Sir William, had been nominated to a Bishopric in the north, in the month of November, 1552, which rejoiced Ridley much, who was well convinced of his fitness for it; but as a Prebendal stall† was expected to become vacant by his advancement,

* It has been supposed, that Northumberland had it particularly in view, to remove the King as much as possible out of Cranmer's way.

† It is difficult to judge whether it was a Prebend of Westminster or of St. Paul's, from *Strype's Grindal*, Oxford edition, pp. 12. 14. In the former page it is said to be a Prebend of

Ridley wrote to Sir William *Cecil* (as well as to Sir John Gates, Vice-Chamberlain), as "men of great interest with the King," to endeavour, through their interposition, to get leave to bestow the Prebend, "fearing some courtier might obtain it of the King for some unworthy or unfit person;" beseeching them therefore, for God's sake, to be so good unto the See of London, which, as he said, was *the spectacle of all England*, as to be petitioners for him in God's cause unto the King. Ridley named also five persons to their choice, *Bradford* (afterwards the martyr), "*whom, in my conscience,*" wrote the Bishop, "*I judge more worthy to be a Bishop than many of us who be Bishops already, to be parish priests,*" *Sampson, Harvey, Grimold,* and *Dr. Lancelot Ridley*, all preachers. It was supposed that the northern Bishopric designed for Grindal was a portion of the See of Durham, intended to be divided on the death of Tonstal.

"But all this," to proceed with Strype, "came to nothing, there being then a great topping courtier *(Northumberland)*, that put an end to this pious purpose of supplying those parts, where ignorance and superstition most prevail, with *two* Bishops; for by his sway he got the *whole Bishopric* dissolved, and settled as a tempora estate upon himself." Upon Edward's death, Grindal was one of those who fled abroad, in company with Sir William's two relations by his two marriages, Sir John *Cheke* and Sir Anthony *Cooke*. They all retired to Strasburgh.

If ever, indeed, there were a time when the friends of true religion, or persons anxious to uphold the credit of the Reformation,

Westminster that the King had given him, and which was true: in the latter it is observed, "so we leave Grindal still in possession of his Prebend of St. Paul's." It was, in fact, the Chauntership of St. Paul's.—*See Lansdown MSS.* No. ii. 104. It may be observed that this was the second interference of Bishop Ridley to the same purpose, and through much the same channels; he having written, in 1551, to Sir John Cheke to prevent the alienation of a stall, desiring him, if he could not speak himself about it, to let "his letter speak to Mr. Gates, Mr. Wrothe, and Mr. *Cecill*," all whom he takes for men that fear God.—*Biographia Britannica*, Art. *Bradford.*

had need to bestir themselves to have fit persons put into the responsible offices of the Church, it was now. The alienation of the Church property, and its falling so much into lay hands, had the effect, as might well be expected, of leaving the *vicarages* at all events very ill supplied, and, in many cases, worse so than even before the Reformation; and so far from tending to correct abuses, was the very means of increasing them. One Brinklow, a London merchant, whom Hollinshed puts in his list of learned writers of those times, deploring these effects of the plunder of the Church, observes, "It was amisse that Monkes should have Parsonages in their hands, and deal but the twentieth part thereof to the poor, and preached but once in the year to them that paid the tithes of the parsonages. It was amisse that they scarcely among the twenty sat not one sufficient vicar to preach for the tithes that they received: But see now how that was amisse is amended for all the godly pretense. It is amended even as the devil amended his dames legge (as it is in the proverb); when he should have set it right, he brake it quite in pieces. The Monkes gave too little almes, and sat unable persons many times in their benefices: but now where twenty pounds was given yearly to the poor, in more than an hundred places in England, is not one meals meat given; this is a fair amendment! Where they had always one or other vicar, that either preached or hired some to preach; now there is no vicar at all, but the farmer is Vicar and Parson altogether; and only an old cast-away Monk or Friar, which can scarcely say his mattins, is hired for xx or xxx shillings, meat and drink, nay, in some places, for meat and drink alone, without any wages; I know, and not I alone, but twenty thousand more know, more than five hundred Vicarages and Parsonages thus well and *gospelly* served after the *new gospel* of England."

Such, no doubt, were the evils attendant upon the transfer of property at the period of the Reformation, on which it brought

a stigma, which the worthy Archbishop and his friend the Secretary appear to have been equally desirous of removing: the King himself does certainly appear to have been too much implicated in the plunder that was going forward. Though friendly to the Reformation, he was in no manner indisposed to curtail the revenues of the Bishops; Camden even complains, that in his *(Edward's)* reign, notwithstanding all the encomiums bestowed upon him, "avarice and sacrilege had strangely the ascendant;" evidently alluding to the plunder of the Church property, in which none were more concerned than his two immediate counsellors, *Somerset* and *Northumberland*, as has before, more than once, been remarked.

That Cecil himself obtained grants of Church property cannot be denied; but that he was not so rapacious as others, may justly be affirmed; and that more has been laid to his charge upon this score than is consistent with truth, we shall have occasion to shew hereafter: at present it may be sufficient to cite a passage from a work of no small reputation, in which, after particularly describing the great favour shewn to Cecil by the King, admitting him, as he says, into his "inmost confidence, yet," the author adds, "it does not appear that he employed his great ascendancy over the young prince to procure any extravagant grants, after the example that had been set by Somerset, Northumberland, and other courtiers."*

That the King was *beguiled* into this unworthy bestowing of the Church lands,† is strongly set forth by an eminent preacher of

* Macdiarmid's Lives of British Statesmen.

† Two excuses may reasonably be made for Edward's facility upon these points. The Bench of Bishops was not yet so purified from the leaven of Popery, as to be proof against the attacks of hungry Courtiers, greedy of ecclesiastical prey, and prepared to instil into the young King's mind, suspicions that the wealth or revenues, in general, of the Clergy were ill-gotten, and derived to them through improper channels. Secondly, that in the preceding reign it had been, on Cromwell's advice, adopted as a systematic piece of policy, to attach the laity to the

those days; Lever, of St. John's College, Cambridge, who, like Brinklow already cited, after declaiming largely against the misuse of the revenues of the dissolved Chantries and Monasteries, and the evil of exchanges for impropriations, "contrary to God's word and the King's laws," thus speaks of the neglect of livings particularly. "Those Parsonages that be most in number and greatest in value throughout all England, be not now shepherd's houses to lay up fodder to feed the poor sheep of the parish, but thievish dens to convey away great spoils from all the rich of the parish. There is no person there to relieve the poor and needy with natural sustenance, in keeping of house, and to feed all in general with the heavenly food of God's word by preaching. But there is a parson's* deputy, or farmer; which having neither ability, power, nor authority to do the parson's duty, in feeding and teaching the parish, is able, sufficient, and stout enough to challenge, and take for his master's duty the tenth part of all the parish."—"Now, my Lords, both of the laity and clergy, in the name of God, I advertise you to take heed. For when the Lord of Lords shall see the flock scattered, spilt, and lost, if he follow the trace of the blood, it will lead him even straightway unto *this Court*,† and unto *their* houses; whereas these great thieves, which murder, spoil, and destroy the flocks of Christ, be received,

cause of the Reformation, beyond all chance of the restoration of monkery, if not of Popery in general, by such grants as they must in the nature of things be eager to acquire, and having *acquired*, to *retain*. "It was the prudence of that time," says Lloyd, "to interest the nobility in the Papal *revenues*, that so they might be engaged against the *authority*."—*State Worthies*, i. 223. Most undoubtedly much of the conventual wealth was derived merely from the grossly superstitious prejudices of benefactors; as in the case of Glastonbury and Shaftesbury, the accumulated revenues of which two institutions were such, as to occasion the old saying, that "if the Abbot of Glastonbury might marry the Abbess of Shaftesbury, their heir would have more land than the King of England."

* He means the appropriate or impropriate owner of Rectorial Tithes, by the term *Parson* in this passage.

† Preached before the King and court on the third Sunday in Lent, anno 1550.

kept, and maintained. Your chaplains, your servants, and you yourselves, have the parson's, the shepherd's, and the officer's wages; and neither you, nor they, nor others, do the parson's, the shepherd's, or the officer's duty; except peradventure ye imagine that there is a parish-priest curate which doth the parson's duty.—Yes forsooth, he ministereth God's Sacraments, he saith the Service, he readeth the Homilies, as you find flattering courtiers, which speak by imagination, term it; but the rude lobs of the country, which be too simple to speak a lie, speak foully and truly as they find it, and say, he 'minisheth God's Sacraments, he slubbereth up his Service, and he cannot read the *Humbles*.—'"*

* In the very year in which this Sermon was preached, Justin Martyr, in a letter from Oxford, thus bewails the paucity of useful and sufficient preachers: "Doleo plus quam dici possit, tanta ubique in Anglia Verbi Dei penuria laborari; et eos qui oves Christi doctrinâ pascere tenentur, cum usque eo remisse agant, ut officium facere prorsus recusent, nescio quo flatu, quibusve lacrymis deplorari possit. Verum confido fore ut meliora simus visuri."

CHAP. XXVIII.

Abuses springing out of Appropriations and Impropriations of Ecclesiastical Benefices—The Secretary very earnest to procure competent persons to be preferred—His great attentions to Cranmer—Account of Herman, Archbishop and Elector of Cologne—Illness of the King—Northumberland's projects.

SUCH were undoubtedly the mischiefs arising from Appropriations and Impropriations of benefices in the early days of the Reformation,* bringing disgrace on the cause, and greatly aggravating the disorders naturally incident to so great a revolution. In the very year in which the King's last Progress took place by the contrivance, no doubt, of Northumberland, the famous Bernard Gilpin, in a sermon preached also *at Court*, though scarcely to be said *before the Court*, the King and nobles being strangely absent, openly advised, that surveyors should straightly be sent forth by the King to "see how benefices were bestowed and used."—"That he should find but a small number of patrons that bestowed rightly their livings."—"For that it was almost general to observe of every one of them, his farming of them to himself or his friends, and to appoint the rent at his own pleasure; but worse than all this, a great number never farmed them at all, but kept them as their own lands, and gave some three-halfpenny priest, as curate's wages, 9*l.* or 10*l.* They began first with parsonages, and seemed to have some conscience towards vicarages;

* See also Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. ii. part i. 47—49. and Soames, in the eighth chapter of whose valuable work, under the year 1538, is much to the purpose.

but now their hearts were so hardened, all is fish that comes to the net."

Much more to the same effect may be seen in Strype's Memorials, whence I have taken the above extracts; and the whole may serve to shew, of how great importance the interposition of the Archbishop and Secretary must at such a time have been; and that the latter, during the Progress, paid due attention to the recommendations of the Archbishop, may be seen in the particular case of Dr. Mowse, made by his means Master of Trinity Hall in Cambridge, with other preferment; and though he afterwards proved an unworthy object, (for who could guard against apostates?) yet the letter he wrote to Sir William in requital of his patronage, addressed, "*Ornatissimo Equiti Gulielmo Cecillio, Regio Secretario,*" sufficiently bespeaks Sir William's great care and attention to prefer such as were judged to be deserving; for after recounting his great obligations to the Archbishop and to Sir John Cheke, he writes, "Sed de TUA benevolentiâ quid dicam, quâ omnes meas fortunas et amicorum studia complexus es? nam quod illi mihi cupiebant, id TU SOLUS, RELUCTANTIBUS INIMICIS, confecisti. Quare sicut in beneficio conferendo princeps fuisti, ita et ego illud totum tibi præcipuè acceptum referre deberem."

This is a remarkable passage, shewing how regardless, even of obstacles, Sir William was, in thus patronising those whom the firmest friends of the Reformation wished to see served. The letter is dated from Cambridge. And as this happened while the Secretary was attending upon the King in the memorable Progress, which brought such dire suspicions on the designs of Northumberland and his family, and other attendant courtiers, it may help to shew how little the Secretary himself deserves to be considered as one of the *subservient* ministers of the ruling faction.*

* In September of this year, he had another opportunity of serving a very worthy and able man, on the recommendation of Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, then Chancellor. This was Im-

Indeed, he seems to have felt no small uneasiness in his connexion with the Court at this time, seeing the danger in which his friends stood, who were at all backward to comply with what was passing, as the only alternative; his anxiety upon such occasions induced him to run the risk of apprising them occasionally of their danger. Thus, after the letter to the Archbishop already spoken of, informing him of the charge of covetousness with which the Bishops in general, but himself in particular, was assailed, and which Cranmer took so kindly, "when at another time," says Strype, "the same *Cecyl* (who would always take the liberty to speak his mind to his friends whensoever he thought they wanted counsel) had signified to him the hazard he incurred in not shewing more compliance towards the Duke of Northumberland, who now swayed all, and then apologizing for his boldness, Cranmer was so far from taking this ill, that he returned him his hearty thanks for his friendly letter and advertisements; desiring him to be assured that he took the same in such good part, and to proceed of such a friendly mind, as he ever looked for at his hands, and whereof he would not be unmindful, if occasion hereafter served, to requite the same." At another time, the Archbishop having evidently given offence to Northumberland, in very tardily proceeding to execute a commission issued from the Court, and directed to him; "*Cecil* observing it," says the same diligent writer, "and having ever a great veneration for that good man, and fearing he might feel the effects of the Duke's fury, writ to him, signifying Northumber-

manuel Tremellius, an Italian, reader of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge; for whom, at the special request of the Chancellor, he procured a prebendal stall at Carlisle, by his interest with the King. But it should be mentioned, to the further credit of the Secretary, that in the Chancellor's letter, he particularly tells him, he had been informed that he, the Secretary, had of his own good-will previously "motioned the matter:" "wherefore," he adds, "if it shall stand with your pleasure to help him to it, I shall be very well contented, and glad thereof; and ye, in so doing, shall deserve thanks at the University's hand, and have him your continual orator for the same."

land's displeasure, and giving him advice to take heed of him: for which the Archbishop thanked him, and presently writ an excusatory letter to that Duke."

Sir William seems constantly to have had his eye upon the worthy Archbishop, to save him trouble and procure him peace; and, above all things, to give him notice of any thing passing against him at Court. It was thus that he interposed to procure a reconciliation between the Archbishop and one of his near neighbours, Sir Thomas Cheyney, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports; no sooner, according to Strype's account, had "his true friend *Cecyl*" written to him, than he expressed his great desire to be upon good terms with Sir Thomas, "whose familiar and entire friendship he most desired."

It was to the Secretary that the Archbishop applied in the same year, 1552, to afford some help to *Herman*, the Protestant Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, of whom we have before had occasion to speak. This eminent and worthy prelate, having attempted, on the advice of *Bucer* and *Melancthon*, to introduce the Reformation into the electoral dominions, had incurred the sentence of Papal excommunication, been obliged to resign his Archbishopric and retire to a private life. What assistance was required, we are not exactly informed; but the Secretary's constant and cordial attention to the state of Religion, we are told, led him to interest himself greatly in the business.*

Herman and Cranmer, it has been observed, resembled each

* The worthy Prelate, in fact, died this very year; he was descended, according to *Sleidan*, from the Counts De Wied. It was about the year 1543, that he conceived the idea of reforming the churches dependent upon his authority. Luther's Bible had enabled him to become acquainted with the genuine truths of the Gospel, and he was bent upon propagating the true religion at any risks, declaring that if he should not succeed, he was willing to become a private man: not being supported by the canons of his cathedral, he failed in his attempt, and patiently submitted to the alternative he looked to. [*Robertson's Charles V.* iii. 103.] He died a private man in consequence of the Pope's excommunication, much esteemed and respected, though in the eye of the Romanists an incorrigible heretic.

other much, not only for their zealous concern for the advancement of the Reformation, but in adopting the same measures to bring it about, particularly in "maintaining the hierarchy, and the revenues, dignities, and customs of it, against many in those days, that were for the abolishing of them as relics of Popery."

Before we dismiss this part of our subject, it may be observed, that while *Cecil's* continued intimacy with Cranmer, an intimacy which, from the disparity of ages, reflects no small credit on the former, Cranmer being the eldest by thirty-one years, appears to exonerate him from the charge of having deserted the Protector, Cranmer's great friend, in any unfeeling or disgraceful manner, as his enemies would insinuate;* the particular communications between them during the last moments of the King's short life, especially such as took place while the Progress lasted, and to which we have had occasion to refer, plainly point out the anxiety with which *Cecil*, as well as Cranmer, beheld the proceedings of Northumberland, and such persons as the latter had placed about the King. It is not, indeed, certain that Cecil was free from apprehensions for the King's personal safety as well as Cranmer, since, in one of the letters of the latter to the Secretary, after thanking him for his communications generally, he adds, "but especially that ye advertise me that the King's Majesty is in good health: wherein I beseech God long to continue his High-

* We have another instance of this to produce in the case of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who felt himself under such obligations to the Duke, as warmly to resent his fall: "Being," says the biographer, "a man of a warm and open temper, and conceiving the obligation he was under to the Duke as a tie that hindered his making court to his adversary, a stop was put to his preferment, and a vigilant eye kept upon his actions. But his *loyalty* to his *Prince*, and his exact discharge of his duty, secured him from any farther danger, so that he had leisure to apply himself to his studies, and to cultivate his acquaintance with the worthiest men of that court; particularly Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir Thomas Smith, and more especially, Sir WILLIAM CECIL, with whom he always lived in the strictest intimacy."

ness;" and after entreating Cecil in another letter, and upon some alteration of the King's route, to inform him of all such changes, that he might from time to time know where his Majesty was, he concludes with his usual earnest prayer, "that God would preserve and prosper him."

If Northumberland had ill designs against the person of his Prince, as some have supposed (though had there been any chance of his living, his power was so great as to make him more anxious to preserve his life),* yet Cecil appears to have been one,

* At this period he bore all the sway at court, and, as Strype says, did what he listed. He had obtained by grant the County Palatine of Durham, with the addition of Bernard's Castle; he was High Steward of all the honours, castles, manors, lordships, and lands, in the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and York for life. He had the manors of Feckingham, Bromesgrove, and Kings-Norton, with other lands in Worcestershire. He was Chief Steward of the East Riding of Yorkshire, and of all the King's demesnes in Holderness and Cottingham; he was General Warden, or Keeper of the English Marches towards Scotland; he had lands and manors also in Somersetshire and Warwickshire, and his brother and sons had high situations about the court.—*Strype's Eccles. Mem.* b. ii. ch. xxii. anno 1553.

We cannot refrain from copying the following excellent remarks on the extraordinary elevation of this aspiring Statesman to the Dukedom: "The circumstances attending Dudley's elevation to the ducal rank are worthy of particular notice, as connected with a melancholy part of the story of that old and illustrious family of the Percies, celebrated through so many ages of English History. The last of this house who had borne the title of Earl of Northumberland was that ardent and favoured suitor of Anne Boleyn, who was compelled by his father to renounce his prétensions to her hand, in deference to the wishes of a royal competitor. The disappointment and the injury impressed themselves in indelible characters on the heart of Percy. In common with the object of his attachment, he retained against Wolsey, whom he believed to have been actively instrumental in fostering the King's passion, a deep resentment, which is said to have rendered peculiarly acceptable to him the duty afterwards imposed upon him, of arresting that celebrated minister, in order to his being brought to his trial. For the lady to whom a barbarous exertion of parental authority had compelled him to give his hand, while his whole heart was devoted to another, he also conceived an aversion rather to be lamented than wondered at.

"Unfortunately she brought him no living offspring, and after a few years he separated himself from her, to indulge his melancholy alone and without molestation. In this manner he spun out a suffering existence, oppressed with sickness of mind and body, disengaged from public life and neglectful of his own embarrassed affairs, till the fatal catastrophe of his brother, brought to the scaffold in 1537, for his share in the Popish rebellion under Aske. By

"who were most assuredly disposed to commit, or at least permit, any mischief."*

That some symptoms of amendment in the King might, however, be gratifying to Northumberland at the time he wrote to *Cecil*, may be probable, under the worst suspicions that may be conceived of his designs. For to accomplish those designs, he had need of the King's help, in regard to the projected succession, and might well wish to prolong his life till his settlement of the Crown could be confirmed by Parliament, which was soon after called for that purpose, but did not sit, in consequence of the King's death.

Northumberland, therefore, had hopes both from his life and his death, at least for a somewhat longer life than proved to be the case; for even Mary and Elizabeth were not so secured before the death of Edward, as would probably have been the case had his life been longer continued. But for the King's perfect recovery, after the settlement had been made, he scarcely could wish, and if any evil practices took place, it may be possible that his end may have been *hastened;* though we should be very unwilling to assert this from what appears in history. The operation of slow poisons is not now so much credited as it formerly was, and if an ignorant or bold woman were called in† after the physicians had retired, she might have as much accelerated his end by ignorance as by art.

But before we proceed to the last days of Edward, at which time transactions undoubtedly took place, which involved many great and eminent persons in considerable difficulties, and from which, the subject of these Memoirs does not even yet stand, in the opinion of his adversaries, clearly acquitted, we must turn to other circumstances, which may throw further light on the subject, and in which his great diligence and care for the good of the nation, will more fully appear.

* Secret History of the Kings and Queens of England. † Secret History.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Secretary's attention to the King's debts, Commerce, &c.—Curious paper drawn up by him, and preserved in the King's Journal, shewing the particular manner in which he was accustomed, either for his own use, or the more particular instruction of the King, to go minutely into all the bearings of any question of foreign or domestic policy—Account of the King's debts—Mode of borrowing Money for public purposes of foreign Merchants.

"WHILE the Court teemed with cabals," says a late writer,* "which occupied the incessant attention of the other courtiers, the Secretary was diligently employed in executing his official duties, and in devising schemes for the discharge of the public debts and the improvement of commerce. There still remains a complete view of what the King owed in the month of February, 1551, which was printed from a manuscript drawn up by Cecil. This statement must have comprehended the whole of the public debt at that period, since neither the debts nor the revenues of the King were as yet separated from those of the nation."

This paper brought the amount of the King's debts to 241,179*l.* 14*s.* 10*d.*, including the monies owing to foreign merchants and bankers to the royal household, wardrobe, &c., and for naval and military uses, the admiralty, the ordnance, garrisons, and fortifications. In the next year, 1552, they were,

* Macdiarmid.

according to the King's own Journal, found to amount to 251,000*l.*

The system of borrowing at that time from foreign merchants or bankers was any thing but a frugal expedient; the interest running very high, and if any necessity arose for a postponement of the payments as originally stipulated, leading to further, and sometimes very exorbitant charges, as the price of accommodation.

That the King was put to great expenses by the restlessness and jealousy of his neighbours, there can be no doubt; France had its eye constantly not only upon Calais, as a point to be recovered, if not well provided and vigilantly guarded, but upon Scotland and Ireland, as means of keeping England in check, and turning her attention away from the continent. But it is scarcely to be doubted that the King was surrounded by rapacious and greedy courtiers, careless of expense, and equally careless of the means of providing for such expenses; so that the revenue was constantly falling into arrear, by which the government was driven to have recourse to extraordinary, and oftentimes discreditable resources; since nothing can occasion greater or more distressing disturbances than tampering with the currency; and, it is well known that this was resorted to both by Henry and Edward, as well by the open expedient of raising the denomination of the coin, as by the more hidden and insidious one of lowering, or totally disregarding the standard; measures, however, which the Secretary himself may reasonably be held to have neither recommended nor encouraged, since we shall see in the course of this history how entirely aware he was of the disgraceful and dangerous manner of thus slurring over a national bankruptcy, and how earnest he was to put an end to such pernicious courses, by early procuring the true standard to be restored, after he had obtained real and effective power to do so under Elizabeth. Great attempts, how-

ever, even in this reign, and in which, in all likelihood, he bore no small part, were made to restore the old standard, though not till late, when called for by much murmuring on the part of the public. Of the sad practice of debasing the coin, we may form some judgment from the following account taken from Archbishop Sharp's Tract on the Coins of England. From Edward I. to Henry VIII., all minters were obliged to make their silver money according to this standard, viz. after the rate of eleven ounces two pennyweights in the pound fine silver, and eighteen pennyweights alloy. In 34 Henry VIII. the standard was altered to ten ounces fine silver and two alloy. This was the first debasing of our coin. In 36 Henry VIII. the money was ordered to be made just half brass and half silver; in 37 Henry VIII. four ounces fine, and eight alloy. The debasing of the coin continued in practice throughout the first five years of Edward VI. In the fifth year of his reign he coined silver of three ounces fine, and nine alloy. This appears to have been the lowest point to which our money ever descended. Upon several barrels of such base money being imported from abroad, the people were so much alarmed as to threaten an insurrection; upon this the standard next year was raised to almost the original rates, viz. eleven ounces one pennyweight fine, and nineteen pennyweights alloy; and of this standard were all the later Edward's shillings, the base ones having been called in, partly in Edward's and partly in Elizabeth's reign, at which time, by Lord Burghley's great attention to the subject, the old standard was perfectly restored. Of the state of the coin in Edward's reign much may be seen in Strype's Memorials. Henry debased the gold coinage as well as the silver, as far as concerned his own coins, in which also he was followed by Edward, till the third year of his reign, when an improvement took place. In justification of both Princes, however, it should be observed, that the gold coins of other parts of Christendom were of no greater fineness

than theirs. By a passage in Edward's Journal we may perceive that the improvement of the coin was sometimes made a plea for debasing it: "Also it was appointed to make 20,000 pound weight for necessity somewhat baser, to get gains 16,000*l.* clear, by which the debts of the realm might be paid, the country defended from any sudden attempt, and the *coin amended.*"

That the King himself paid great attention to this subject is evident from his own extraordinary Journal; but we may conclude from the nature and contents of that very curious document, that his intimate acquaintance with a subject so little prepossessing for a Prince of his age, must have been owing to his converse and communication with persons of business and knowledge of state affairs.

It is not necessary for the biographer of so celebrated a statesman as Lord Burghley, to endeavour to procure him credit for any thing that cannot be exactly ascertained; but papers are in existence which demonstrate, that in all matters of business to which the King's Journal refers, *his* attention was at the *same time* directed to such points; which is remarkably the case at least with regard to three measures in agitation during the year 1552; viz. the King's debts and expenses; the endeavours to relieve the Commerce of the nation from foreign interference and foreign dependence; and the expediency of giving assistance to the Emperor.

To shew in what manner the King, young as he was, might be enabled to form for himself an opinion upon such points by the care of his Secretary, we cannot, we think, do better than introduce into this part of our work the very remarkable document preserved among the Cottonian MSS., and which, though already printed, cannot possibly be rendered so interesting by any transcript as it is in the original, as will be seen by the accompanying *Fac-Simile.* It is in King Edward's Journal, in Lord Burghley's

own hand-writing, containing also the result or conclusion of the matter in the King's hand on the same paper.*

To state the case aright, it may perhaps be proper to copy the following entry in the King's Journal, under the date of September 16, 1552, premising only that the Emperor had by his ambassador, in pursuance of a treaty concluded with the King's *father* in 1542, required the aid of 5,000 foot, or 700 crowns a day during four months, because the French King had invaded Luxembourg; one of the conditions of the above treaty being, that the English, under such circumstances of invasion, should render the aid sought. And the following unlooked-for occurrence seems to have embarrassed the question.†

"[King's Journal] September 16. Stuckley being lately arrived out of France, declared how that the French King, being wholly persuaded that he would never return again into England, because he came away without leave, upon the apprehension of the Duke of Somerset his old master, declared to him his intent, that upon a peace made with the Emperor, he meant to besiege Calais, and thought surely to win it by the way of the Sandhills; for having Ricebank both to famish the town, and also to beat the market-place; and asked Stuckley's opinion. When Stuckley had answered, he thought it impossible, then he told him that he meant to land in England, in an angle thereof about Falmouth, and said, the bulwarks might easily be won, and the people were papistical;

* It appears from a passage in Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. part ii. 250, that at this time Sir William Cecil was Recorder of Boston in Lincolnshire; a patent of licence having been granted to him, under the great seal, to appoint a deputy, "provided that the said deputy be learned in the law;" the date of the patent being June, 1552.

† "Upon this occasion," says Burnet, "the reader will find how the Secretaries of State bred the King to the understanding of business with relation to the studies he was then about: for Secretary *Cecil* set down all the arguments for and against that league, with little notes on the margin, relating to such topics from whence he brought them; by which it seems the King was then learning logic."—*Reformation*, vol. ii. 404.

CHAP. XXX.

Attention paid to the Commerce of the Nation, for a long time monopolized by Foreigners—Lord Burghley the first Minister who applied himself seriously to effect any beneficial change—Historical sketch of the state of Commerce from the middle of the Thirteenth Century, to the project first entertained in this reign for establishing English Marts, and abrogating the Charter of the Steel-Yard Merchants.

WHATEVER share Lord Burghley may have taken in other affairs, most certain it is, that he was indefatigable in his endeavours to improve the *Commerce* of the country; to place it upon a better footing, and give to the natives of the kingdom the lead in such transactions. Hitherto, almost every thing had been thrown into the hands of foreigners, ignorant of, or inattentive to, the great natural advantages and capacities of England: the only trade carried on, had been entirely left to those who were connected with the continental marts; who were allowed even to settle in England; to buy up all the productions of the country, mostly as raw materials; to export them to foreign manufactories, and to sell with profit all the goods imported in the way of exchange. In fact, as regarded the English, they bought cheap and sold dear; they made two profits at their expense, and when they had accumulated sufficient fortunes, retired to make room for other adventurers, and to spend what they had gained *here*, in *other* countries. Frequent complaints had, indeed, been presented to government, but the case was so ill understood, or so many were benefited by the existing abuses, that they failed to procure attention; Lord Burghley has decidedly the credit of

being the first who listened to them, to any effectual purpose. Not that he was able in the reign of Edward to accomplish all that he had contemplated; but he began at that time to open the eyes of those who had before been too blind to the real and obvious interests of the nation, and to lay the foundation for such improvements, as soon took place, under the same auspices, in a succeeding reign, and the fruits of which we are undoubtedly, even now enjoying.

That foreign monopolists should have been encouraged, to the loss and injury of the English merchants, may seem strange; but it is upon record that having become rich by the advantages allowed them, they were by their wealth enabled to stifle complaints, or prevent their effect, by seasonable advances, both to the Government and individuals about the Court. It required a less selfish and more patriotic spirit, to overcome such abuses; and this spirit was found in Lord Burghley.

As the efforts of this great man terminated in the establishment of a mercantile system highly advantageous to his country, though before his time strangely overlooked, it may not be improper to take a view of the state of commerce in Europe, from the middle of the Thirteenth Century, as necessary to the better understanding of the measures suggested in this reign, and perfected under Elizabeth; chiefly, as it is acknowledged, through the agency of Lord Burghley.*

* Henry VIII. has the credit of being the first English monarch who applied his attention to the formation of a regular navy. Before his time ships were hired occasionally from the Venetians, the Genoese, the Hanse-Towns, and other trading people; these, with such ships as the Cinque Ports could furnish, formed the strength of our English fleets. But Henry resolved to form a permanent strength at sea; he established regular building yards at Woolwich, Deptford, and Chatham. We owe to him the first Navy Office, and the Trinity House, still remaining. He was at first obliged to employ Italian shipwrights in his dock-yards; but is supposed to have left in his ports, when his son came to the crown, a navy amounting to more than eleven thousand tons. See the papers of Mr. Willett and Mr. Topham in the Archæologia.

Before the discovery of America, and of the passage to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, the whole commerce of Europe had been in the hands of the Venetians, and other towns of Italy; *Naples, Florence, Genoa, Amalfi, Pisa*, &c. in connexion with the *Hanseatic* towns of Germany, first associated in 1241, amounting altogether to eighty in number; divided into the four following classes: 1. The *Vandallic*, over which *Lubec* presided, comprising the towns on the Baltic between Hamburgh and Pomerania. 2. The *Rhenanan*, subject to *Cologne*, and comprising, as the term expresses, the towns on the Rhine. 3. The *Saxon*, subject to *Brunswick*, comprising the towns in Saxony and Westphalia; and, 4. The *Prussian*, over which *Dantzick* presided, containing the towns in Prussia and Livonia.

In this line of traffic, the trading towns of Italy supplied all the northern nations with the rich and delicate productions of the East, as well as of Southern Europe, spirits, wines, drugs, silks, cotton, spices, jewellery, &c. &c.; receiving in return the comparatively coarse, but useful productions of the Northern regions, iron, copper, corn, flax, hemp, timber, skins, leather, &c.

But to reduce as much as possible the expense and trouble of so distant a communication, and avoid the dangers of navigation in the higher latitudes, where the long nights of winter and accumulations of ice rendered a direct intercourse almost impracticable, the town of *Bruges*, in Flanders, had been fixed upon as a mart, staple, or entrêpot, where the merchants and factors might meet, to exchange their goods, and complete their traffic; and to this mart, of course, all the merchants of the North resorted, to await the arrivals from the Mediterranean Sea. It may

Mr. Willett states them at 11,005 tons, Mr. Topham at 11,748. Mr. Willett, who wrote after Mr. Topham, and takes his account from a report presented to James I. in 1619, referring to the sixth year of Edward's reign, supposes the difference to arise, from some of Henry's ships having been allowed to go to decay, in the more pacific reign of his son.

be easily conjectured, that in this state of things, the *Hanseatic* towns in particular, enjoying many privileges, and being more intimately acquainted with the business of trade, were in the way, more or less, to become the factors of Europe. Several nations were almost compelled to submit to have their concerns carried on and conducted by means of foreigners, who, according to the common course of agency, put a profit upon all the exchangeable commodities passing through their hands; which could only be, in fact, just so much *lost* or *given away*, by all such nations as, having *equal facilities of commerce*, had not resolution or enterprise sufficient to take into their own hands their fair proportion of the traffic. For a time, people seemed so blind to their own interests, as not at all to feel or apprehend the consequences of such a system of monopoly.

Perhaps, of all the countries of Europe, England was the most inexcusably so, not to see the nature and extent of her peculiar advantages, and of her natural qualifications for becoming a proper seat of foreign commerce, of manufactures for distant sale, and of all the improvements, profits, and gains flowing therefrom.

Her soil so naturally fertile; the excellency of her wool, an article so essential to one of the most natural wants of man; such a wide extent of sea-coast, such an abundance of navigable rivers, in proportion to the size of the kingdom; her peculiar situation, as almost intermediate between Northern and Southern Europe; all these things seemed to point her out, as a natural mart or emporium of commerce.

It is true, indeed, that London was a mart for England in remote times, as Novogorod was for Russia, and Bergen for Norway; but these were merely national, local, and peculiar,* in

* Though London was a mart, it could scarcely be called an English mart, all business being for the most part conducted by foreigners. There were, indeed, *Merchant Adventurers*

comparison with the Flemish mart, to which merchants of all countries had resort, and where manufactures were established to meet the wants of all persons, the industry of this particular people being devoted to the working up of all the raw materials they could import from other countries, that were not yet sufficiently instructed how to make the most of their own riches. The wool of England, as well as the silks of the Levant and of Italy, were all delivered over to the Flemings, to be manufactured into clothes, &c. It would appear from letters still in exist-

of England, who received encouragement from the Crown; but they so little understood the business of trade in comparison with the foreigners, that the latter had every advantage in their favour. The supineness of the English in not seeing or regarding their peculiar advantages, is well described in the letters of Barnaby (or Barnabe) to Sir William Cecil, preserved in the British Museum. He dwells particularly on the great importance to France of their sea-coal (as he calls it), "without which," he observes, "they (the French) can nother make stele work, nor metal work, nor wyer work, nor goldsmithes work, nor gounes (guns), nor no manner of thing that passeth the fyer. And as for them, ye shall see in peace tyme iii or iiij score of ships of Normans and Brytones at ones, as soon as theyre fishinge is done; and as they be departed coomethe as manye moe. I have seen com owte at one tyde in Dieppe five hundred and five botes; and in every bote x or xii men; the which was a marvellous matter to see, howe they be mayntained by fishing, and what ritches they get by the sea, and how they mayntain their townes and portes; and as for us, let us begynne at Sandwiche and goe to Dover, Hyde, and Hastings, and to Willchense, and see howe they goe downe for lack of mayntenance, and in a manner no maryners in them: which is for good polycie to set them a worke." He urges Sir William to move the Council to carry on the trade of Newcastle coals by English ships and English mariners, which he thinks would set to work six or seven thousand seamen. "I have sene," he says, "goe owte at one tyde owte of Rye together xxxvii hoyes laden with woode and tymber, and never an Englishe maryner amongst them." He reports, that even the Vice-Admiral of France, M. *De May*, had observed to him, that the English had no ships worth any thing save the King's ships; and "that yf *theye* had sutch portes and havens as we have, and sutch comodyties longinge to them, theye would make themselves berdes of gold." This letter is addressed "*To the Right Honourable and his speciall good Master, Sir William Scicil, Secretarie to the Kinges Majestie.*" Such hints were calculated to awaken a mind like Cecil's, to a sense of the great importance of advancing the trade of England, by increasing her own shipping, and augmenting the number of her mariners in every way possible. Our coals it might be well to keep at home for our own manufactories; but to confine the coasting trade exclusively to English ships or English mariners, was, indeed, a measure fitly to be laid open, to the patriotic views of so able a statesman, as the Secretary was every where judged to be.

ence,* that the Flemings themselves even ridiculed the dulness of other countries for such oversight; our own in particular: it being a common proverb among them, "That they could buy the fox-skin of an Englishman for four-pence, and sell the tail to him again for twelve-pence."

But it was not likely that this should continue for ever: any local or national disturbances in a country so situated, as was the case with Flanders, in regard to the rest of Europe, might naturally be expected occasionally to induce different classes of artificers, whose industry entirely depended on a quiet and sufficient protection, to emigrate. Indeed, as is pretty generally known, in the reign of our Edward III. this had been proved, by the sudden removal of many Flemish manufacturers who came into England, and by the wise encouragement of the Crown, were induced to transfer into this kingdom their skill, industry, and wealth; and under the protection they received, to establish regular manufactories of their own, especially of woollen cloth.

But Bruges, the ancient mart, was doomed to fall. So resplendent had been its greatness and prosperity at one time, that on a visit which *Joanna*, the Queen of Philip the *Fair*, of France, paid there, she is reported to have been so much struck with the appearance of the citizen's wives, as to have exclaimed somewhat indignantly, "I thought I had been the only Queen here, but I find there are many hundreds more." The riches and magnificence of those times, indeed, are still to be traced in the long and splendid line of towns between Ostend and Leige.

In consequence of a dispute, however, with the Emperor Maximilian, Bruges was deprived of a considerable part of its trade, Antwerp being, on the special encouragement of the Emperor, allowed to take its place; and which it retained till the

* Howard's Collection of Letters, p. 24.

year 1585, when the violence of the Duke of Parma, drove all the rich merchants to Amsterdam.

At the period then of which we are treating, Antwerp was in all its glory, as the emporium of European commerce; with regard to the Netherlands generally, the change was not of much importance, for what Bruges lost, Antwerp gained. It was about the year 1516, that the change may be said to have been completed; when the Portuguese, availing themselves of the easier access to Antwerp by sea, made it their entrêpot for the spices, drugs, and other rich productions of India.

As it was one of the grandest and boldest conceptions of the great Minister whose Life we are recording, to bring this nation into a state of competition with the Netherlands, by teaching her to rely on her own resources, and avail herself of her own great advantages, it is but proper that we should give some account of the celebrated Flemish emporium, which at this period seemed to monopolize all the profits and wealth of the commercial world.

Merchants from every part of the north of Europe were settled at Antwerp; and even many of the merchants of Bruges, after the decline of their own trade and city, removed thither. Its free fairs for commerce, two of which lasted six weeks each time, attracted merchants from all parts, as they could at those times bring their merchandise into it duty-free, and be sure of finding a market for it. It was favourable also on this account, beyond most other towns, for the negotiation of Bills of Exchange.

It has been usual, as a proof of the great wealth arising from the extent of the commercial dealings of Antwerp, to adduce the following instance of individual affluence and magnificence; and as it is much connected with the statement already given of the King's debts, we shall not pass it over.

It was in the reigns of Edward VI. and his Father, that the

very celebrated firm of the Foulcare, Foulkers, or Fuggers (as called in the King's Journal), was established at Antwerp; a firm to which the sovereigns of Europe in general were driven to have recourse for assistance in the way of loans.* From this firm, the Emperor Charles V. in particular, had borrowed a very large sum, in order to carry on his famous expedition against Tunis. The Emperor afterwards, in the year 1534, had occasion to visit Antwerp, and was invited by Fugger to a grand entertainment at his house; on which occasion, the proud but liberal banker caused a fire to be made in his hall, entirely of cinnamon, and when lighted, threw into it, before the face of the Emperor, all the imperial bonds.† Eleven years after this, the very same merchant gave to Henry VIII. of England, an acquittance for the sum of 152,180*l.* Flemish, which the King had borrowed of him.

Edward VI. was obliged to borrow money at Antwerp, as we have before shewn, at a high interest, and often to take commodities as well as money, to accommodate the lenders; but when the payment at the stipulated time became inconvenient, it is upon record, under the hand of the King's agent, Gresham, that he had greater credit in negotiating a postponement, or raising more money, than the Emperor himself, who, in 1552, had offered 16 per cent. without succeeding. To the credit of Gresham, however, it should be observed, that he was very much averse from the system of postponing payments, being greatly

* It was to a branch of this family, established at Augsburgh in Germany, that Leo the Tenth stood so much indebted early in the sixteenth century, as to induce him to have recourse to the raising money by that sale of indulgences which brought on the Reformation under Luther.—*Müller*, iii. 7.

† In the *Dictionnaire Historique*, a story something like this is told of another person of the name of DAENS:—"Riche négociant d'Anvers, célébré par un trait de générosité dont on trouve peu d'exemples. L'Empereur *Charles Quint* s'etant prêté au desir que *Daens* avoit de lui donner à diner, le généreux Marchand jetta au feu, à la fin du repas, un billet de deux millions qu'il avoit prêtés au Prince. *Je suis*, dit il, *trop payé par l'honneur que votre Majesté me fait.*" It would seem to be the same story, though under a different name.

afraid, that it would ultimately shake the English credit; indeed, he wished to be relieved from his agentship, rather than be longer concerned in such negotiations.

From the statement of the King's debts, it will be seen that among the Low-Country merchants, there were other wealthy individuals, at the same period, who advanced large sums, as the Schetz, Tuck, Relinger, Van-hall, Rantzon, &c. but the Fuggers were the principal. The head of the firm, of whom the above stories are related, is said to have died worth six millions of crowns.—But to return to Antwerp.

In the year 1541, the town is said to have contained one hundred thousand inhabitants; but the religious commotions in Germany, England, and France, afterwards drove many more there, to the great increase of its wealth and population. Huet in his history of Dutch Commerce, states, that it was not uncommon to see as many as 2,500 ships at once, lying in the Scheldt: and Guicciardini has observed, that it was not unusual in his days, for 500 ships to come and go in one day; that 10,000 carts were constantly employed in carrying merchandise to and from the neighbouring countries, besides hundreds of waggons daily coming and going with passengers; and 500 coaches used by persons of distinction. The number of houses he estimates at 13,500.

It may perhaps be proper to insert here, what the same respectable and valuable historian, a contemporary of the illustrious subject of these Memoirs, has told us of its condition in 1560. But we can only attempt an abridged account, such as may be sufficient to exhibit the actual state of the Commerce and Manufactures of most of the Nations of Europe at this period, when Lord Burghley may be said to have first began to apply his mind to the rendering of England, as a Commercial Nation, independent of other countries, and in which attempt,

in a subsequent reign, he has the credit of having so greatly succeeded.

Besides the natives and the French, which latter he represents to have been very numerous at that time in Antwerp, Guicciardini tells us, there were six principal foreign nations, residing there both in war and peace, making above a thousand merchants, including factors and servants; *viz.* Germans, Danes and Easterlings; that is, people from the ports in the southern shores of the Baltic, from Denmark to Livonia—Italians, Spaniards, English, and Portuguese; the Spaniards being very numerous. That they met twice in the day, at the English house, where, by their interpreters and brokers, they bought and sold all kinds of merchandise. Thence they went to the principal Exchange, to transact all matters relating to bills of exchange, and also to deposit at interest, at the rate of 12 per cent. He is careful to enumerate all the articles of export and import, to or from every country in Europe, and almost every town of any importance. Rome, Ancona, Bologna, Venice, Naples, Sicily, Milan, Florence, Genoa, Mantua, Verona, Modena, Lucca; Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Eastland, Livonia and Poland; France, Bretaigne, Normandy, Rouen, Paris, Tours, Champagne, Lyons and Montpelier; England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Barbary, &c. &c. It embraced, in short, the whole commerce of the world; all the commodities supplied by Asia, America, Africa, and the south of Europe on the one hand, and by England, the Baltic countries, Germany, and France, on the other.

It should be observed, that to almost every one of the countries above enumerated, the *English* and Flemish cloths were among the chiefest articles of exportation. The immediate trade with England is reported as follows:

"To England, Antwerp exports jewels and precious stones, silver bullion, quicksilver, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver,

gold and silver thread, camblets, grograms, spices, drugs, sugar, cotton, cinnamon, galls, linen, serges, tapestry, madder, hops in great quantities, glass, salt-fish, small wares made of metal and wood, arms, ammunition, and household furniture. From England, she imports immense quantities of fine and coarse woollen goods; the finest wool; excellent saffron, but in small quantities; a great quantity of lead and tin; sheep and rabbit skins; and other kinds of peltry and leather, beer, cheese, and other sorts of provisions, in great quantities; also Malmsey wines, which the English obtain from Candia."

This account of Guicciardini, is confirmed by *Wheler*, who wrote in the year 1601, and who adds, what seems from the dates to be rather remarkable, as applicable to the subject of these Memoirs: "It is not past eighty years ago" (*viz.* about 1520, the year in which Lord Burghley was born), "that there were not in London above twelve or sixteen Low-Country merchants, who imported only stone-pots, brushes, toys for children, and other pedlar's wares;* but in less than forty years after, there were in London at least one hundred Netherland merchants, who brought thither all the commodities which the merchants of Italy, Germany, Spain, France, and Eastland (of all which nations there were before that time divers famous and notable rich merchants and companies), used to bring into England out of

* It may be observed, that in all likelihood, a sort of traffic was carried on peculiarly for the use of the Court. It is impossible to read the accounts given in Hollinshed and other writers, of the pageantry of the Court of Henry VIII., and his many splendid entertainments, without being certain that there must have been brought into the kingdom a large supply of silks, damasks, jewels, wines, spices, and luxuries of all descriptions; imported by Genoese, Florentine, and Venetian merchants, to whom, indeed, special protections seem to have been given; but as these were articles that could not apply to the general wants or consumption of the nation, jealousies seem to have been excited, which led to tumults in the metropolis, not easily appeased, and in which the English were not so well treated by the Court as they might have expected; it being pretty clear that the foreigners, being countenanced by the great, insulted the English tradesmen and mechanics, and behaved very arrogantly towards them.

their own country directly, to the great damage of the said strangers, and of the natural born English merchants.

In these improvements, between the years 1520 and 1560, Lord Burghley may reasonably be considered to have had no small share; and we must further observe, that in whatever manner it had been improved in 1560, it must have been by good management and in spite of the rivalry and prosperity of Antwerp; for 1560, is precisely marked as the era, when that town had reached the zenith of its wealth and greatness. At this period, indeed, the English had began to rival the Flemings in the woollen manufactures, and to employ their own ships and capital in the conduct of their trade, to which circumstances we may chiefly attribute the rapid advancement of our native country to wealth and power, after Edward's reign; when home companies came to be established for trading direct to foreign parts, to the great increase of her shipping and her seamen—the natural strength of England.

But it was not the rivalry of Antwerp only, with which England had to contend; there was seated in her bosom, as it were, a nest of foreigners, whom it was hard to displace, but who were continually draining her of all her wealth, and were interested in checking all her endeavours to act for herself and throw off the shackles, with which the mistaken or corrupt policy of former statesmen had allowed her to be bound. We must go back to former periods of our history to make ourselves properly understood; but we shall then be able the better to appreciate the more enlightened views of Lord Burghley, and such as applied themselves with him, to emancipate the nation from a thraldom inimical to her best interests.

A branch of the celebrated Hanseatic confederacy had been invited into this country in the time of Henry III., on a grant of particular privileges, to the exclusion of all other foreigners.

From the name of the place in which they first fixed their residence, which was near London Bridge—a name said to have been given to it from one of the commodities in which they dealt*—they were called the Merchants of the *Steel*, or Still-yard. Their business was to buy up the produce of English labour, and transport it abroad to some foreign market, enriching themselves by the profits of this sort of carrying trade; the secret of which consisted, as we have before intimated, in buying cheap and selling dear, and this in both ways, making a profit upon the sale of English productions in foreign markets, and again upon the sale in England of foreign commodities on the return of their ships.

As these profits increased, they were able to live in more splendour and luxury than those to whom they were acting as factors; the produce of whose labour indeed, they bought, and for which they found a market; but who seemed to be obliged themselves only to *go back to labour*, without any chance of competition with this nest of foreigners, whose sumptuous dwellings alone were sufficient to bespeak a much higher degree of affluence and prosperity.

Oftentimes, besides, when these prosperous foreigners had accumulated riches by the profits derived from the mere management of the trade of the country, they would suddenly depart to their own native places of birth and education, depriving England thereby of all the benefits that might have been derived from the dispenditure and operation of their wealth. This very naturally led the natives to complain that *they* had but *toil for their portion*, while strangers ran away with all the profit. The maritime strength of the country being in no manner increased by this continual employment of foreigners, foreign merchants, foreign shipping, and foreign seamen.

The exclusive privileges enjoyed by the Merchants of the Steelyard of course kept all other foreigners at a distance, and gave

* Many other explanations of the name however have been given.

them almost a complete monopoly of the whole foreign trade of the kingdom. In 1551 they are said to have shipped 44,000 cloths, when all the other traders had not shipped more than 1,100. They had many times, by excessive exportations, forfeited their charter; but being always wealthy enough to purchase a new one, or procure the forfeiture to be overlooked, they had been permitted to keep their ground.

Lord Burghley, it has been thought, had two remedies before him in this case; and that he adopted the worst of the two. He might, it has been said, have dissolved at once the charter of the Steel-yard Merchants, and so reduced them to the same disadvantages as other aliens, or have admitted all other nations into the kingdom, upon the same footing.

The Steel-yard Merchants had undoubtedly, if a strict account were to be taken of their proceedings, forfeited their charter; and so far the nation might be considered as being at perfect liberty to consider the extent of her own resources, and act upon them accordingly. But it was thought dangerous to venture upon so rapid a change too suddenly; that is, to divert the capital of the country *from* agriculture and manufactures, instead of waiting, till, by the increase of foreign commerce by opening the ports, they should have accumulated capital enough to engage in that also, as well as in agriculture and manufactures. The abrogation, however, of the Steel-yard charter, had certainly the effect of stimulating the English merchants to greater exertions, and may reasonably be regarded, in the encouragement given to the shipping interests and the increase of seamen, as the beginning of that superior strength and wealth of England, which has been progressively increasing ever since.

It was still, however, obvious, that we were dependent on a foreign staple, and that much of what might be turned to a more direct profit at home, was left unnecessarily in the hands of the great and wealthy citizens and merchants of Antwerp.

Lord Burghley has the credit, with a view to these disadvantages, of being the first to project the establishment of *National* Marts. The towns of Southampton and Hull being particularly fixed upon, the one for the south, the other for the north-eastern part of the kingdom.

We shall see how this was discussed and debated, as a matter of enterprise and national improvement, in the days of King Edward. The whole is still extant in the hand-writing of the young King himself,* probably upon the information and suggestions of his Secretary, Cecil, who is pretty generally allowed to have had no small share in directing the pen of his Sovereign upon points of similar importance.†

Sir John Hayward has given so good an account of the plans submitted to the consideration of the Council upon this occasion, that we shall gladly transcribe what he says:—

"In these times," he says, under the year 1552, "it was conceived by many, that by erecting of a Mart in England the realm would be much inriched, and made more famous and less obnoxious to

* So desirous does Edward appear to have been of acquiring a knowledge of *Sea* affairs, that he frequently held, as we are told, conversations with the celebrated Sebastian Cabot, the navigator, to whom, in 1549, he granted a pension, and whom he is particularly said to have consulted in the case of the merchants of the Steel-yard in the year 1551.—*See Biog. Brit.* Art. *Cabot.*

† We must not, however, attempt to deny, that many other persons were concerned in giving important instructions to the young and diligent Monarch. The papers accompanying his Journal, particularly the one upon which we have dwelt so long, entitled, "A Paper concerning a Free Mart in England," is drawn up so much in Lord Burghley's style, as to leave very little room to doubt that he was the author of it. The Journal itself probably owes its origin to Sir John Cheke, who, according to Strype his biographer, "directed him to keep a diary of all occurrences of weight, and to write down briefly, under each day of every month, debates in council, despatch of ambassadors, honours conferred, and other remarks as he thought good;" observing to him, that "a dark and imperfect reflection upon affairs, floating in the memory, was but like words dispersed and insignificant; whereas a view of them in a book was like the same words digested and disposed in good order, and so made significant." At first the Prince is said to have made his entries in Greek characters, a practice so common with the Secretary, that we might think it had been suggested by him, if it be indeed at all worthy of notice.

other countries. The time was then esteemed fit by reason of the wars between the Emperor and French King; the places deemed most meet were *Hull* for the *East* Countries, and *Southampton* for the South. London was judged no ill place, but Southampton was thought more convenient for the first beginning. This matter detained the Lords of the Council in a deliberation both serious and long, with great strength and variety of reasons on both sides; which, because they may give some light to the like question, which in times ensuing may happily again be set on foot, I will here declare them in the same manner as they were collected by the King.

"*Against* the Mart these objections were made:

"I. That strangers could have no access into England by land, which they had at ANTWERP, where the mart then was.

"II. That the ill-working of English cloths made them less esteemed abroad.

"III. That the great quantity of English cloths in Flanders would make them less desired from hence.

"IV. That the merchants had then established their dwelling places at Antwerp.

"V. That other nations would forbear their resort into England for a while upon commandment of the Emperor.

"VI. That the denial of the requests of the merchants of the Still-yard would be an hindrance to the Mart if prevention were not used.

"VII. That the poverty and smallness of Southampton would be a great impediment.

"VIII. That the river Rhine was more commodious for Antwerp than any river was for England.

"*Hereunto answer was made:*

"That at the time when the Mart should begin at Southampton, the French King, and the Almanes, would stop intercourse to

Antwerp by land, so that nothing should pass that way but in great danger.

"Again, as Southampton wanteth the commodity of access of merchandise by land, so it hath the commodity that there can be no access of enemies by land; and if wars should be raised, then the navy of England is sufficient to defend them.

"And farther, that traffick that cometh to *Antwerp* by land, is almost only from the *Venetians*, who may, with greater ease and less danger, transport their merchandises into *England* by sea. That the ill making of cloths was fit to be redressed by the Parliament, then sitting, and the matter was then reduced to some ripeness, the Upper House having one bill, and the Nether House another, in good forwardness. Neither were they so ill made but that the *Flemmings* did easily desire them, offering rather to pay the imposition of the Emperor than to be without them.

"That it were necessary that the passage of ships should be stayed until the Mart should advance to some ripeness, and that cloths should be bought with the King's money, and conveyed to *Southampton*, to be there uttered at the Mart, which should help the inconvenience* very well. That merchants never bind themselves to any mansion, which, either to atchieve gain, or to avoid danger, they will not readily forsake; for so they removed from *Bruges* to *Antwerp* only for the English commodities. And, therefore, seeing they shall have a good commodity by coming to *Southampton*, and be rid of great fear and danger both in their lives and goods in forsaking *Antwerp*,† there is little fear that they will be curious in making the change.

"That the Emperor then was so nearly driven, that neither was he willing to attend the impeachment of the Mart, neither could

* Mart.—MS.

† The persecutions on account of religion had by this time greatly disturbed the Netherlands or Low Countries. Burnet inclines to think, that the whole project of an English Mart or Marts arose out of these persecutions.

he at that time do it; for the *Flemmings* and the *Spaniards* under him could more hardly be without the *English* than the *English* without them, and therefore would hardly be brought to forbear that traffick; and, besides, they lived then in fear of losing all.

"That it were good that for the present the *Still-yard* men were generally* answered, and trial made, whether, by any gentle offer of some part of their liberties again, they might be brought to ship their wares unto the Mart. The *French* also might easily be drawn over, having one traffick at that time but with *England*. That these two might suffice to begin a Mart.

"That the merchants would make a good shift for their lodging; and it is not the ability of the place that maketh a Mart, but the resort of merchants, as *Spaniards*, *Almanes*, *Italians*, *Flemmings*, *Venetians*, *Danes*, in exchanging their commodities one with another; with whom also would concur the merchants of *London*, *Bristol*, and other places of *England;* and some of the cloths which should be carried thither at the first, might be taken up with the King's money, and there be uttered.

"That *Bruges*, where the Mart was before, standeth not upon the *Rhine*, neither doth *Antwerp* where the Mart was then. *Frankford* doth, and may well serve for a fair for high *Almane*, but *Southampton* serveth better for all countries upon the sea, for few of these resort to *Frankford*.

"Herewith diverse reasons were alledged for the Mart; and, namely, that the vent of *English* cloths would hereby be open in all times of war, that the *English* merchants' goods would be out of danger of strangers, and without fear of danger of arresting upon every light cause. That it would much inrich the realm, because as a market inricheth a town, so doth a mart inrich a kingdom. That upon occasion great sums of money might be borrowed of

* Gently.—MS.

them who frequent the Mart. That the King might command a great number of stranger ships to serve in his wars.

"That war being made, all goods should be in the King's danger. That the *English* should buy all things at the first hand of strangers: whereas, then, the strangers sold their wares to the *Flemmings*, and the *Flemmings* to the *English*. That the towns towards the sea would hereby be made more populous, rich, beautiful and strong. That the merchants, instead of tapistry, points, glasses, and other laces, would then bring in bullion, and other substantial merchandises, to have the *English* cloth and tin. That by this means the *English* should abate the power of their enemies, and not be enforced to borrow of merchants but when they list, and that in no great quantity or sum.

"The time was then esteemed most convenient, because the wars betwixt the *French* and the Emperor caused the *Italians*, *Genoese*, *Portugals*, and *Spaniards*, to forbear their trade to *Antwerp*.

"The *Prussians* also, and other East Countries, having fourteen ships against the Emperor, would not be very forward to adventure thither. Again, the *French* invading *Lorain*, and menacing *Flanders*, and the *Almanes* lying on the river of *Rhine*, did stop the course of merchants out of Italy, as well to *Frankford* as to *Antwerp*. And further, the putting of soldiers into *Antwerp* moved the merchants to forbear their traffick, and to look to their safety. Also, the breach which a late tempest had made, was like to make the channel uncertain and the haven naught. Lastly, the stop of the Exchange to *Lions* would make many *Flemmings* bankrupts. And because these nations cannot live without a vent, these things decaying the Mart of *Antwerp* and *Frankford*, they would most willingly, upon erecting a free Mart, resort to *England*.

"And here the town of *Southampton* was esteemed most fit, because the *Spaniards*, *Britains*, *Gascoins*, *Lombards*, *Genoese*, *Normans*, *Italians*, the merchants of the Eastland, the *Prussians*,

Danes, *Swedes*, and *Norwegians*, might indifferently resort thither, and more easy than to *Antwerp*. And, whereas, the *Flemmings* having few commodities, have allured merchants by their privileges to settle a Mart among them, much more easily should the *English* do it, having both opportunity and means, as cloth, tin, seacoale, lead, bell-metal, and such other commodities as few Christian countries have the like.

"Lastly, the means to establish this Mart were contrived to be these. First, that the *English* merchants should forbear their resort for a Mart or two beyond the seas, under pretence of the impositions there charged upon them. Then, that proclamation should be made in divers parts of this realm where merchants chiefly resort, that there shall be a free Mart kept at *Southampton*, to begin presently after *Whitsontide*, and to continue five weeks, so as it should be no hindrance to St. *James's* fair at Bristol, nor to *Bartholomew* fair in *London*. The privileges of which Mart should be expressed to be these:

"That all men should have free liberty for resort and return without arresting, except in cases of treason, murder, or felony. That for the time of the Mart all men should pay but half the custom due in other places of the realm. That during the time no shipping should be made from any place between *South Wales* and *Essex*, but only to *Southampton*. That in *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Kent*, *Dorsetshire*, no bargain should be made for wares, during that time, but only at that Mart. That a court should be erected to punish offenders, with liberties of good condition. That some one commodity, as haply some one kind of cloth, should be assigned as proper to the Mart. That some liberties be given to the inhabitants of *Southampton*, and some moneys lent to them, if it might be spared, to begin their traffick. That ships should attend the safeguard of merchants so well as they could. And that, if this Mart took good effect, another might

be erected at *Hull* for the North-east countries, to begin presently after *Stirbridge* fair, so as they might return before the great ices stop their seas.

"Thus it was concluded; but the execution was for a time delay'd, because the wool fleet of sixty sail was lately before departed for *Antwerp*, and could not possibly be called back.* But to make the first preparation, because a Mart could not subsist without exchange, liberty was granted to the *English* merchants to exchange and rechange money for money. As, upon this occasion, the profitable purpose was first delay'd, so afterwards it was altogether dashed, first by the King's sickness, after by his death."

We have given this account, because the Secretary had subsequently better opportunities of setting forward the trading and shipping interests of his native country; but in the days of which we are writing, it was much to have seen so far into these things, and to have taken the first effectual steps to remove the control of such matters out of the hands of foreigners: and, above all, to have interested the Sovereign in a question of such vital importance, while it was possible his life and reign might have been prolonged to have brought things to a more favourable issue. Cecil has the exclusive credit of first attending to the remonstrances and complaints of his countrymen, of resisting the undue influence, gifts, gratuities, and accommodations of the foreign merchants; and, in short, of laying the foundation for the nation's becoming, what has since been found to be the proper source of all its greatness—a Maritime Nation, and Mistress of the Seas. But the King's early death, as has been observed, greatly interrupted these well-concerted projects.

* It appears from the King's Journal, that consultation, touching the Marts, was held on the 9th of March: and on the 23d, "the merchants of England having been long staied, departed, in all about sixty sail, the wool fleet, and all to Antwerp. They were countermanded, because of the Mart, but it was too late."

CHAP. XXXI.

The King's illness—The Secretary much in his confidence—Edward's Letter to the Princess Mary, attributed by the latter to the Secretary—Burnet's remark upon it—Sir William made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter—Alteration of the device or badge of the Order—Did not probably succeed his Father as Master or Yeoman of the Robes, as some have supposed—His Illness towards the close of Edward's reign, and Strype's remarks upon it.

In January, 1553, the young King's health began to be very seriously affected; he had a violent cough with much weakness, and danger became apparent, to the great grief and concern of his subjects, but especially of those who were interested in the progress of the Reformation. Many strangers abroad also expressed their sorrow, "for he was no less honoured," says Sir John Hayward, "by those who heard of him, than by those who conversed with him." Of the latter, perhaps, none was more freely admitted to a confidential familiarity of intercourse with the young Sovereign, than Sir William *Cecil*. "That Prince," says a grave writer, "whose diligence, knowledge, and discretion far exceeded his years, seems to have been particularly delighted with a man so eminently distinguished for these qualities." The Secretary was accordingly admitted into his inmost confidence, and was supposed to have had no small share in those productions which were ostensibly attributed to Edward, as we have before had occasion to observe; where we also noticed the memorable remark of the Princess Mary on receiving a letter from her royal brother, "Ah, good Mr. *Cecil* took much pains here." In truth, it might not be unreasonable to

suppose that he had been consulted by the King, and the Princess's remark seems to explain a passage in her own letter to him, dated Aug. 19, 1551, to the following effect:

"And nowe I beseche your Highness to give me leave to write what I thinke towching your Majesties letteres; indeed, they be signed with your owne hand, and neverthelesse in my opinione not your Majesties in effecte, because it is well knowne (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your Highness), that althoghe our Lord be praysed, your Majestie hath farre more knowledge and greater guiftes than otheres of your yeares, yett it is not possyble that your Highnes can at these yeares be a judge in matters of religion. And therefore I take it that the matter in your letter proceedeth from such as do wish those thinges to take place, which be most agreeable to themselves; by whose doinges (your Majestie not offended), I intend not to rule my conscyence."*

Burnet's expression upon the Princess's remark, however, deserves to be noticed. "She cast," says he, in his History, vol. ii. 135. "the *blame* upon *Cecil.*" This does not appear; —the "much pains" taken, may bear a very different construction. The King was very uneasy about the Princess, and had sought earnestly, even with tears (Burnet), to turn her aside from the errors of Popery. When she received the King's letter she kissed it, as the Lord Chancellor himself reported in the following words: "I, the Lord Chancellor, delivered his Majesty's letters to her, which she received upon her knees, saying that for the honour of the King's Majesty's hand, wherewith the said letters were signed, she would kiss the letter, and not for the matter contained in them; for the matter, said she, I take to proceed, not from his Majesty, but from you his Council.

"In the reading of the letter, which she did read secretly to

* Ellis's Original Letters, illustrative of English History.

herself, she said these words in our hearing: 'Ah! good Mr. Cecil took much pains here.'"

These words might certainly be sarcastic, but having before attributed the contents to the suggestions of the Council generally, it would rather seem that the letter, which she read to herself, was one that made some impression upon her, though not sufficient to shake her purpose, which, being decidedly a point of conscience with her, deserved both respect and admiration. The most irritating thing to the King and Council undoubtedly was, her positive refusal to listen to any arguments or to receive any instructions, that might have had the effect of opening her mind to the principles of the Reformation. "As to Protestant books, she thanked God that she never had read any, nor ever intended to do so; that for her religion she was ready to lay down her life, and only feared that she might not be found worthy to become its martyr." She is said to have uttered this, "with the inflexible resolution of her character."* It seems to have been overlooked, that in the preceding reign, this inflexibility of character had failed her; she had submitted to her imperious father, but would not be moved even by the tears of her more amiable brother. It is remarkable also, that on one occasion she had insulted Protestantism (less cannot be said of her rude remarks) in the person of Ridley, who offered her instruction, and who was found worthy to become the Martyr of the cause she so much despised. While, therefore, we admire the energy of her principles, we cannot call them enlightened principles, or her energy the energy of reason.

One great embarrassment seems to have affected the King's mind. The Emperor interposed to have his cousin, the Lady Mary, allowed to have her Mass. The King hesitated to give such *license*. "The Bishops of Canterbury, London, Rochester,"

* Aikin's Elizabeth.

it appears, communicated with him upon the subject, and as the King reports, did "consider, to give license to sin, was sin; to suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne, so all haste possible might be used;" that is, to *persuade* the contrary. But all attempts at *persuasion* were resisted, all offers of instruction resented.

It was but a short time before the King's demise, that Sir William received fresh honours, and an addition of a hundred marks to his income, being appointed, April 12, 1553, Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. The words of the patent are nearly as follows:

"Rex omnibus &c.—Pro bono et fideli servitio quod dilectus Consiliarius noster Willus *Cecyll* miles, unus duorum Secretariorum nostrorum, antehac impendit, et indies impendere non desistit, quam *generis sui claritate*,* morumque probitate, et rerum variarum scientiâ, Concedimus eidem Officium et munus Cancellarii Ord. Nostri Garterii, infra Cast. nm de Wyndesor. E. R."

Macdiarmid adds, that he "also held, after his father's decease, the post of Master of the Robes;" but in this we are inclined to think he is mistaken.

It was on the 12th of April, 1553, as we have shewn, that the Secretary was made Chancellor of the Order of the Garter; an appointment which, according to the custom of those days, obliged him, it would seem, to alter the badge or device which his servants wore on their liveries, there being to be found in his Diary, in that year, the following entry: "Paid the embroiderer for xxxvj schutchyns for my servants' coats, at ij*s.* each, iii*l.* xii*s.*" which is curious, as not only shewing the alteration and expenses, but the number of servants retained by him and wearing his livery at that

* These words deserve to be noted, in confutation of some foul slanders we shall have to mention hereafter, and to which we have indeed already alluded. In another passage in the grant, he is called "viro probo, et *generosi sanguinis Equiti*," &c.

time; it being the custom in those days, for all servants and retainers of any great man to wear badges, representing commonly his particular device, arms, or crest; which badges were wrought, some on satin, some on velvet, and some on cloth of silver or gold, according to the rank and station of the servants, or quality of any other retainers who were to wear them.*

The alteration of these badges, according to the customs of Heraldry, might have been necessary, for the mere purpose of including the arms, crest, or device within the Garter, a distinction to which all Chancellors of the Order, since Henry VIII. first added it to the Royal arms, have constantly been entitled; but it is probable that a still greater alteration was necessary, since about this time, there was rather an extraordinary attempt made, totally to change the badge or device of the Order itself. As it lasted but a short time, being reversed in the next reign, it may not be amiss to give an account of it, as we find it in Burnet, though a still more curious account is extant in the King's own hand-writing, as translated by his Majesty out of English into Latin.†

"A proposition," says Burnet, "was made in 1551, to consider how the Order might be freed from the superstition that was supposed to be in it. St. George's fighting with a Dragon, looked like a legend forged in dark ages to support the honour of chivalry, then very high in the world. The story was neither credible in itself, nor vouched by any good author; nor was there any of that name mentioned by the ancients, but George, the Arian Bishop that was put in Alexandria when Athanasius was banished. Some Knights were appointed to prepare a reformation of the Order; and the Earl of Westmoreland and Sir Andrew Dudley were this year installed according to the new model. It was appointed to be called, in all time coming, the Order of the Garter, and no more the Order of St. George. Instead of the former George, there was to be on the one

* Peck. † Cott. MSS. Nero, c. 10.

side of the jewel a man on horseback, with a Bible on his sword's point; on the sword was written PROTECTIO, and on the Bible VERBUM DEI; and on the reverse a shield, and FIDES written upon it, to shew that they would maintain the word of GOD, both with offensive and defensive weapons. But all this was reversed by Queen Mary, and the old statutes were again revived, which continue to this day." So far Burnet.* To which we may add, that the Legend of St. George, if we are to look upon the story as such, represents him to have been a Christian Martyr who suffered under Diocletian; but who was a favourite with the Mahometans, as well as the Christians, the former actually ascribing to him many miracles; particularly one of having restored to life the dead ox of a poor widow who had hospitably received him into her house: but more we cannot relate, except that in the Collects and Hymns to the Saints in the hours *ad usum Sarum*, printed at Paris 1520, is to be found the following prayer, in which the history of the Dragon is assumed as true:

"Georgi Martyr inclite, te decet laus et gloria: prædotatum militia, per quem puella regia, existens in tristitia, coram Dracone pessimo, salvata est, et animo. Te rogamus corde intimo, ut cum cunctis fidelibus Cœli jungamur civibus, nostris abluti sordibus, ut simus cum lætitia, tecum simus in gloria, nostraque reddant labia laudes Christo cum gloria."

Without pretending to explain this prayer, any more than to unravel the dubious history of St. George, who seems to have been but a Christianized *Perseus*,† from the terms of the prayer

* After the alteration it was intended to confine the order to Protestants.—*Ibid.*

† The Dragon induces us to make this remark, otherwise *Selden*, *Heylin*, and others, have we think sufficiently shewn, that in the time of the Crusades, such a saint and martyr was so well known, and so generally acknowledged as an object of prayer, &c. in the East, as to leave little room for doubt as to the reality of his being. Procopius speaks of such a martyr. The story of the killing a dragon is derived from the Golden Legend of *Jacobus de Voragine*, see

itself, we may be allowed to observe, that it would have been a pity to have *unsainted* him, as the *tutelary guardian of England*, whose name had been invoked with such chivalrous ardour and such apparent effect, in the memorable battles and victories of our Edward the Third, and his valiant son, as well as the Henrys their successors.

> "The game's afoot,
> Follow your spirit, and upon this charge,
> Cry, God for Harry, England, and *St. George*."—*Henry V.* Act iii. Sc. 1.

> "Turn on the blood-hounds with heads of steel,
> And make the cowards stand aloof at bay.
> God and *St. George*, Talbot and England's right,
> Prosper our colours in this dangerous fight!"—*Henry VI.* Act iv. Sc. 2.

A remarkable proof of the invalidity of the pious King Edward's endeavours to rob him of his legendary fame; for Shakspeare had very good historical authority for the invocation; and we see, from the above, how soon he must have recovered from the temporary suspension of his *English* honours.

As Sir William became afterwards himself a Knight of this illustrious Order, after being Chancellor in Edward's reign, the account we have given of the change attempted but a short time

Dr. Pegge's Tract, in the fifth volume of the *Archæologia*, in refutation of Dr. Pettingal and Mr. Byrom.

The following story from Foxe's Acts and Monuments, as communicated by one who was present, should not be omitted.

"Edward VI. on his return from the sermon at Greenwich, on the anniversary of St. George's day, when he was only thirteen years old, in company with the Dukes of Somerset, Northumberland, and other lords and knights, thus addressed them, 'My Lords, I praie you, what saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?' The Lord Treasurer answered, 'If it please your Majestie, I did never read of any history of St. George, but only in *Legendâ Aureâ*, where it is thus set down, that St. George out with his *sworde*, and ran the Dragon through with his *spear*.' The Kynge, when he could not a good while speak for laughing, at lengthe saide, 'I praie you, my Lorde, and what did he do with his sworde the while?' 'That I cannot tell your Majestie,' said the Lord Treasurer; and so an end of the question of good St. George.

before his Chancellorship, seems to belong in no small degree to his history.

We have said that we account it a mistake, into which the author of the Lives of British Statesmen has fallen, in supposing that Sir William Cecil succeeded his father, who died March 22, 1553,* as Master or Yeoman of the Robes. He seems to rest his authority entirely on a letter written to Sir William by Sir Edward Dymocke, and preserved in Lodge's Illustrations of British History. Such a letter there certainly is, and the subject of it gives countenance to the idea that he did succeed to the office in the room of his deceased father; for it is specially addressed to Sir William, requiring to be supplied "out of his office," as he calls it, with such things as were necessary to his appearing at the Coronation of Queen Mary as Champion of England; a post, as is pretty generally known, appertaining to the Dymocke family as lords of the manor of Scrivelsby in Lincolnshire. Sir William seems to have offended the Champion by insisting upon a warrant from the Queen. Sir Edward writes to him, "I had at the coronacyone of Kinge Edward all soch parcells delyvered me by your father w^th^owte warrant; and at thys tyme I had no warrant for any thynge, but only my harnes, whyche is now in makyng. I had my cupp of gold w^th^owte warrant; I had my horsse w^th^owte warrant; and all my trappes and cremesen satten w^th^owte warrant: neither was there any required of me, inasmuch as it dothe appear, by olde presydentts of my clame, y^t^ I owght to have yt; and yet I do intend to have my clame exemplyfyde under seale; wherefore I pray you be not more straytor w^t^ me then your father was in his tyme, and others in their offyces hathe

* Collins. But it seems wrong; we think it should be March 19, 1553, according to Lord Burghley's own memorandum. On the monument it is put May 19, 1552; this is also a mistake arising, we conceive, from a misreading of Lord Burghley's entry of 19 M^r^tij, for 19 Maij, and 1552, for 1553; as we have hinted before.

byne at this tyme. It is the Quenes pleasure, yt I sholde have all thynges ptenyng to the offyce, and rather than I wolde be dreven to sew owte a warrant for so smale a thynge, I had rather lose yt.

"I have sent you Lentalls bill, whyche I have payde, praying you I may ether have soche lyke thynges delyvered unto me, or ells so moche mony as they do amownt: I owght to have all the pcells cotened in Lentalls bill, except eleven pertysans, wyche is not in my allowance. Good Mr. *Cyscells*, be as favorable to me in this matter as you may be, for if you deny me I will not no ferther travell in the matter; prayinge you to waye my cace as if it were your owne; and in shewyinge me this frendshipp I shall not fayle to requyte it if I lyve. For I doe not passe so moche of the valewe of the allowance, as I do for the psedent to hynder them that shall come of me if I do lose yt at this tyme.* And thus most herttily I byd you fare well this xxiij of Noveber, your assured Lovyng frend,

EDWARD DYMOK."

We suspect, that as the office had been vacant but a few months, and Sir William stood so much on the Queen's warrant (though this indeed was his general custom in the delivery of all things intrusted to him), that he had only taken charge of what had been in his father's care, as a representative, or *locum tenens*, rather than as successor. We have not at present, at least, any proof before us, of his having been Yeoman of the Robes to Queen Mary; and as it was an office, as we are told, which at that time brought the

* It seems from Hollinshed that the Champion's claim was as follows: "The manner of his tenure is this, that at the coronation of the King, he shall go to the armourie, and there take the King's best harnes save one; the best and richest vases saving one; then of the plumes and other things for the garnishing of his crest or helme; and so to the stable, there taking the next courser of horsse to the best, with like trappings, and so furnished to enter; and his office done, to have all these things, with the cup of gold and cover, to his own use."

holder of it much into intercourse and communication with the Sovereign, we are led to doubt whether he did hold it by regular appointment. We find a commission granted, in April, 1553, to Sir Richard Cotton, Sir Walter Mildmay, and Edmund Pigeon, Clerk of the Wardrobes, to take account of Jane Cecyl and Sir William Cecyl, Knight, administrators of the testimony of Richard Cecyl, Yeoman of the Robes, deceased, for certain robes, jewels, and apparel of the King, in custody of the said Richard. This seems to prove what we have said.

It may be matter of curiosity to some of our readers to peruse the "*Bill* of *Lentall*," alluded to in the above letter for "stuff delyvered," for the purposes aforesaid.

Item, for a showrde, and a gerdyll, and a scabbart of velvet . . . . . xl^{s}.
Item, for ii parchyndyns gylte . . . . . xl^{s}.
Item, for a poll ax . . . . . xx^{s}.
Item, for a chassynge staffe . . . . . vi^{s}. viii^{d}.
Item, a gylte payre of spowresse . . . . . xvi^{s}.
Sm totall, vi^{l}. ii^{s}. viii^{d}.

But it is time to revert to the situation of things at the time of the death of King Edward VI. which took place July 6, 1553. It is remarkable, that in the Diary of Lord Burghley we find the following entry, made the very next day to that on which the King died: "vii° Julii, 1553. Libertatem adeptus sum morte Regis; et ex misero aulico, factus sum liber et mei juris;" *i. e.* "By the death of the King I have obtained my liberty, and from a miserable courtier as I was, become free and my own master."

It is likely that, seeing the drift of Northumberland's designs, and yet entirely attached to the King's person, as is known to have been the case, he could not, during the life of the latter, abandon the Court with any satisfaction, or live in it with any pleasure. And on abundant occasions during his long and

laborious life, it does certainly appear, that he was a man who might beyond most others have enjoyed retirement; having many resources within himself, and being much attached to his family. But Northumberland's ambition threw every thing into confusion, nor could the Secretary escape so easily from the Court, as he seems to have projected and hoped.

During the last year of the King's life, even indeed but a few weeks before his death, in the months of May and June, Sir William appears to have suffered much in his health, and to have been admonished by his friends to withdraw as much as he could from business; Dr. Wotton writes to him thus from *Poisy* on the 21st of June, 1553:

"I was right sorie to heere of your sicknesse; and sorier wold have bene, but that I harde yow began to amende. Yow perceive yow must needes moderate your labour, your complexion being not strong ynough to continue as yow begone: and my Lords I doubt not will not be so unreasonable, as to requyre more of yow than yow are able to do. A good parte of the labour which was wont to lye on the Clerkes of the Counsell's hands,* is now turned to yow, whereof I suppose yow may easily disburden yourself; it is better yow do so betymes, than to repent the not doinge of it after, when it shall be to late."

The conclusion of this letter must not be omitted, as it serves to shew how well the Secretary knew how to employ his time and his thoughts, when free from business:

"Yf I knew anye kind of bookes heere which yow lyke, I wolde bye them for yow, and bring them home with some of myne owne. Heere is *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Theodoretus in Epistolas*

* We cannot help observing upon this passage, that, in all likelihood, Sir William's peculiar talent for drawing up such memorials or instructions, for the consideration of the King and Council, of which we have given a specimen, might have thrown into his hands business appertaining more, under other circumstances, to the *Clerks* of the *Council*, than to the *Secretary* of *State*.

Pauli, turned into Latyn by *Gencian*. But forbicause I heere that yow have *Clemens Alexandrinus* in *Greeke* alreadye, I suppose yow care not for hym in Latyn; but yf yow do, or wolde have anye other, lette me know your mind, and I will provide them for yow."

We may observe that in these days it was very rare to meet with the Greek fathers in their own language, and the Latin translations of them were generally bad. When Roger Ascham at Cambridge wanted to consult *Gregory Nyssen* in *Greek*, which it seems the University could not afford to purchase, he was obliged to borrow it of Cranmer from the Archbishop's library at Lambeth.

Other letters addressed to the Secretary at this time, notice his illness; particularly one from Secretary Petre, written to him from the Court at Greenwich, about his Garter robes, probably for an installation, since the King was yet alive. In this letter he wishes him well out of the hands of the physicians, and assures him that the whole Court would be sorry, should he by any means hazard his health by coming too soon abroad.*

There is something very noticeable in this illness. Strype does not hesitate to insinuate, as we have before observed, that it was feigned, and that he was, in truth, *more truly sick* of Northumberland's project. In his life of *Cheke* he goes farther, for it seems that at this time Sir John was actually appointed Secretary of State; not directly in the room of Cecil, but as a *third* Secretary. He was so appointed in June, the very month before the King died, at which time also, he was made a Privy Counsellor. "To me it seems," says Strype, "that in this juncture, one of the Secretaries was intended to be laid aside, and he perhaps was Cecil, who cared not to go along with the purposes of the ambitious Duke of Northumberland, to advance his daughter-

* Haynes, 150. dated May 15, 1553.

in-law, married to Guildford Dudley, his son, to the crown. Cecil was now absent from Court, sick in mind as well as body; but Cheke's zeal for religion made *him* willing to side with Northumberland and his party." At present we need pursue this no farther, but proceed at once to the *project* of the Duke of Northumberland, which Cecil is here said to have so much disliked, though he is directly charged by Hayward, and many others, with favouring and abetting it.

It may be proper to repeat here a passage already cited, from his Life by a Domestic, where, speaking of his commerce with the two Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, he writes as follows:—

" He shewed duty to both, but wold take gifts of neither; and so, though with difficultie, he carried himself even to both, all King Edward's time. But, after the King died, he was greatlie threatened and disgraced by the Duke of Northumberland, for mislyking, or not consentynge, to the Duke's purpose, touching the Lady Jane; yet he carried the matter so temperately, as he kept his conscience free, his truth to the crown, and himself from danger." Mr. Peck, by the insertion of a few words, reads, " he kept his conscience free, his truth to the crown [untainted], and himself [also secure] from danger;" and this is the true sense of the passage undoubtedly. We shall now endeavour to consider the case in all its circumstances: a greater perplexity in history has scarcely perhaps ever occurred. The imputations cast on him for his share in it, by various authors, but especially by his bitter adversaries, the Romanists, in the latter years of his life, will compel us to do our utmost to ascertain the truth.

CHAP. XXXII.

Northumberland's project to have the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth set aside from the Succession to the Crown, to introduce his own Family by marriage of his Son with the Lady Jane Grey, Daughter of the Duchess of Suffolk, and Grand-daughter of Mary, the younger Sister of Henry VIII. —Other Marriages in the Duke's family at the same time—Edward induced to settle the Crown on Lady Jane Grey, in default of male issue of his own, or of the Duchess of Suffolk—The King's idea of establishing a Salic Law in England—His Device *assented to by the Privy Council, Nobility, &c.— The King's Death.*

When Northumberland perceived that the health of King Edward was become so precarious, as to afford but little prospect of his continuing to reign long, he appears to have, with no small art, projected and completed a marriage with one of his own family, evidently pointing to the future inheritance of the crown. There might be in it, somewhat of apprehension as well as ambition, and anxiety to preserve his own power by a desperate attempt; at all events to keep out the Princess Mary, to whom he had conducted himself with great harshness, and whose religious opinions he had *latterly* thwarted. Whatever might be the real state of his feelings, his views and designs could not be dissembled.

In conjunction with the new Duke of Suffolk (late Marquess of Dorset), who had married the Lady Frances, daughter to Mary, Dowager Queen of France, the younger sister of King Henry VIII. and whom, to ingratiate himself with him, as a person most necessary to his purposes, he had caused to be made Duke of Suffolk, on the untimely death of the two sons of the late

Duke,* brothers to his wife the Lady Frances, he procured his fourth, and only unmarried son, the Lord Guildford Dudley, who had previously been a suitor to a daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, to be married, in the very year the King died, to the Lady Jane Grey, the eldest daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, and cousin to Edward.

Though Henry had, with the full consent of Parliament, provided by will for the regular succession of his two daughters, in case of the demise of his son without issue, yet it was well known that the family of his youngest sister Mary, the Duchess of Suffolk, had also been selected to come next in the order of succession, to the setting aside the claims of his elder sister, Margaret, Queen of Scotland.

Before Henry made his will besides, in favour of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, it was equally well known, that they had both been declared illegitimate by Parliament, which might seem, in the eyes of many, to bring the Suffolk line two steps nearer to the throne.

Mary's perseverance in the Romish religion, at so critical a moment, had undoubtedly occasioned to her amiable brother much trouble and uneasiness, not with a view to the present only, but to what might come to pass in case of his demise. Elizabeth, on the other hand, was in many respects, and on various accounts, a favourite with the King; but, while it might seem impracticable to place her immediately before her elder sister, having been besides equally under the ban of illegitimacy, the Lady Jane

* These two young men died of that extraordinary complaint, the sweating sickness, or, as it was with some reason called by *foreigners*, if the accounts of it be true, *Sudor Anglicus*. Hall has given a formidable description of its symptoms and effects. Dr. Caius, the founder of Caius College, Cambridge, and who was physician to Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, successively, wrote a treatise on it, under the title *De Ephemera Britannica*. Its first appearance was in the year 1486; its second, in 1509; it was very fatal in 1551. The extraordinary circumstance was, that it was said, even in foreign countries to attack only Englishmen.

Grey had been actually brought up in a great measure with her royal cousins, and in the principles of the Protestant faith, and had besides betrayed such amiable qualities, and such rare talents, and had acquired such an extraordinary stock of learning for a person of her age, sex, and rank, as to have also become, and most deservedly, no small favourite with Edward.

We shall say nothing at present of the doubts about Henry's will, as it does not properly belong to this part of our history, our object being chiefly to shew what those circumstances were, which might tend at that particular moment, and with the probability of the King's death before his eyes, to encourage the ambitious views of Northumberland, and give him an influence over the King's mind, weakened by disease, and little capable therefore of that energy and exertion, requisite to counteract the deep-laid stratagems and crooked policy of his wily minister. Burnet, indeed, is inclined to think he was so weakened, as to set his hand to every thing the Council sent to him, without any anxious inquiries, and to spare himself any farther trouble and vexation; but this seems to be going too far, as he was certainly quite collected to almost the last hour of his short life.*

But besides the marriage of his son to the Lady Jane, other connexions were formed by the Duke's interposition, tending to give him support, and greatly to strengthen his interests: for on the

* How collected he was, indeed, when nearly at the point of death, may be judged from the extraordinary prayer he was heard to utter, with his eyes closed, only three hours before he expired, and when he apprehended no persons were at hand to hear him. Those who did hear him, and were able to vouch for it, being Sir Th. Wroth, Sir He. Sidney (in whose arms he soon after breathed his last), two of the chief gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; Dr. Owen, Dr. Wendye, and Christ. Salmon, groom. The words were these:—

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit, not my will, but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O, my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake."

very same day on which his son and Lady Jane were united, as before remarked, the Lady Katherine Grey, second daughter to the Duke and Duchess of Suffolk, was married to the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke, the Duke's principal associate and partisan; and his own daughter, the Lady Katherine Dudley, to Lord Hastings, son of the Earl of Huntington, and whose mother, sister of Henry Pole, Lord Montacute, was nearly allied to the house of Clarence. The ceremonies were performed at *Durham* House in the Strand, of which the Duke had already taken possession, in anticipation of his having the rest of the bishopric transferred to him.*

The costly magnificence with which these several marriages were celebrated, at a time when the young King's life was known to be in such extreme danger, naturally gave offence and disgust to the people, who soon became as much disposed to shew their hatred against Northumberland, as their pity for the King. Much of the rich apparel and jewellery used upon the occasion, were actually supplied by warrant, from the King's wardrobe.†

But Northumberland, as long as the King remained within his power, regarded not the clamours of the people. He knew that Edward might still further his views, by adopting his father's plan of disposing of his crown by will. The first object, of course, was to prejudice him against the Princess Mary, by enlarging upon her devotion to the See of Rome, and suggesting, what he knew must bear just as hard against the Princess Elizabeth, that she was likely by marriage to bring the nation into subjection to some foreign power; that the divorce of her mother, which would also equally tell against Elizabeth, had rendered her illegitimate; and at all events, that by the ancient laws of the realm, half-sisters had no claim of inheritance by descent.

So far then he was for setting aside the will of Henry: but as the same will was necessary to his purposes of bringing forward

* Collier. † Strype, Mem. b. ii. ch. xxii.

the Suffolk line, he, with equal effrontery, appealed to it in favour of the Lady Jane; though her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, Henry's own niece, was still living, and as the historians in general have alleged, made to resign her pretensions to her daughter; but in truth she had no such pretensions to resign, she herself not having been put into the line of inheritance, but her issue only, a circumstance, till lately, much overlooked.*

This, however, among other things already dwelt upon, must have helped much to reconcile matters the more easily to Edward, on whose disposition of affairs at his death Northumberland seemed to have fixed his strongest hopes, "from the entire love he bare," as Hayward writes, "to his cousin the Lady Jane, a woman," he goes on to say, "of most rare and incomparable perfections; for besides her excellent beauty, adorned with all variety of virtues, as a clear sky with stars, as a princely diadem with jewels, she was most dear to the King, in regard both of her religion and of her education in the knowledge of the liberal sciences and skill in languages; for in theology, in philosophy, in all liberal arts, in the Latin and Greek tongues, and in the vulgar languages of divers near nations, she far exceeded all of her sex, and any of her years, unless haply the King himself."

There is no doubt of her having possessed many of these rare qualities and accomplishments, which must have greatly contributed to favour the views of Northumberland in influencing the King's mind, to adopt the plan of setting aside his two half-sisters in favour of the Duke's daughter-in-law, as Lady Jane was now become. Edward, in short, was brought to consent that letters patent should be prepared, not, indeed, giving the crown *immediately* to Lady Jane, but by "a coarse contrivance," as Hayward properly enough calls it, directing that in case the King should die without issue of his body lawfully begotten, then the imperial

* See Nicolas's Lady Jane Grey.

crown of England and Ireland, with his title to the crown of France, and all things to them belonging, should remain and come to the *eldest son* of the Lady Frances, daughter to the Lady Mary, youngest sister to King Henry the Eighth, *in case such issue should be born into the world during the life of King Edward*, and after to the heirs *male* of the *said issue*, and in like sort *from son to son* of the said *Lady Frances* lawfully begotten, as they should be in priority of birth, and *born during the King's life*; and in *default of such sons*, &c. &c., that then the said crown, &c. should remain and come to the Lady Jane, and the heirs *male* of her body lawfully begotten, &c. &c.

The words in italics sufficiently support the character given of this instrument, as a "coarse contrivance;" for it is obvious that due care was taken to procure the crown to descend without impediment or interruption from the head of the dying King to that of his young and amiable but most unfortunate cousin, the Lady Jane; for not only was her mother excluded by the will, as well as by statute, but the male issue, who were contingently to interrupt the descent of the crown as intended, were not only to be born of a mother, represented by some (though most erroneously) to be past child-bearing,* but before the

* The Duchess's age has been assigned as a cause for her having been passed over in King Henry's Act of Settlement, as not being likely to outlive Edward and the two Princesses his daughters, who were so much younger than herself. See Nicolas's Memoir of Lady Jane Grey, xxvii. But this ingenious and generally correct writer seems to have overlooked what is said p. cviii. in his citation of a passage from Lord Orford, namely, that at the time of Edward's death the Duchess was not past thirty-one; her mother, indeed, who died 1533 [see Koch's Tables, xlvi.], having been born in 1498, would only have been fifty-five, as may be seen in Mr. Nicolas's own Pedigree of the Grey family. This does by no means contradict Mr. Nicolas's supposition, that Henry might not contemplate this possibility of the Duchess's outliving two persons younger than herself (for Mary, in fact, was older); but the comparison of their ages severally seems scarcely to admit of the conclusion, that Henry omitted to put the Lady Frances into the line of succession on account of her age, or because his children were many years younger than their cousins. It seems to us, that though Edward might be fifteen years younger than the Duchess, and Elizabeth eleven, yet that Mary was six years older.

demise of the King, whose life was at that moment not only despaired of, but who actually did die but *fifteen* days afterwards, the letters patent bearing date June 21, 1553, and the sixth of the very month following (July) being the day of the King's death.

But the strange circumstance is, that notwithstanding the "coarseness" of this "contrivance," all that the King was persuaded to do, obtained the signatures of most of the privy counsellors, nobility, and judges of the realm, and finally passed the great seal.

Before, however, we take this latter circumstance into consideration, in which the credit of Lord Burghley happens to be greatly involved, we would observe, that in Warner's Ecclesiastical History of England, cited by M'Crie in his valuable Life of Knox, it is stated, that Edward VI., *some time before his death*, had proposed to the Privy Council to adopt into the laws of England the *Salic* law of France, to the positive exclusion of *females* from the throne; but the motion, not suiting the ambitious views of the Duke of Northumberland, was overruled.

That the King had such things in view, possibly moved thereto by the extraordinary writings put abroad about this time against the rule of women, particularly by Knox,* one of his own chaplains, as well as one of his six select preachers, is clear from a Device still preserved among the Petyt MSS. in his own hand-writing, and printed by Burnet and Strype, wherein, being also led into a fearful apprehension of the consequences to religion, by the crown's passing to his sister Mary, or to any female who might by marriage bring the nation into subjection to foreigners, he had provided for the descent of the crown to the male issue only of *himself* or of the *Suffolk* line; for it is rather remarkable that Edward, as well as his father, should totally have set aside the elder branch of Scotland

* See Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. 18—20, where is an account of the extraordinary sermon he preached at Amersham, Bucks, against Papistry, just after the King's death.

in this Device, regarding them, however, possibly as having now become foreigners by Mary's betrothment to the Dauphin. This, indeed, appears from the limitation of inheritance to the crown to the daughters of the Duchess of Suffolk, "naturally born within the realm," as it is expressed in the original.

From the same MSS. Burnet and Strype have also printed a very curious document, purporting to be the original assent of the Council to Edward's limitation of the crown by will, signed by twenty-four counsellors, and among others, *Cecil.* This document appears evidently to refer to the *Device*, which indeed it particularly mentions; and though it seems to bind the subscribers to observe and keep "all such other matters as his Majesty by his last will shall appoint, declare, or command, touching or concerning the limitation of the succession of the said imperial crown;" yet it may be doubted how far it *could* be drawn up with any direct view to Northumberland's project of making the crown pass immediately from Edward to the Lady Jane. Collier refers to it in a manner to imply* this, but the Device was so contrary to Northumberland's project as not to admit of their being compatible:—the Device was totally to set aside females; Northumberland's project, to bring in the Lady Jane immediately after Edward. In the Device, the King clearly contemplates the possibility or probability of the crown's passing to his own male issue, and was probably written therefore, as Burnet expressly says in his Supplement, and others after him, "*some time before his death;*" when, in his last moments, he wished to have the consent of the Council and

* As it stands in Collier, it would seem impossible to offer any excuse for those who subsequently seceded from the cause of the Lady Jane; our own idea is, that the document signed by the Twenty-four was not only anterior to the letters patent, but had a distinct view to the preference of the heirs male, which might most properly be called the *King's Device*, and which, as a *Device*, under the implied circumstances of the King [and the Duchess of Suffolk] living to have male heirs, must have appeared to have been a mere fancy; a fancy, however, of which the Duke of Northumberland seems to have well known how to take advantage.

Judges to the settlement of the crown on the Lady Jane, no care was expressed but concerning the danger to religion if the Princess Mary should succeed. The document signed by the twenty-four counsellors, therefore, may have had no immediate bearing on the latter case, though it certainly seemed to imply the full consent of the subscribers to the King's having full power to settle the succession by will, as far as it could be done independently of the express sanction of Parliament.* The principal point to consider in this case would be, whether the Council, in the document printed by Burnet, had a view only to the King's device of limiting the succession to the heirs male, or whether they then intended to consent to the Lady Jane's being brought into the succession as a female heir, being thereby preferred to the late King's two daughters. The allusion to the "Device" occasions all the difficulty. The King's own device seems to have been to exclude the females totally, though in the course of the proceedings, through the machinations of Northumberland, he was brought in fact and reality to prefer the Lady Jane to his two sisters. We are disposed to think he was deceived, being too weak to investigate the matter thoroughly. In truth, the instrument itself, as it appears in Strype's Cranmer, Appendix 164, is most curious; for if the King's device was to exclude the females, two very trifling words make all the difference. "For lack of issue of my body, to the Lady Fraunceses heir masles, if she have any such issue before my death;

* In Lloyd's State Worthies, and in his observations on the Lives of the Parrs, it is said of William Parr, Marquess of Northampton, that "it was in pursuance of *King Henry's Statute*, that he closed with King Edward's will;" for this clause he produced for himself: "Provided that if the Lady Mary do not keep nor perform such conditions, which shall be limited and appointed as aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth, for lack of heirs from the King's body, and the said Lord Prince, lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown and other the premises shall be, come and remain, to such person and persons, and of such estate and estates, as the King's Highness by his letters patent, sealed under his great seal, or by his last will in writing, signed with his hand, shall limit and appoint."

to the Lady Jane AND HER heir masles; [instead of the Lady Jane's heirs masles,* as in the *other* cases, for it goes *on*] to the Lady Katerin's heirs masles; to the Lady Mary's heirs masles;" and so on, constantly keeping to the heirs male, *except in the case of the Lady Jane.* And, indeed, the very beginning of the Device in Burnet, iii. part ii. 271, shews what was passing in the King's mind; "For lack of *issue male* of my body, to the *issue male coming of the issue female, as I have after declared.*"

As it may assist other historians in their researches to know how essentially necessary it may be to examine *manuscripts,* however often their contents may have been printed by other writers, or published in other works, we shall observe, that it was long after writing the above, that we had an opportunity of ascertaining the exact circumstances of the Petyt manuscript. And after what has been said (and what had been written long before), the reader may guess our surprise to find that Edward had originally written, as we suspected, "to the Lady Jane's heirs masles," as in all the other cases; afterwards, but whether by Northumberland's contrivance or not, we cannot pretend to say (but it looks so), he ran his pen through the *s* at the end of Jane, and inserted above the two little but important words "and her;" the passage standing thus: "For lakke of issu male of my body to the L. Franceses heires masles— ~~For lakke of~~ if she have any such issu before my death to the L. Janes and her heires masles."—And lower down is another interlineation, "L. Margarets daughters heires masles." From the whole it appears how much it was at one time at least the King's *own* device to limit the succession *to the issue male coming of the issue female,* which are his own words, though scratched through.

* In Burnet it is reduced to *one* word: "To the said Jane AND heirs males; to the said Katherine's heirs males," &c.

And this may account for the resistance and remonstrance of some of the very same Counsellors who signed that document, to Northumberland's project, particularly Cranmer and Cecil. If, to get rid of the Princess Mary, as inimical to the Reformed religion, a plan had been proposed "some time before the King's death," for limiting the crown to the heirs male of the House of Tudor, it must be acknowledged that it would have been much less personal to the deposed Princess, than to have another female, and one more remote from the crown, and one also to whom both the King's daughters had been preferred by their father's will, placed over their head. For the limitation of the inheritance to *males* might indeed have equally set aside the Princess Elizabeth, but the elevation and selection of the Lady Jane was doubly objectionable to the *latter* Princess, since the religion of the country would not have been held to be in such danger from her succession, as from that of her sister.

We may now then be able, perhaps, to solve an historical problem, which at first, it must be confessed, seemed to stand greatly in the way of our particular researches and inquiries. We may now perhaps be able duly to appreciate the extreme art and cunning of Northumberland. It seems likely that the King may have been induced to think, that at the last he was only proceeding upon his own Device. It is seldom that the sick totally abandon all hope of recovery :* Lady Jane was not so named in the will, as to become more than heir presumptive; there was an opening left for male issue by the King, and male issue by the Duchess of Suffolk; it is possible that in his weak state, he might

* In proof that the dying King, when he framed his Device for the succession, did not anticipate the very near approach of his own dissolution, we may reasonably cite the second clause: "If after my death the *heir male* be entered into eighteen years old, then is he to have the whole rule and government thereof." In fact, in his memorable prayer three hours before he died, he asks for life and health.

not sufficiently weigh the consequences of his signing such a will, though it could not fail to become apparent to some of his wisest Counsellors; to Cranmer, among others, who is known to have remonstrated, and to have wished for an opportunity of speaking to the King alone upon it, "that so he might be more free with him, but that was not allowed him." It is possible, that the force of the one or two small words we have noticed, might in the hurry of the business be actually overlooked by all but Northumberland; those words, by separating the heirs male of the Lady Jane from herself, placing her in a different situation *from all the other females of her own family*. In the original Device of Edward, besides, provision was made for the Duchess and her daughters being successively Governesses or Regents, "till some heir *male* be born, and then the mother of that child to be Governess;" but all this, to use Burnet's words, "was *dashed out*." At all events, the King's *general* device was to limit the succession to the heirs male, and that all the females of the Suffolk line should be no more than Regents or Governesses *till some male heir should* be born. We have shewn in how very curious a manner, the Lady Jane, of all those females, was brought into the direct line of inheritance. Every thing bears the appearance of an attempt to deceive; and it is probable that many of the twenty-four subscribers, as well as the King, were deceived, not discerning at that time how inevitably Lady Jane must, by the insertion of those two words, become the immediate successor of Edward. The waiting for heirs male would have afforded ample time for a reconsideration of matters; though it is impossible to excuse, *in these days*, the promptitude with which such very solemn engagements *at that time* were entered into. But is not this promptitude to be accounted for *historically?* Can we suppose that in the *middle* of the *Sixteenth Century*, the Papistical subterfuge of mental reservation was so totally done away, as to clear the oaths,

either of Papists or Protestants, of all attempt at dissimulation or equivocation? Are we to suppose that at that early period of the Reformation men had forgotten that, according to the principles of the Romish Church, to which some of the twenty-four subscribers still adhered, and which the others had scarcely quitted, there was a distinction established which admitted of dissimulation in regard to *some* oaths, though *not* to others; and that such oaths as concerned *obedience* to *temporal Sovereigns* were classed among the oaths admitting of equivocation to a remarkable degree? We shall not pretend to say how far a sense of this distinction actually influenced any of the subscribers, nor do we refer to it by way of excuse, but in order to appreciate properly, as it is but fair to do, the real weight of such solemn compacts, *at such a time*. In the middle of the following century even, a whole hundred years after, we have a curious instance of equivocation, by means of the reduplicative sense of particular propositions; and as it is the testimony of a Catholic writer, it may, we think, be adduced as a proper specimen. The Irish clergy, it seems, at that period, considering it quite lawful to equivocate in cases regarding any oath of allegiance or supremacy to the King, were willing to subscribe to this proposition: "It is our doctrine, that we subjects owe so natural and just obedience to our King, that no power, under any pretext soever, can ever dispense with, or free us of the same." Here, to sustain the Pope's power of excommunication, and deposing of temporal Sovereigns, the reduplicative sense is brought in to qualify the terms, "we subjects," and "the King;" giving this construction to the doctrine, *while* we are subjects, and *while* he is King.*

It has been already hinted, that so far from wishing for Edward's death, if his life could have been preserved, Northumberland was

* See Walsh's History of the Irish Remonstrance, 1661, cited in Phillpott's Letter to Canning, 1827.

evidently in such power as to be in danger of losing much by such an event, especially if Mary should succeed, to whom he had given offence. Some symptoms of amendment seem, therefore, to have thrown him off his guard, and to have driven him into measures, for which neither the King nor himself were sufficiently prepared. Thus, when it was by certain of the judges and counsellors suggested to the King, that whatever they did would be of no force without the consent of Parliament, the King said he meant to have one shortly, though he had not at the time (as it proved) sixteen more days to live. It was not Northumberland's plan to wait for a Parliament,* so that his impetuosity was great to procure the signatures of the judges and counsellors, and overrule, even by personal violence, all objections and remonstrances, seeing the imminent danger in which the King lay. He had hurried on, in quite an indecent manner, the marriage of his son; and, as another mark of haste, he appears to have neglected to secure the two Princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, as he undoubtedly meant to have done, finding it at the last even necessary to conceal the King's death, in hopes of inveigling them to the Court, on a pretence of the dying Monarch's wish to see them.

It is curious to reflect upon the method by which they are said to have escaped this snare. The King was dead, or nearly so, when the summons was sent to them; the Princess Mary had actually begun her journey when she was stopped at Hoddesdon by secret intelligence conveyed to her by the *Earl of Arundel.* The Princess Elizabeth is said to have been in the same manner stayed by *Cecil*, so that *she* totally disobeyed the summons, and remained at one of her houses in Hertfordshire. It had been intended to send her out of the way, by matching her with the King of Denmark.

* Rapin.

It also deserves to be noticed, that Lord Arundel is said to have sent his message to the Princess Mary from Greenwich, the very night the King died, while the Lords were actually deliberating upon the event, though, to keep it secret, Northumberland had had the precaution to double the guards, on purpose the better to prevent all communication between the King's apartment and the others.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Sir William Cecil misrepresented as to the part he took in this mysterious concern, particularly by Hayward—Vindicated by Strype, &c.—Cranmer probably as much so—Northumberland's art to collect at Greenwich as many of the Council as he could, at the moment of the King's death—Not afterwards permitted to depart, or from the Tower, to which they retired on the King's death—The connivance of the Catholic party much more inexplicable than any apparent consent on the part of the Protestants—Lady Jane Grey's aversion to the measure.

It is now time to consider the part which Cecil, in particular, is *represented* to have taken in this most extraordinary transaction; for extraordinary it must still appear, there being no means left of entirely explaining it, except indeed by classing it among the many very irregular acts of those revolutionary times. We have shewn that the statement of his *Domestic* is, that he incurred the particular displeasure of Northumberland, "for mislyking or not consentynge to the Duke's purpose touching the Ladie Jane;" yet his hand appears to the letters patent, and Sir John Hayward goes so far as to say, that "in this contrivance, he" (Northumberland) "used the advice of TWO especially; the Lord Chief Justice Montague, who drew the letters patent, and Secretary *Cecil; these* furnished the patent with divers reasons, whereof some were of law, and some of policy of state."

"Herein," says that valuable writer Strype, "our author grossly wrongeth the remains of these two gentlemen, Montague and Cecil; out of what design I know not, nor as little do I know whence he had it, for neither Stow nor Sanders mention it." He then proceeds to a very long account of what he conceived to have

been the truth; that so far from favouring or assisting in Northumberland's designs, they both decidedly opposed them, much to the dissatisfaction and displeasure of Northumberland. He mentions having seen an apology of Cecil's own framing, to exculpate himself from so gross a charge: we also have seen it, and have no reason to doubt its veracity. The principal point insisted upon in it, is, that Cecil never signed it as a counsellor, or in proof of his assent to it; but merely as an evidence of the other signatures, and of the consent and agreement of the King and Council. In this document he alleges, that so far from assisting the Duke, by suggesting reasons for what he was about, either in law or policy, he refused to do what the Duke would particularly have pressed upon him as Secretary.

But the whole is so important as a correction of Hayward's loose charge, that we shall conceive it to be our duty to transcribe it; abridging it where we can.

"Then he shewed" (in the apology referred to), "how he refused to subscribe the book, when none of the Council did refuse; whereby he incurred the indignation of the Duke. That he refused to make a proclamation (for the proclaiming Queen Jane), and turned the labour to Throgmorton. That he refused the writing of a letter to send abroad in the realm, for the shewing Queen Jane's title. That this he refused, because he would not write Queen Mary *Bastard;* and the Duke wrote it himself. That he avoided being present at the drawing up of the proclamation, for the publishing the Queen Jane's title, though he were especially appointed thereunto. That he avoided answering the Queen's letter, which she wrote from Kenninghall to the Council, requiring their obedience. That he avoided also writing all public letters to the realm upon Jane's access to the throne. Still further, that he practised with the Lord Treasurer, to win the Lord Privy Seal, that he might, by the Lord Russel's means, cause Windsor Castle

to serve the Queen, and they two to levy the west parts for the Queen's service. That he opened himself to the Lord Arundel, whom he found thereunto disposed; that he did the like to the Lord Darcy. That he purposed to have stolen down to the Queen's Highness, and Gosnald offered to lead him thither, because he knew not the way; and that he had his horses ready at Lambeth for that purpose. That when he heard of this purpose first secretly (viz. of making the Lady Jane Queen), he disliked it, and fearing the event, conveyed away his lands, his goods, and his leases."—

"All these things considered," says the learned commentator, "who can think it true, that he furnished the Patent of Settlement with arguments taken from law and policy? The most he did, was to sign with the rest; which also he did as a witness to King Edward's deed, and not as an abettor or counsellor."

He next proceeds in the same way to vindicate the memory of Sir Edward Montague, concluding from his own counter statements, founded on indisputable facts,* that Hayward had "greatly wronged the memory of both these worthy men, and wronged posterity also, in imposing upon their belief matters of falsehood."

The whole account is undoubtedly a very perplexed one, for it is neither certain how many recusants there were, nor is it possible to assign the different motives by which they were at last severally induced to subscribe. Hayward says, none refused to subscribe but Sir James Hales,† one of the judges, "a man well observed to be both religious and upright." It is by others represented that Cecil refused, being persuaded by the arguments, and encouraged

* They may be seen in *Fuller's* Church History, who, as well as *Strype*, defends both Montague and Cecil from Sir John Hayward's charges. In Sir Edward Montague's statement, the following expression is very noticeable, after what has already been said about the King's first *Device*—"he thinks, in his conscience, the King never invented *this* matter himself, but by some wonderful false compasse."

† See, in the Supplement to Seward's Anecdotes, a curious dialogue between Judge Hales and Gardiner, Oct. 6, 1553; in which the latter gives Hales the credit of having stood firm to Mary's succession.

by the example of that eminent lawyer. Burnet speaks of another judge, Gosnald, who, as well as Hales, refused subscription, and was also an encouragement to the Secretary to withhold his consent. Archbishop Cranmer was undoubtedly among the recusants, though he complied afterwards on the express command, as it is said, of the King. Cranmer, Montague, and Cecil, have all explained their own conduct; have all claimed to have been strong recusants. We shall only observe, that the latter seems clearly to have exonerated himself from the gross charge of Hayward, of having actually been an adviser and abettor of the measure, and a mere tool in the hands of Northumberland. His testimony as to the Duke's being obliged to write the letter for "the shewing Queen Jane's Title," *himself*, is borne out by a document still in existence among the Lansdown MSS., purporting to be the first copy of a letter to be written from the Lady Jane Grey when she came to the Tower, July 12, 1553. This is in the Duke's own hand, evidently written in haste, and with such a number of almost illegible corrections, as very plainly to bespeak a mind much agitated, and that the task was one which he might better have left to others, could he so far have confided them: the paper is indorsed by Lord Burghley himself. Had Hayward's account indeed been true, it would be difficult to say how the Secretary could possibly have escaped the severity of a law passed in one of Mary's earliest Parliaments, to subject to attainder the authors and chief abettors of the late conspiracy to exclude the Queen from the succession. It would be still more difficult to account for his not being included in the list of prisoners for trial, at the same time, which the Queen herself reduced from twenty-seven to eleven, by striking out the names of those who were judged to be the least guilty; among which names, so struck out, appears particularly that of Judge Montague, whom Hayward represents to have been as forward in the business as Cecil.

Hayward assigns three reasons for the compliance of the several members of the Privy Council in subscribing Edward's will. Some, he thinks, being possessed of divers lands which once pertained to Monasteries, Chantries, and other Religious houses, newly dissolved, were apprehensive that if Mary should succeed, they would be deprived of them; others he supposes to have been either moved by fear of the Duke, or else through gratitude to him for favours received, to comply with his proposal. He might surely have added, that some acted entirely in obedience to the commands or entreaties of the dying King, influenced, as he was taught to think himself, solely by an anxious desire to preserve the newly Reformed Church.

Of these several motives the last, perhaps, applies exclusively to the subject of these Memoirs; that he signed is certain; he himself has told us it was only as a witness, and not as a counsellor: he was not particularly bound by gratitude to Northumberland; and he does not appear to have been actuated by fear, for his Domestic expressly tells us, he incurred the Duke's "displeasure" by his backwardness. Almost all writers agree in recording the indecent violence of Northumberland, which Sir Edward Montague assigns as one of the reasons which almost compelled him to sign, and which Collier thus describes: "He was highly enraged with disappointment" (when Montague and others declared before the Council that they who should propose or sign such an instrument would subject themselves to the penalties of treason); "called Sir Edward Montague traitor; said he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel; and blustered and menaced to that degree, that Montague and Bromley were afraid he would have struck them." Under such circumstances we may suppose, that they, if not others, might be brought to comply, through a persuasion that resistance was unavailable, and that a document so authenticated, could never be submitted to by the nation at large.

The necessity indeed of a Parliamentary sanction was strongly insisted upon, and vainly promised by Edward; not of course foreseeing the near approach of his own death. That curious but entertaining writer Lloyd, in his State Worthies, makes the following excuse for Cranmer: "He was unwilling to wrong Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, therefore he refused at first to sign the King's *Testament*, but Duke Dudley's *will*. He was willing to continue the Protestant religion, therefore he signed it at last." If this author were at all right, the same feelings might have governed *Cecil;* but if he signed only as a *witness*, we need not seek to ascertain what his precise feelings were; but Burnet is disposed to think Cranmer may have signed it in the same way. That Cranmer did in no manner regard Cecil as a "chief doer in the matter," we may plainly infer from his inquiries after Sir John Cheke, when the latter fell into trouble after Mary's accession: "Considering," he writes to Cecil himself, "he had been none of the chief doers in that matter, he hoped he should have been of them that should have partaken of the Queen's favour."* As Cecil had partaken of the Queen's favour, and Cranmer expresses no surprise at that being the case, we may conclude that he also did by no means appear to him in the light of a chief doer; and yet the charge of Hayward goes nearly to that length.

It so happened, that as many as twenty years after, viz. in 1573, to repel, no doubt, the calumnies of his enemies, (for in that year both Lord Burghley and his relation, the Lord Keeper Bacon, were grossly libelled by the Papists, as may be seen in Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, vol. ii. 297,) his Lordship judged it expedient to bring forward the testimony of an old servant, Roger Alford, once his under-secretary, to explain his conduct in this affair, as from his own memory and recollection; and from this testimony it appears, that Sir William, from the first moment that he knew such

* Strype's Cranmer, 643.

a project to be in agitation, expressed his dislike to it; that, so far from being a chief counsellor in it, as Hayward alleges, he declared to this confidential servant, that "whatever became of it, he would never partake of that device;" that he betrayed considerable apprehension of being molested, if not imprisoned, for resisting such motions, and that opinions were entertained by Mr. Gosnald and Justice Hales, that it would be treason to "set their pens" to any such instrument; but that being present by command,* and ordered to subscribe, he answered, that, "allowing it as a counsellor, he could not, for causes already shewn to the King;" whereupon, as the evidence proceeds, the King wished him to subscribe as a *witness*, and as such he put his name *last;* that he was afterwards particularly selected to go to Queen Mary at Ipswich, and that the said Queen expressed much satisfaction at his conduct and proceedings.

It may be thought that we dwell too long upon this strange, and, as it proved, fatal incident in our history; but Lord Burghley has the honour of occupying a very conspicuous place in the list of our early Reformers. He was, to the day of his death, grossly slandered by the papistical party; and every seeming blot in his public character, magnified and enlarged beyond all that can be conceived by those who have not read the libels, published while he was yet alive, and still extant both in manuscript and print. Cranmer has, if possible, suffered more than himself, of unjust imputation upon this very point, and therefore we have judged it fit to sift it to the bottom; and after all that has

* It seems to have been a great object with Northumberland, to have as many about the Court, at the time of the King's death, as he could find means to assemble, "that so all the Council, and best of the nobility, might be dipped into the project of bringing the Crown into his family, and rendering the settlement so much the firmer." It may be seen by the signatures to a dispatch, five days before the King's death, and printed in "Strype's Memorials," ii. part ii. 102., how many of the most important persons in the state were then with the King at Greenwich; where, and in the Tower, they remained in little less than a state of captivity, till Northumberland was moved to head the troops against Mary.

been already alleged in defence of those, who appear to have unwillingly assented to Northumberland's settlement of the Crown, we must still go farther to arrive at a right conclusion upon the matter, as a question between Protestants and Papists; between our early Reformers, and their contemporary Romanists.

The signatures to Edward's will, were indeed most extraordinary, and seem almost to prove, that so far from truly abetting Northumberland's project, they foresaw that he must be hurrying himself on to his own ruin, and that whatever they did, in such an emergency, was *ipso facto* null; for they were in truth, at the time, his prisoners; as well at Greenwich where the King died, as afterwards on their removal to the Tower. After all it was imperfect, for though in the body of the instrument they stipulate to set to their seals, there are no seals to the original. And with what views the party that did subscribe, could be brought to *concur*, in the main purport of the instrument, is perfectly unintelligible, except it were to ruin the ambitious Northumberland! of whom many stood in fear, and whose power and wealth gave him an ascendancy which was much to be dreaded.

But as to the very anomalous circumstances attending the succession; if the Protestants or reformed party, signed with a view to the security of the Reformation, with what intent could the Catholic lords or counsellors sign it, as excluding Mary? One of the principal subscribers is the Earl of Arundel, who was, as we have seen, the very person represented to have interposed to prevent the Princess Mary falling into the snares of Northumberland. He was also, very soon after Mary's establishment on the throne, sworn of her privy council, as were other subscribers of the deposing or excluding instrument. The Earl of Shrewsbury for instance, the Lord Rich, Sir John Baker,* &c. &c. Nay, some were actually

* I cannot quite account for a note in "Lodge's Illustrations of British History," in which it is expressly asserted, that Sir John Baker was "the only Privy Counsellor who stedfastly

appointed by Mary to be the judges of those who signed with them; the Earl of Arundel was even selected to sit in judgment upon the *following prisoners* for *treason*, who had signed with *himself*, the very instrument for supporting the succession, as limited and prescribed by Edward in favour of the Lady Jane, to the exclusion of the Princess Mary, viz.

The Duke of Northumberland,	Edward Montague, Justice,
The Duke of Suffolk,	Cranmer, Archbishop,
The Marquess of Northampton,	The Bishop of Ely,
The Earl of Huntingdon,	The Lord Clynton,
Sir John Gates,	The Lord Cobham.
Sir John Cheke,	

The selection of prisoners is certainly very curious, if we consider who escaped;* but the case becomes more remarkable when we look to the high degree of favour in which some of the subscribers stood with *Mary*, in little more than a month after they had subscribed the very paper for which Cranmer and Cecil have been so much censured, and so much vilified, from that time to the present, by their Romish enemies; for these misrepresentations and party exaggerations are not even yet at an end.†

denied his assent to the last will of that Prince (Edward), by which Mary and Elizabeth were excluded from inheriting the Crown;" and yet his name appears not only among the signatures to the will, but more particularly among those of the twenty-four, who covenanted by oath to sustain and defend the King's Device. See the King's will in "Cobbett's State Trials," 760, and The Council's Subscription to Edward's Limitation of the Crown, Burnet, iii. part ii. No. ii. p. 273.

* Mr. Charles Butler, in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, published 1825, does not hesitate to cite the following passage from his favourite historian, Dr. Lingard: "The *chief supporters* of the treason of Northumberland, professed the Reformed Creed." We have shewn that, to all appearance, none were more deep in the treason than the Catholic Lords; Arundel in particular.

† Mr. Butler, in the work just cited, for instance, begins his section on Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Latimer, in these words: "That Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Latimer were guilty of high treason, by an active co-operation in the attempt of the Duke of Northumberland, to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, to the exclusion of Mary, their lawful sovereign, and of

King Edward died on the 6th of July, 1553. The instrument in question must have been signed but a very short time before, and among others by the Earls of Arundel and Shrewsbury. On the 10th of August ensuing, the old Duke of Norfolk, who had long languished in prison, was very properly liberated by Mary, the eighth English sovereign he had lived to see; he was at the same time admitted a member of the Privy Council, and restored to the Order of the Garter, of which he had been deprived by her father Henry VIII. of whose proceedings in all cases touching religion, she was, during her brother's reign, so tenacious. The Duke was a firm friend to the Romish religion, and Mary might

the Princess Elizabeth, the presumptive heir, is universally allowed." Since the above was written, Mr. Hallam's "Constitutional History of England" has appeared (1827). "Nothing," it is there said, "could be weaker than his (Cranmer's) conduct in the usurpation of Lady Jane, which he might better have boldly sustained, like Ridley, as a step necessary for the conservation of Protestantism, than given into against his conscience, overpowered by the importunities of a misguided boy." We had, before we saw this passage, examined as far as we could into the precise circumstances of this mysterious business, and given our reasons for believing that all the parties felt, that whatever was done wrong in it, would speedily be undone again; or that many other proceedings would be necessary to give it effect, in the accomplishment of which Northumberland was probably deceiving himself, and so carefully providing against the King's being undeceived, by any private advice (for Cranmer asked to see the King alone), that it was fruitless to resist. There was at that time no public to support such resistance. This had been proved in the case of Somerset. He was a favourite with the public: but there was not a hand stretched out to save him from the malice of a courtly enemy. That enemy still bore rule, and so arrogantly as personally to insult and terrify into submission and compliance, two honest judges. May we not ask, what court minion now, when there is a public to appeal to, could expect by any rude menaces, to shake the private or public virtue of any one of the King's judges?

Mr. H. is very hard also upon the Archbishop for his famous protest. We have endeavoured to shew in another place, how much this act of his life appears to have been mistaken, and consequently misrepresented, and at all events, that at the worst, it was but a *common popish subterfuge*.—"By what casuistry," Dr. Lingard asks, "could the Archbishop Elect reconcile it with his conscience?"—"The answer," says an eminent Journalist, "is obvious; By that of the Romish Casuists and Romish Church—taught in their books, inculcated in their schools, approved by their authorities, and acted upon by their disciples—bear witness History, with what faithful faithfulness!"

well expect him to be so to her, but it is certainly remarkable, that to do him the more honour, the Earl of Arundel was specially selected to deliver to him the Garter and George; and the Earl of Shrewsbury to put the Garter on. Though both had signed the instrument of her deposition, and three days after the King's death, viz. July 9, 1553, required her by letter, to drop her claim to the crown in favour of the Lady Jane, and behave herself like a good subject!

It would seem from the conduct of the Council at this time, that they considered their best means of thwarting Northumberland's ambition was to let it take its course, but amongst his *pretended* friends, if they were not all so, this difference may be noticed; the Protestant subscribers might have looked to a chance of better things under the rule of the Lady Jane, than under that of the Princess Mary; but what can be said in defence of the Catholic subscribers? They must have been in their hearts disinclined to the elevation of the Lady Jane, and must therefore in an equal degree have prevaricated in their pretended opposition to Mary, and yet *they* were speedily forgiven and taken into favour; while, to say nothing of Cecil at present, we have a living author among us at this time, who has ventured to revive this foul charge against Cranmer, as the head of the Reformation—"finally, when we find, that notwithstanding the *undoubted* rights of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, he yet, on the death of their royal brother, *strove to exclude them both* from the throne, and to place Lady Jane Grey upon it, we must admit the justice of the verdict, and pronounce him guilty both of ingratitude and high-treason!"*

Now it seems quite decided that Cranmer as well as *Cecil,* was at first among the recusants; not so with the Catholic Lords. They signed every instrument without scruple, tending to the

* Charles Butler's Historical Memoirs, &c. see also his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, 217. and see also Quarterly Review, No. lxv. 18.

deposition of Mary, though they must equally have known her *undoubted right* to the throne; and must, according to the principles of their religion, have decidedly deprecated the exaltation of Lady Jane. Indeed, the account to be found in Dr. Lingard's own history, so highly appreciated by Catholics, and by Mr. Butler in particular, seems to prove that they had more to answer for than their mere subscription, or previous engagements to Edward. Two of the greatest of these Catholic Lords it seems, actually accompanied Northumberland to Sion House, when he went thither on the fourth morning after Edward's death, to announce to his unfortunate daughter-in-law, the circumstance of her succession. These were the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke. The former at all events a staunch Romanist; and yet he could patiently abide to hear Northumberland tell Lady Jane, that before her cousin the King had died, he had prayed to God to preserve the realm from the infection of *Papistry*, and the *misrule* of his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth: that on account of their being bastards, and by act of Parliament incapable of the succession, he had resolved to pass them by, and leave the crown in the right line; and that he had therefore *commanded* the Council to proclaim her, the Lady Jane, his lawful heir; and in default of *her and her issue*, her two sisters, Katherine and Mary. "At these words," writes the same author, "*the Lords fell on their knees, declared that they took her for their Sovereign, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in support of her right.*" The same author afterwards speaks of Mary; she, he says, "was a single and defenceless female, unprepared to vindicate her right, without money, and without followers. *They* [so printed in italics] having taken every precaution to ensure success." He makes no exception, but indeed particularly mentions the Archbishop, the Chancellor, and twenty-one other Counsellors, as fully acknowledging Jane to be "the lawful and undoubted Sovereign." And yet he speaks afterwards of Mary's secret partisans in the

same council, whom Northumberland could not deceive: and it is easy to discover that among the very foremost of these secret partisans, were the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke; while Cranmer and Cecil are still scandalised, for merely obeying the King's commands, in adding their signatures to papers, which, though they had better not have signed, might, as far as regarded a Protestant succession, have accomplished, in case of success, *their* utmost wishes;—as, "the favourite system of aggression," to use the words of an eminent author, "which the Roman Catholic writers, from the most ignorant bigot to the most powerful polemic, have against the Protestant faith, has been the crimination of the great leaders of the Reformation, in Germany, France, and England," it is impossible to pass over the opportunities that occur in reading history, not superficially, but with a pretty close attention to minute circumstances, of recrimination, if not of absolute contradiction.*

The most melancholy event, however, in the whole history of this dark transaction is, that among the recusants, or objectors to Northumberland's bold and ambitious project, there was none more so, and probably upon principles of the purest sincerity, than the very amiable and unhappy victim of his crooked policy; the Lady Jane Grey, as she is still called, though her name had been changed by marriage with his son. But as the fate of these very unfortunate young persons belongs to another reign, we shall forbear entering farther upon it at present.

* See Quarterly Review, No. lxv. 1.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Reflections on the extraordinary character of the Transaction, by the Author of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, with Remarks thereon; as applicable to the whole period of Lord Burghley's public life.

From a review of this short reign, as it concerns the illustrious subject of these Memoirs, we cannot withhold the following reflections, which seem to have arisen naturally out of the circumstances we have already dwelt upon; and which will probably be found to be in a great measure as applicable to all the subsequent incidents of his long life and administration.

The elegant author of the Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth,* speaking of the very instrument that has so much occupied our attention, concludes her remarks on the apparent concurrence of so many of the first persons of the state in the mad project of Northumberland, in the following terms: "The selfish meanness, and political profligacy of such a conduct it is needless to stigmatise; but this was not the age of public virtue in England."

The remark is assuredly true, and yet it was decidedly the age in which the seeds of public virtue began to be sown; in which the national interests began to be the prominent feature in the administration of public affairs; particularly as regarded the great statesman, whose life we are recording. But the public virtue he possessed, could not in all instances display itself, as in subsequent ages might have been the case; public virtue, to operate

* Miss Aikin.

as it should do, requires a public to judge of its actions, and give it its support. In those days there was *no* such public, as we have before intimated. The statesmen and ministers of the crown at that period, were indeed responsible, but not to the country at large. They were responsible to the Sovereign, or the party opposed to them, and that without appeal. The responsibility of ministers, as recognised in these days, is justly regarded as a grand security to the people, but it would be wrong to view it only in this light. It is the only proper security to the servants of the crown themselves; and indeed to the Sovereign, who otherwise by a wrong choice might endanger his crown. It affords to the wise, the upright, the conscientious, and the truly honourable statesman, a refuge and a shelter; a safe retreat from the adverse winds, the storms and tempests so common in a court; a scene of action which has in all ages been resembled to the trackless deep, and to the troubled ocean; never to the smooth haven, or quiet harbour.

In Sir Thomas More's Life, there are some remarks on this subject so applicable to the situation in which Lord Burghley, during his long life, must continually have been placed as a minister of the crown, that we cannot forbear making an extract from it. After speaking of the prudence of Sir Thomas More, and his just discernment, in shunning rather than courting the proffered favours of his Sovereign, (Henry VIII.) the author makes the following observations.

"In the present improved state of our political constitution, the Monarch, while his voice is essential to the elevation of a statesman, often finds it necessary, from the influence of public opinion, to appoint and retain in office, persons who would otherwise by no means be his choice. Although resolved to give way to his dislike or resentment, he can merely deprive the minister of his [official] rank and emoluments; while the statesman out of place always finds a considerable and active oppositiou ready to receive

and support him. By a well-directed exertion of his talents he may still hope to render himself formidable to the Court, and even to force himself again into the situation of which he had been deprived. But in the age of More, the Statesman, as he owed his elevation solely to the personal favour of the Monarch, again sunk, as soon as it was withdrawn, into obscurity and neglect, unless *destined* to a *severer fate*. If conspicuous either for his talents, or the influence which he had enjoyed, his successors, fearful lest he might, to their ruin, regain the favour he had lost, employed every art to inflame the resentment of his Sovereign, and accomplish his final destruction. But if the King could be brought to consent to the death of a degraded Minister, it was only necessary to bring an accusation founded on some act, which he had sanctioned in compliance with the express commands of his Monarch, or perhaps on allegations altogether false; debarred by the barbarous customs of that age from pleading in his own defence, or confronting his accusers, he could only look forward to certain condemnation; while an obsequious Parliament or trembling Jury,* however well convinced of his innocence, would not venture to thwart the will of their good Lord the King." He proceeds to notice an extraordinary instance of that honest Statesman's attempt at remonstrance, the ill effects of which he was able at that time to turn aside by a facetious reply ;† but as he was afterwards brought to the scaffold, for what was deemed unpardonable obstinacy, it may serve to illustrate the vanity of any wise or honest man's

* Mr. Hallam's recent work, entitled, "The Constitutional History of England," may be consulted upon these heads, particularly Chap. I.

† Wolsey had laid before him the draft of some measure he wished to carry into execution, desiring as usual his *free* opinion upon it. More, objected to it, but did not omit to suggest amendments and alterations, till Wolsey becoming enraged, asked if he were not ashamed to prove himself a fool, by objecting to what all the other wise men in the council had approved. "Thanks be to God," replied More, gravely, "that his Majesty has but one fool in all his Right Honourable Council!"

attempting to stem the torrent of courtly opinion, while he can look to no effectual support from without.

We are much mistaken if it will not be found that in all the several reigns, during which Lord Burghley was in office, he was often (referring to Sir Thomas More's remark), that "one fool" of the Sovereign's Council, or connected with too small a minority, effectually to withstand those who acted upon different principles; but from whom he could not separate himself, we will not say without incurring personal danger, though that was probable also, but without totally abandoning the better measures and higher objects he had in view, when time and opportunity should give him more weight and power.

That Lord Burghley often expressed a wish to retire from public business, from a weariness of office, is certain; but as a courtier seldom obtains credit for the sincerity of such wishes, it becomes the more necessary that we should mark the difficulties with which he was often surrounded, through the ambition, the weakness, and the craft of *others*.

We have already seen him nearly involved in all the penalties and disasters of Somerset's weakness; of Northumberland's craft and wickedness: it would be anticipating matters too much to allude here to similar occurrences in the days of Elizabeth, but it seems almost necessary to explain at the very outset of his long and laborious life, what can never be contradicted, namely, the very peculiar circumstances and characters of the successive Courts and Sovereigns, with which, as a man of talent particularly suited to such employments, he became almost necessarily connected; leading him often into associations, which must continually have impeded the workings of his own great and comprehensive mind, thwarted the measures he had most at heart, and not unseldom enveloped him in the same thick clouds of darkness, which generally overshadowed the acts and operations of his

more unprincipled associates. But we might carry these remarks somewhat farther than the learned author already cited. Macdiarmid, in his Comparison of the Statesmen of those times and the present, has, in the latter case, only contemplated the reception a discarded Minister is likely to receive in the ranks of opposition, leaving him still an active, busy, and place-seeking politician; but the Minister of the present day has a security greater than this, and a refuge from courtly storms, far more respectable. All the sensible and discerning amongst the people at large, may be said, constantly to stand ready to receive back into their portion of the community, with glory and honour, whomsoever, being called upon to sacrifice his principles, or the good of his country, shall have chosen to retire at once and totally from the busy scenes of life, to the tranquil enjoyment of leisure and retirement. Such a person has it constantly in his option to retire from the Court or from the Parliament, without envy of his rank in society, or his private riches. He need dread neither the vengeance of an offended Autocrat, nor the jealousy of those to whom he may have relinquished the offices of the Court, or the conduct of the National affairs.

But in the days of *More*, and we may certainly add, of *Cecil*, the Court was everything. Once become a Public Character it was difficult to cease to be so; innocence was no protection in retirement, if offence had been given; and where any honesty of intention towards either the Sovereign or the country subsisted, to such a degree as to prompt to wiser or more just measures than the other courtiers were prepared to carry into execution—if it were vain to expect to prevail at once, Public Virtue itself might dictate a degree of connivance,* till better opportunities

* "There was in that age no retreat for such men, no place of safety, no *Goshen* where they might rest in the calm and sunshine of an innocent life, and an approving conscience, while the darkness and the storm prevailed over the rest of the land."—*Quarterly Review of Hallam's Constitutional History of England*, p. 210. No. lxxiii.

should arrive, rather than abandon the vessel of the state to suffer inevitable ruin, without an effort to save it from destruction: but then such motives should decidedly be Public and not Private motives. It was the saying of one of Lord Burghley's contemporaries, colleagues, and predecessors in the high office of Lord Treasurer [the Marquess of Winchester], on being asked, how he could have preserved himself in place under so many changes of government, Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, "By being a Willow, and not an Oak." For Public and truly National purposes it might be well to follow such an example, and as we are able to judge of the Public benefits derived from the Ministerial labours of the great man whose Life we are writing, we are almost bound to conclude that he was inflexible in his own purposes, even when he seemed to give way to the temporary expedients of others, which could not be immediately prevented, but might admit of subsequent correction. In short, what the laborious Strype has said of Lord Burghley's great contemporary Cranmer, may reasonably by ourselves be in a great measure applied to the subject of these Memoirs; "Yet I do not intend these my collections for such a panegyric of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults and frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in such critical times, and under such princes, and was necessarily involved in such affairs, as exposed him to greater temptations than ordinary; and if any blemishes shall, by curious observers, be espied in him, he may therefore seem the more pardonable; and his great exemplary goodness and usefulness in the Church of God, may make ample amends for some errors."

CHAP. XXXV.

Manners of the Times, generally vitiated — Exceptions; particularly in the case of the Sovereign himself—Some Account of his Character, his Charities, &c.—The Secretary instrumental in promoting the latter—The King's particular Favour towards him evinced in some of his Endowments, Bequests, and Grants.

But we must not part with the reign of Edward without some notice of the general Manners and Character of the times, since the virtue and morality of individuals, in very corrupt times, must appear more praiseworthy and commendable than at periods of greater general purity and more advanced civilization. Comparative worth is perhaps almost all we should look for, in estimating the merits of individuals, living in times so strange as those in which the subject of these Memoirs lived; and yet it so happens, that in this corrupt and degenerate age, for so in many particulars it certainly was, there were not wanting many remarkable instances of positive and intrinsic worth. The young King especially, who was certainly a very extraordinary character, after every allowance we can be called upon to make for the flattery to which such exalted personages are constantly obnoxious.* We have proofs under his own hand in existence to

*. Cardan's account of Edward, as he appeared to him at fifteen years of age, is supposed to be not chargeable with flattery, because it was not published till after the King's death, and then in Italy, where his memory, as Strype says, was odious. It certainly gives him credit for a surprising multiplicity of attainments, of which he seems to have had experience in the personal interviews with which he was indulged; he looked upon him to be little less than a "miracle of nature:"—but we shall not dwell on this testimony to the King's virtue and talents, since it is to be found in all histories. Burnet gives it in its original Latin, vol. ii. part ii. No. i. p. 125. The testimony of another learned foreigner, *Secundus Curio*, in his Dedication of Sir John Cheke's book on the pronunciation of Greek, to Sir Anthony Cooke, may be seen in Strype's Memorials, ii. 123. and in the same chapter much more concerning him.

this day, of his attainments in learning,* and his ready attention to every thing befitting his high station, and the important concerns to which he had to attend. His own MS. Journal, preserved in the Cottonian Collection of the British Museum, is certainly one of the greatest curiosities of this nature that has withstood the wreck of time. Burnet has printed it, but the original should be seen, to have a just notion of it as a relic of antiquity. The modesty with which he speaks of himself is quite remarkable; while the writing in general evidently shews a carelessness suitable to his age, though the entries often relate to businesses of the greatest importance.†

* Though there may *seem* to be something of French flattery in the following testimony to his abilities, yet, as it asserts facts, and is cited by Strype to prove that the book to which it refers, was, as he says, wholly his own, done *proprio marte*, and the effect of his parts without any help, we shall not withhold it. It stands at the end of a book he wrote in French, of thirty-seven leaves in quarto, before he was twelve years old, and which book he dedicated to his uncle the Protector:—it is the testimony of his French master.

"Tout ainsi qu'un bon paintre peut representer le visaige, regard, contenance, et corpulence d'un prince: ainsi par les escritz, parolles, et actions d'un prince, on peut facilement entendre quel esprit est en luy, et aquoy il est adorné. Comme on peut veoir par les escritz de ce jeune Roy: lequel compose et escrivit ce livre; n'ayant encores douze ans accomplis: et sans l'ayde de parsonne vivant, excepte de propos qu'il avoit ouys de plusieurs, et de sovenance qu'il avoit des livres qu'il avoit leuz. Car des ce qu'il commença, a escrivre le dict livre, et jusques a ce qu'il l'eust acheve le dict livre a tous jours esté en ma garde, jusques a present."

† We cannot deny, that there is something strange in the very brief account the young King gives, in his Journal, of the melancholy death of his two uncles. Mr. Hallam, in his recent work on the Constitutional History of England, observes upon it, "One could wish this Journal not to be genuine, for the manner in which he speaks of both his uncles' executions does not shew a good heart." There is certainly no accounting for feelings, but perhaps it may be a wrong conclusion to draw, from the brevity of the entries, that because little is said, little was felt. The young King is said to have mourned in secret for the death of Somerset, though his letter to Fitzpatrick, to which Mr. H. alludes, clearly shews that he thought him guilty. And one very extraordinary paper still extant, plainly proves the bent of his mind to have been, that the punishment, and even execution (for he interlines the last word) of Somerset and his confederates, "appertained to his own surety and quietness of the realm." Who persuaded him so we cannot pretend to say, but it is remarkable, that Cecil, as if to exonerate himself from being too forward in it, has written upon it, "These remembrances within written," (being as the King terms them, "Certain points of weighty matters to be immediately concluded upon by my Counsell,") "were delivered by the King's Mtie to his

His views seem to have been constantly directed to the amelioration of things, with a strong propensity to method and arrangement in the discharge of his public duties. He attended the debates in Council for political information, and listened to sermons with an attention very uncommon at his early age; taking notes of whatever particularly struck him, and manifesting a most remarkable readiness to perform any Christian duty pointed out to him from the Pulpit, of which we have a memorable instance towards the close of his short but interesting life—an instance, the fruits of which still remain. The history of the transaction is so well related by Sir John Hayward, that we shall give it in his own words, as it agrees in the main with the reports of other writers. "It happened during his sickness, that Dr. Ridley, Bishop of London, preached before him, and in his sermon much commended works of Charity, which as they were a duty for all men to perform, so most especially for men in special dignity and place, as well in regard of their large abilities as for that they were much obliged to give examples of goodness to

Privy Counsell at Greenwich in his priv-Chamber, written with his own hand, and received of his Majesty's own hand, by the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer." The paper is to be seen in the Museum, Vespasian, F. xiii. 171. The list of the members of the Council present is added: as Lord Burghley evidently wrote some of the papers that were submitted to the Council, it would appear that these minutes were suggested by others, probably Northumberland; one of the *points* being, to execute the Bishop of Durham's matters, whose possessions he acquired. That Edward had much Tudor blood in his veins (another remark of Mr. H.) may indeed be true, nor could he help it if it were so, but decapitation, during the few years he was suffered to live, might appear to be too courtly a fashion to have any thing very uncommon in it. Edward must have known, how little compunction one uncle had shewn for the miserable death of the other, his own brother, though Somerset had the general character of being both kind and amiable; there is therefore no saying how little the *best hearts* in *those* days might be open to tender impressions from scenes so horrible, but so common. Mr. H. admits that he was a most extraordinary boy, *Monstrificus Puellus*, as Cardan calls him.—As to the genuineness of his Journal, as not written upon the directions of others, see Burnet, anno 1550, he argues from a manifest negligence as to the dates:—we think, from a careful inspection of it, there are other very strong marks of this to be discovered.

others. The same day after dinner the King sent for him privately into the gallery at Whitehall, caused him to sit in a chair by him, would not permit him to remain uncovered, and then, after courteous thanks, he reported all the principal points of his Sermon, and further added, 'I took myself to be especially touched by your speech, as well in regard of the abilities which God hath given me, as in regard of the example which from me he will require; for as in the Kingdom I am next under God, so must I most nearly approach to him in Goodness and in Mercy. For as our miseries stand most in need from him, so are we the greatest debtors; debtors to all that are miserable, and shall be the greatest accomptants of our dispensation therein: and therefore, my Lord, as you have given me (I thank you) this general exhortation, so direct me, I intreat you, by what particular actions I may this way best discharge my duty.'

"The Bishop, partly astonished and partly overjoyed with these speeches, was struck into a sad silence for a time; at last, tears and words breaking forth together, he declared to the King, that as he little expected such a question, so was he not furnished with a proper answer, for this matter had a great mixture of a civil government, wherein he conceived that the Citizens of London had best experience, as overburdened with multitudes of Poor, not only of their own, but from all parts of the Realm besides. And therefore, as they best knew both the quality of such people, and the inconveniences which they occasion, so could they best advise what remedies were fittest; wherefore, if the King were pleased to afford his Letters to that effect, he would confer with them, and in very short time return with answer. The King forthwith caused his Letters to be written, and would not suffer the Bishop to depart, until he had confirmed them with his hand and signet, and enjoined the Bishop to be the messenger, imposing great charge for expedition. The Bishop hasted with his Letters to the Lord Mayor

(Sir Richard Dobbs), who presently assembled certain Aldermen, and four and twenty Commissioners, by whose advice the Poor were cast into three companies and sorts: some were poor by impotency of nature, as young fatherless children, old decrepid persons, ideots, cripples, and such like; others are poor by faculty, as wounded soldiers, diseased and sick persons, and the like; the third sort are the poor by idleness and unthriftiness, as riotous spenders, vagabonds, loiterers, leud strumpets and their companions: that the first of those were to be educated and maintained, the second to be cured and relieved, and the third to be chastised and reduced to good order."—Hayward proceeds to state, that upon the footing of this representation made to the King, he immediately made a grant to the city of the Gray Friars Church, to be applied to the education and maintenance of the first class; St. Bartholomew's, for an hospital to supply the wants of the second class; and Bridewell, the ancient mansion of many English Kings, for the correction and amendment of the last.

Such is Hayward's account of this transaction, in which he has been followed by Burnet, Collier, &c.—and certain it is, that Edward has the credit of being the Founder of the first and third of these endowments, though Henry VIII. has a fair claim to share with him in the first appropriation of the Gray Friars Church to charitable uses, and St. Bartholomew's was decidedly refounded by him in 1539, and given to the City in or about the year 1546. St. Thomas's Hospital, which had been surrendered* to him by Sir John Gates, was assigned over by Edward VI. at this time to augment the revenues of the other endowments, and this may probably have occasioned some mistake in regard to St. Bartholomew's. Of Bridewell, also, we have read a different account, namely, that *some time before the death of the King*, Ridley interested himself with so much zeal, in pro-

* Strype's Mem. ii. 481.

viding relief for the numerous Poor, who, by the late spoliation of Church lands and other endowments, had been reduced to the greatest distress, as to succeed, upon particular application to Sir William *Cecil*, the King's Secretary, in obtaining a grant of *Bridewell*, as an asylum for correcting and reclaiming Vagrants, finding them work, and training up the young to useful trades; but as the same account gives the Bishop credit for procuring those munificent Royal grants at the close of his Reign,* through the impression made by his Sermon, and with the same reference to the three distinct classes of the poor population, the facts remain substantially the same, whether they regard the munificence of the King, the pious interposition of the Bishop, or the private as well as official assistance rendered by Sir William *Cecil*. But of the King's earnest desire to promote Learning and Religion to the utmost of his power, there cannot be a greater instance given, than what is recorded by Strype, that after Bishop Goodrich had the Great Seal, in little more than sixteen months, he founded at the least sixteen Free Schools, besides one within the precincts of his Court, for his pages. The endowments allotted to them, being for the most part drawn from the Chantry lands, tithes, &c. granted to the King in the first year of his reign. A catalogue of these schools is to be seen in the second book of the Repository of Originals, in Strype's Memorials, vol. ii.; and among them is one, which it is more particularly our duty to record, as it relates to the subject of these Memoirs, we mean the patent granted March 28, 1553, not many *weeks* before the King's death, to the Aldermen and Burgesses of *Grantham*, in the county of Lincoln, the very place where Lord Burghley acquired the first rudiments of learning, for the erection of a Grammar-school there: with the King's

* It would seem from Strype's Memorials, ii. 112. and his Extracts from the Council Book, that this grant was at the least *completed* only one month before the King died—the hospital of the *Savoy*, according to Collier, was also surrendered by the King's interposition to the same uses.

gift of certain lands to the value yearly of 14*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* to have to them and their successors for ever; and to pay to the King and his successors yearly 16*s.* 8*d.* to be held in free socage and burgage of the same town; and to allow to the school-master, to be well instructed in the Latin and Greek tongues, 12*l.* per annum; and to make ALL STATUTES concerning the school, by the *advice* of Sir WILLIAM CECYL, Knight, Secretary to the King, *durante vitâ;* and after his decease with the advice of the Bishop of the diocese; and after his decease by the advice of the Master of St. John's College in Cambridge: and to purchase lands to the value of 10*l.* yearly, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain.

In this grant* we discover three strong marks of the King's favour

* In October, 1551, we find a registry of the following grants:—

A gift to Sir William Cecil, and Lady Mildred his wife, and to the heirs of the said William, of the manor of Berchamstow and Deping, with the appurtenances, in the county of Lincoln; and of the manor of Thetford-hall, in the same county; and also of the reversion of the manor of Barowdown, *alias* Wrangdike, with the appurtenances, in the county of Rutland, granted to the Lady Elizabeth for life, by the King's letters patent, dated at Westminster, *An.* 4. *Reg.;* also of the reversion of the manor of Liddington, in the county of Rutland, granted to George (Gregory) Lord Crumwel, and Lady Elizabeth his wife, during their lives; also the moiety of the Rectory of Godstow, *alias* Walthamsted, with divers other lands to the value of 152*l.* 3*s.* 3½*d.* to be holden *in capite* by the half part of a Knight's fee.—*Strype's Memorials*, ii. part ii. 222. In his life by a Domestic, we find the following remark: "Yet he had nothing so much as he ought, nor took so much as he mought;" which Mr. Peck proposes to read as follows: "Yet he had nothing so much as [if we consider his merits] he ought [to have had], nor took so much as [if we consider his opportunities] he mought [have taken]." This is said of Sir William at a later period of his life indeed, viz. in Elizabeth's reign; but as to the grants obtained under Edward we need but look to the grants to Northumberland, in the same reign, to be found in Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. part i. ch. 3. to be convinced of the profusion with which these grants were bestowed on others, and of the comparative moderation of Sir William. The grants to the Lord Admiral Clinton, vol. ii. 361, 2, &c., may also be worth comparing; nor would it be amiss to observe the *omission* of the Secretary's name in some of the grants, at the latter end of the King's reign, to the creatures or favourites of Northumberland. This negative testimony is worth attending to. In 1551, indeed, Sir William has the credit given him by Strype, of being one with Cranmer and Cheke to procure an order of council, to be issued to the Bishops and others to preach against covetousness; "not only," as that careful writer adds, "in respect of the monopolizing of corn, but also upon the contemplation of that tearing and rending from the

and special kindness towards his Secretary. The choice of the place, the special trust reposed in him, as the framer of the Statutes, and superintendant of the Charity during his life; and in the selection ultimately of the head of his own College of St. John's to supply his place. But indeed there can be no doubt of the active part taken by Sir William in all those charitable institutions and endowments; not only in discharge of his duties as the King's Secretary, but by his private advice, and in concurrence with other pious and charitable persons in Church and State, who were particularly admitted to the King's presence, and to the full enjoyment of his confidence.

But we have a still more direct and later instance, as it may be called, of the King's great regard for Sir William, and his worthy relative Sir John Cheke, in a bequest to St. John's College of 100*l.* a year, in his will, towards the maintenance of their charges; and which Strype does not hesitate to assert, no doubt on good authority, was "out of good will to *Cecil* his Secretary, and *Cheke* his Tutor, both of St. John's College."*

That Edward indeed was much indebted to his instructors, and their more immediate connexions, is evident; but the high sense he seems to have entertained of his own obligations to them, is among the most shining features of his very extraordinary character. Nor should the talents, learning, or diligence of his Preceptors, be allowed to detract from the merits, or natural attainments of the young Prince; if he had not been blessed, above most young men, with a quick mind, a prompt understanding, and a retentive memory, he could not, with all the instructions he received, have made the proficiency he did, within the narrow com-

Church, the Universities, the hospitals of the poor, and from one another, which some of the courtiers and great men practised, and by their example spread over the whole kingdom; so that all common justice and honesty was scarce any where to be found."—*Memorials*, ii. Ann. 1551. where may also be seen a memorable instance of his interference to check such things, at the desire and request of Bishop Ridley.

* Memorials, b. ii. ch. xxii.

pass of his short life. After a conference of no small moment with two of the most eminent Prelates on the bench, *Cranmer* the Archbishop, we are credibly informed, took Sir John *Cheke* by the hand upon it, observing to him, that he had reason all the days of his life to rejoice that God had honoured him to breed such a scholar. But his aptness to receive instruction must have been far from common, when we come to sum up the amount of his information as a youth of fifteen. We have such an account in Burnet, and as it seems to be confirmed by indisputable documents still in existence, we need not hesitate to give it in his own words. "He was not only learned in the tongues, and other liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a book in which he writ the characters that were given him of all the chief men of the nation, all the Judges, Lord-lieutenants, and Justices of the peace over England; in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for Religion. He had studied the matter of the Mint, with the exchange and value of Money; so that he understood it well, as appears by his Journal. He also understood Fortification and designed well. He knew all the Harbours and Ports, both of his own dominions, and of France and Scotland; and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them. He had acquired great knowledge in Foreign affairs; so that he talked with the Ambassadors about them in such a manner, that they filled all the world with the highest opinion of him that was possible; which appears in most of the histories of that age. He had great quickness of apprehension; and being mistrustful of his memory, used to take notes of every thing he heard: he writ these first in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand them, and afterwards writ them out in his Journal. He had a copy brought him of every thing that passed in council, which he put in a chest, and kept the key of that always himself."*

* Reformation, vol. ii. 413, 414. part ii. see also Foxe's Acts and Monuments.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Catholic Writers unwilling to appreciate the Character and Talents of the King—His Education certainly entrusted to Friends of the Reformation—Collier's Remark on his connivance at the Spoliation of the Church —Observations thereupon—Wilson's Book, "De Rebus Ecclesiæ non diripiendis," *submitted to the Secretary.*

As Catholic writers are still in the habit of representing these things as mere matter of artifice, and as if little that he did could be called his own, we have been the more anxious to do justice to this first truly Protestant Sovereign of England, persuaded, in our own minds, that however he might be assisted by the able instructors of his youth, he had sufficient wisdom to appreciate and sufficient judgment to discern, the tendency and importance of the lessons they taught, as embracing matters specially appertaining to his exalted station, and the circumstances of the world. We are persuaded, that, to use the words of that singular writer, Lloyd, "the lectures" he received, "were rather discourses instilled to him *majestically*, as a *Prince*, than lessons beaten into him *pedantically*, as a *boy*." Not but that occasionally he *was* a *boy*; as a *very curious* letter, still extant, from his tutor, Dr. Cox,* may serve to shew; but, it is our full belief, that his understanding was so far of a manly nature, that he was, with a perfect good will, constantly pursuing that wise course, pointed out by Aristippus, as he himself observed in a letter to Cranmer, "*Disce puer, quæ*

* I am indebted to Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office, for a sight of this Letter.

tibi viro sunt usui futura."* The *Kingly Boy* was constantly imbibing, from those around him, *kingly knowledge*, but he had still to struggle against the extraordinary circumstances of the times, and his views and principles, regarding the Church, continue to this day a subject of doubt. He has been represented as leaning strongly towards Calvinism, if not to have been, in regard to discipline, of Erastian principles. Those who endeavoured to carry him away from the Episcopal Government of the Church, had not only many private motives for doing so,† but a fair opportunity afforded them in the indolent and negligent, if not scandalous lives, of many of the Popish hierarchy, contrasted with which, the severer manners of many Protestants could not but make a deep impression on the mind of a Prince, educated as Edward had been. Collier says, he seems to have had no notion of *Sacrilege;* and as he is disposed to attribute all of this nature to his early instructors, it may not be amiss to observe, that his tutors, in *these* particulars, we mean the Sacrilegious invasion of Ecclesiastical property, to which Collier refers, were, probably, the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland, notorious spoliators both of Churches and Bishops, and quite above the control of any others about the Court. We can never cease to wonder at the disregard of such things on the part of the former; the principles of the latter were not likely to supply any check. But we must dwell a little longer upon the "early instructors" of our first Protestant Monarch; all of them having been the intimate and confidential friends of Lord Burghley.

The early instructors of King Edward were decidedly friendly

* Ellis's Original Letters, First Series, Vol. ii. Letter cliv. The Printer has not done full justice either to the Editor or the Prince, by *mispointing* the passage. In the original of Diogenes Laertius, it runs thus, ὁ δ'ουν Αριστιππος ερωτηθεις τινα εστιν ἁ δει τους καλους παιδας μανθανειν, εφη, οἱς ανδρες γενομενοι χρησονται.

† Collier, ii. 162, 163.

to the Reformation, if not entirely Protestants. We are in many respects, therefore, at a loss to comprehend the following *boast* (for so it really is) in Mr. Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 18. letter xii. (published while this work was in progress). "I beg leave to add, that Mary of England, Elizabeth, Mary of Scotland, Lady Jane Grey, and the three Ladies Seymour, all of whom are celebrated for their learning and accomplishments, received their literary educations in Catholic England." Though Mr. Butler is, in general, a most perspicuous writer, we confess the passage above is perfectly unintelligible to us. Mary of Scotland did certainly not receive her education in Catholic England; and as to the rest, it is quite clear, that though, indeed, they were born in Catholic England, they can scarcely be said to have been educated in a Catholic country, or at all events not under the tuition of Catholic Preceptors. If *Protestantism* chose to make her boast of the Education of most of these exalted Personages, might she not say, these great and accomplished Ladies, even in Catholic England, were allowed to receive their literary education from acknowledged Reformists? and as their attainments were great, and allowedly of a very superior nature, the credit of their education ought to be carried to the account of the Reformation. We readily give up the two Maries, but we triumphantly claim Elizabeth, Lady Jane Grey, and the three Ladies Seymour. Having cited Mr. Butler upon this particular topic, we cannot forbear adding the following from Lingard, Mr. Butler's favourite authority on all matters of English history: "Edward's religious belief could not have been the result of his own judgment; he was compelled to take it on trust from those about him, who moulded his infant mind to their own pleasure, and infused into it their own opinions or prejudices; from them he derived a strong sense of Piety, and a habit of daily devotion, a warm attachment to the *New*, and a violent antipathy to the Ancient doctrines. He believed

it to be the first of his duties to extirpate what he had been taught to deem the idolatrous worship of his fathers; and with his last breath he wafted a prayer to Heaven for the preservation of his subjects from the infection of 'Papistry.' Yet it may be a question whether his early death has not proved a benefit to the Church of England, as it is at present established. His sentiments, like those of his instructors, were tinged with Calvinism: attempts were made to persuade him that Episcopacy was an expensive and unnecessary institution; and the courtiers, whose appetite for Church property had been whetted rather than satisfied by former spoliations, looked impatiently towards the entire suppression of the bishoprics and chapters."—We shall not stop to reconcile these two learned Romanists; the chief point of difference, indeed, resting merely on the assumption of Mr. Butler that Catholicism ought to have the credit of the education of King Henry's immediate heir, children, and relatives; whereas it is notorious that the balance leans towards Protestantism. And of the superiority of a Protestant to a Catholic education, we have a remarkable proof, in the following *extorted* acknowledgments of the celebrated M. D'Alembert, "We must acknowledge," says he, (in his *Abus de la Critique en matieré de Religion,*) "though with *sorrow*, the present superiority of the Protestant Universities in Germany, over those of the Romish persuasion. This superiority is so striking, that foreigners who travel through the Empire, and pass from a Romish College to a Protestant University, even in the same neighbourhood, are induced to think that they have rode in an hour four hundred leagues, or lived, in that short space of time, four hundred years. That they have passed from *Salamanca* to *Cambridge*, or from the times of *Scotus* to those of *Newton*."*

As for Edward's *Calvinism* or *Erastianism*, it would be difficult perhaps to define what is exactly understood by those terms, as

* Melanges de Literature d' Histoire et de Philosophie, tom. iv. p. 376.

applied to that youthful Sovereign. Had the enmity to Episcopacy proceeded so far as has been insinuated, it would be very difficult to judge how it could have stood its ground, unless upheld by the hand of Providence; means being devised for the removal of the Popish Bishops, and Cranmer having himself countenanced the *durante bene placito* clause, in the prelatical commission. We have shewn that Edward was not averse from committing the Ecclesiastical discipline to good, learned, and wise Bishops; and it is not a little remarkable, that though the intercourse with Geneva was constant and respectable, Calvin, Bullinger, and others, did not oppose the continuance of Episcopacy in England. Cranmer and Calvin corresponded on the most friendly terms, and apparently with a general understanding that Cranmer's archiepiscopal character gave not such offence to the Swiss Pastors, as might have been expected. In truth, upon the two points of Episcopal Church Government, and the Habits, the foreign Reformers appear to have much more generally recommended conformity to their correspondents than resistance. As to the Calvinism of the Church of England, in point of doctrine, as long as the Augsburgh and Wittenberg Confessions remain, as objects of comparison, we should decidedly say, our Articles were compiled upon the Saxon, and not the Helvetian model; independently of the strong fact, that the most distinguishing tenets of the latter faith, had not excited sufficient attention, at the time our Articles were compiling, to occupy the minds of the Compilers, who were solely bent upon eradicating the errors of the Church of Rome.* It is very strange, that foreign writers†

* See Laurence's Bampton Lectures, *passim*.

† In Koch's "Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe," la moitié de l'Allemagne, le Danemark, la Norwegè, la Suède, la Prusse, et la Livonie, are said to have adopted the Confession of Augsburgh; while l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse, l'Irlande, les Provinces Unies, et la partie principale de la Suisse, had embraced the doctrines of Zuingle and Calvin.

should generally speak of England, as having decidedly embraced the Calvinistic, rather than the Lutheran faith; whereas, it would appear to be quite the contrary, from the extraordinary proofs adduced by the learned writer just cited, now Archbishop of Cashel.

We return to the other imputation cast on the King by Collier, that he seems to have had no notion of sacrilege.

We have seen, that as far as Edward was personally concerned, what the Parliament gave to him of the Church property, he was ready enough, when led that way, to apply to the next best purposes, the founding of Schools; and we have, in the very instances above given, the names of those who encouraged him to these undertakings, Sir *William Cecil* being decidedly one.*

It is, indeed, remarkable that the Secretary should have been especially applied to upon this head, not long before the death of the King. The whole matter is so well and so particularly set forth by Strype, and with such correct remarks on the perplexed and embarrassed circumstances of the times, as to induce us to venture upon a longer extract than would otherwise be the case. After noticing, in the Twenty-fifth Chapter of his Third Book of the Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, the correspondence which had taken place between Calvin and the Archbishop, in which the former, after commending the Archbishop for his charitable wish to see the differences subsisting between the Reformed churches removed, if possible, by some liberal and friendly meeting of the pious and wise of all parties; after offering his own services if wanted, urging him to proceed, and throwing out some hints that more progress might have been made, he concludes with excusing

* That curious, but not always correct writer, Lloyd, whom we often quote for the singularity of his style, says, "Bishop Ridley and Dr. Coxe seconded, and Sir John Cheeke contrived, all King Edward's acts of charity." In this the author may be right; but we know from other indisputable authorities, that Sir *William Cecil* had his share in all these good acts.

him for going on slower than he could have wished, "in regard of the many and great difficulties he had to wrestle with;" which, says the considerate Memorialist, "was certainly most true; insomuch, that if he had not been a man of great conduct and indefatigable industry, the Reformation had not made so fair a progress as it did in his time; and one may admire rather that he went so far, the iniquity of the times considered, than that he went no farther."

"For the great ones," he continues, "in the minority of the King, took their opportunity most insatiably to fly upon the spoils of the Church and charitable donations, little regarding any thing else than to enrich themselves; very vicious and dissolute they were in their lives, as the soberer sort in those days complained; and, therefore, the less to be wondered they were so negligent to provide for the promoting the Reformed religion and piety in the land. In the meantime, the chief preachers did what they could to redress these evils, for they plainly and boldly rebuked this evil governance, and especially the covetousness of the courtiers, and their small regard to live after the gospel; and sometimes incurred no small danger by this freedom.

"But that I may take occasion here to insist a little longer upon this argument, and vindicate the honesty and boldness of the English Clergy, in speaking their minds against the sacrilegious spirit that reigned in these times, it may not be amiss to give some account of a communication that happened about December or January, 1552, at Court, between *Sir William Cecyl*, the King's Secretary, and one Miles Wilson, a grave divine, and acquaintance of the said *Cecyl*, and a man of eminency in the University of Cambridge. Discourse happening between them of divers and sundry things, relating partly to the propagating of Christ's religion, and partly to the preservation and increase of the commonwealth, the said Wilson delivered to Cecyl an oration to read, which he had composed, *de rebus Ecclesiæ non diripiendis;* 'con-

cerning not spoiling the Church of her means,' and which he once pronounced in the Schools of the University, about that time when those matters were in agitation above. *Cecyl*, being a good and conscientious man, had in this conference signified unto him his earnest desire to hear and see what could be proposed out of the Holy Scripture in so unusual an argument. To shew this, and to give also a short view of his said Oration, because the Secretary's infinite business would not allow him to read long discourses, Wilson soon after digested the contents thereof, reducing it into some syllogisms and ratiocinations, more apt to urge, and easier to remember, and more accommodate to persuade. These, with his letter, he sent to the Secretary. His ends herein were to satisfy him in this point, being a man of great stroke in the public transactions of those times; who might accordingly use his interest, and endeavour to retrieve what had been so unjustly taken from the Church; that the famous Schools lately dissolved, to the great ruin of the University, might be re-edifyed again; and that those livings, which were miserably spoiled by covetous patrons, might be restored and enjoy their whole revenues, to the real honour of the state; and, lastly, that the hospitals, impoverished or wholly beggared, might, by his means, be remedied and helped by the King's council, that they might revert to their former condition, that is, to succour and help the poor. He urged, moreover, to Cecyl, that the destruction of Schools would be the destruction of the Universities; and that all learning would soon cease, and Popery, and more than Gothic barbarism, would invade all, if learned men were not better taken care of than they were; and if the rewards of learning, *viz.* rectories, prebends, and all, were taken away from them."

To mark the great imprudence and perverse conduct of some, who took advantage of the Reformation to bring disgrace on that very revolution, we find an account given by the same man to the

Secretary, of "a town not far from Cambridge, called Childerlay, where a gentleman had pulled down all the houses in the parish except his own; and so, there being none to frequent the Church, the inhabitants being gone, he used the said Church, partly for a stable for his horses, and partly for a barn for his corn and straw."

The whole letter is too curious to be omitted, but as it is in Latin we shall place it in the Appendix. Those who wish to see besides the abridged sketch of the arguments of this learned and zealous gentleman, "quibus ostenditur, impium esse bona ecclesiæ ab ecclesiis divelli," may find it in the Appendix to Strype's Cranmer, vol. ii. part ii. No. xciii.

We may very reasonably conclude, that his interposition with the Secretary was not without its effect, from what has been already related of the King's munificent benefactions to different schools, and appropriation of Hospitals to the relief of the Poor, in which it is well known he had the encouragement and assistance of that pious and good man Bishop Ridley, and of his Secretary, Sir William *Cecil;* who, though unable during the whole course of his life and ministerial labours, to check the evil so much complained of in any great degree, was certainly instrumental in turning such spoliations to as good an account as possible, in various instances; and if not altogether free from blame himself, as some would insinuate, in the appropriation of Church property to his own uses, yet considering the opportunities he had of doing so, amidst the general devastation—considering that no forbearance on his part would probably have prevented the same things passing into other hands—it must appear from a review of his Estates, to be found in Peck, and from such grants as have been publicly registered, that his share of the spoils was moderate indeed, for a person in his station, and probably much of that *purchased,* as by one out of many competitors. We know that

even to this day the restoration of the Church property so disturbed, at the time of the Reformation, has never been accomplished, and probably never will be under the present constitution of things. We must not, therefore, impute to the Secretary any blameable neglect of what it was utterly beyond his power to rectify; we may, indeed, from what we now know to have passed in the succeeding reign, be rather led to conclude, that the covetousness of men at this time was but an instrument in the hand of Providence, to prevent the Reformed Church of this realm relapsing again into all the errors of Popery, and subjecting itself once more to the Papal yoke, as we expect to be able more fully to shew. But the following account, as we find it in Collier, may help to explain what we mean: "To bring the houses (of Parliament) to a farther disposition for passing the bill [*viz.* for settling all the Abbey lands, &c. on the Crown] 31 Henry VIII., the Nobility were promised large shares in the spoils, as Sir William Dugdale phrases it.* They had the prospect held out to them of free gifts, easy purchase, or very advantageous exchanges. The lay-gentry were likewise promised a considerable rise both in honour and estate; this was done by the advice of the Visitor-general, Cromwell: the parcelling these lands out amongst a great many proprietors was the only way, as he told the King, to clinch the business, and make the settlement irrevocable."—"Cromwell's thought," Collier adds, "was politick enough for his purposes." We see then that this

* Whatever might be promised the Nobility, the People at large were grossly deluded. They were made to believe that if the Parliament would give the King all the Abbeys, Priories, Friaries, Nunneries, and other Monasteries, that for ever, in time then to come, he would take order, that the same should not be converted to private uses: but first, that his Exchequer, for public purposes, should be enriched; secondly, the Kingdom strengthened by a continual maintenance of forty thousand well-trained soldiers, with skilful captains and commanders; thirdly, for the benefit and ease of the subject, who never afterwards should be charged with subsidies, fifteenths, loans, or other common aids. Such were the promises held out, but with how little correspondent effects may be seen in *Coke's Institutes*, as cited by Hume in the Notes to his Fourth Volume.

invasion of Church property, though glaringly unjust, was systematically directed against the Pope. It was no part of the Reformation, as regarded either the doctrine or the discipline of the Church; it was rather in the nature of a bribe to the laity to induce them to sanction the revolt of the nation from the authority of the See of Rome, and to prevent any disposition on their part to submit any more to so great a usurpation. The Church was to be amended first, afterwards the members of it. It is very certain, as Collier says, that had "the English laity not enriched themselves with the spoils of the Church, the Reformation would have had a clearer complexion, and been better understood by the rest of Christendom. But when Protestantism had such a face of interest, when men got manors and townships by renouncing the *Pope*, when men of slender pretensions made estates out of their orthodoxy, and shot up into title and figure; when the Church was stripped of her revenues and maimed in her jurisdiction; when changes in religion were carried on by revolt and civil commotion, as it happened in France, Scotland, and the Low Countries;* when they saw discipline laid asleep, learning decay, and *liberty increase*—these were discouraging circumstances."

* Not so in England; the Sovereign was constantly at the head of the changes. Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, as far as regarded Protestantism, and Mary's temporary restoration of Popery is but another proof to the same effect. Commotions there were certainly, but the *changes* in agitation were countenanced from above.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The Reformation interrupted in its course, by many adverse, and unavoidable circumstances—Not capable of immediately amending the manners, or enlightening the understandings of men—This much regretted by all sincere and zealous Protestants—The vices of the age severely reproved by eminent Preachers—At Court especially, and in the presence of the King—Homilies particularly adapted to the correction of such abuses—The Iniquities of the Times not justly to be imputed to the Reformation, as the Papists pretend, though in a great measure owing to the disturbances incident to so important a Revolution—Excesses, of some sort or other, not to be avoided—The immediate consequences not to be confounded with the principles of the Reformation.

We grant that the Reformation would have borne a clearer complexion, could these things have been avoided. We grant that many discouraging circumstances intervened, to prevent the fair and smooth course of the Reformation; but we are still disposed to think the sacrifices that were made, and even the irregularities that were committed, tended to a good end; and that the course of the Reformation, all things considered, was as smooth as it could be.—We have already cited a most applicable remark, from an eminent writer, as to the unsteadiness of a prisoner's step, when first released and relieved from his chains and fetters. This was decidedly the character of things at the first beginning of the Reformation, and to look for perfection, before they could be perfected on the new system, is as absurd as it is unfair. Collier's reflections and remarks are undeniably good, but out of place.

The evil could not *then* be prevented, and its consequences are felt to this day. We shall cite but one passage to prove it. "What a lamentable maintenance is reserved for the *Vicars* in many places is too well known. The *question* is, Whether those of the laity, who detain the impropriated tithes, and starve the *benefice*, are not to answer for the consequent mischief? that is, for the defects which are like to happen in the qualifications of the parish priest; for the insignificancy of his interest and character; for the disadvantages in conduct, discipline, and learning; for the ignorance and immorality of the people under his care?"—These are questions well calculated to shew the extent and amount of the disturbances that took place in property, at the period of the Reformation. They may even serve to account for many anomalies and inconsistencies, in the appointments and revenues of ecclesiastical benefices to this day, particularly in regard to vicarages.

If the Reformation indeed were justly to be made responsible for the iniquity of the times in which it took place, or rather was in progress towards a settled establishment, it would have a heavy burthen to sustain; but it is not fair to expect, as Catholic writers seem to assert, that its good effects on the minds and manners of men in general, should be sudden or immediate. Bad habits and bad customs are proverbially difficult of correction or removal; and it is extremely obvious, that the first Reformers,* those who were

* This should be attended to; Mr. Butler, in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, 1825, Letter xii. sect. 3. upon the queston, "Was the Reformation attended by a general improvement of manners," begins with citing Luther, Musculus, Melancthon, Erasmus; indeed all his references are to the very beginnings of the Reformation; as though the term *Gospellers*, given in derision to the first preachers of the Reformation, should, to make the title good, have enabled them at once to work wonders, and render their congregations and disciples, *instanter*, and by the very power of the word spoken, "a people zealous of *good works*," and good works only. For we must recollect that they were to be turned aside from a religion of works; and no wonder if they mistook at first the terms of their newly recovered liberty. We can easily believe that in the interval, between the denunciation of the *good* and *meritorious* works of *Popery*, and the substitution of the *good works* flowing from a *pure* christian *faith*, the greatest

actuated by a most sincere desire of cleansing the Church from all impurities, and establishing the true Gospel standard of morality, were a long time hindered by an absolute deficiency of sub-agents, to cultivate and spread abroad the fruits of their labours; to eradi-

symptoms of demoralization might ensue; not for want of instruction, but for want of capacity to receive instruction. *Quicquid recipitur recipitur ad modum recipientis;* a school maxim the Romanists would do well to remember, when they look to any immediate good effects from the first preachers of the Gospel under the Reformation. It was much the case even with the Apostles. The churches of Galatia, though founded and instructed by St. Paul, were exceedingly corrupt, as may be seen by his Epistle to them; and the Corinthians were not much, if at all, better. St. Paul, indeed, was grossly misunderstood in his doctrine of justification by faith alone; no wonder therefore that such mistakes should occur at the time of the Reformation. The complaints of Luther, Melancthon, &c. as cited by Mr. Butler, are indeed melancholy; but when carefully examined, they seem to account for matters on the very ground of such mistakes as we have supposed to be likely. Protestant divines have never denied the iniquity of the times, when the Reformation was in progress. Let us hear what Burnet says upon this: "I have no particulars to add, neither concerning the death nor the character of that good Prince, King Edward; whose untimely end was looked on by all people as a just judgment of God upon those who pretended to love and promote a Reformation, but whose impious and flagitious lives were a reproach to it. The open lewdness in which many lived, without shame or remorse, gave great occasion to their adversaries to say, They were in the right to assert justification by faith without works, since they were, as to every good work, reprobate. Their gross and insatiable scrambling after goods and wealth, that had been dedicated with good designs, though to superstitious uses, without applying any part of it to the promoting the Gospel, the instructing the youth, and relieving the poor; made all people conclude, that it was for robbery, and not for reformation, that their zeal made them so active." iii. 372. But the same writer adds, and with great truth, "It is true there were great and shining lights among them, whose excellent deportment, continual labours, fervent charity, and constant zeal, both during their lives and at their deaths, kept up the credit of that work, as much as it was disgraced by others, but they were *few* in comparison of the *many bad;* and those of the clergy, in whom the *old leaven had still a deep root,* though they complied in every thing that was imposed on them, seeing that they had lost those perquisites of masses, and other practices, which brought them their chief gains, and saw nothing come in lieu of them for their subsistence; they who in their hearts hated all that they were forced to profess outwardly, did secretly possess such as were influenced by them with an abhorrence of all that was done: and they disposed the nation to be ready to throw it all off." The next passage is too long to be extracted, but it is headed thus: "Much lamented by the Reformers."—Which he proves from the complaints and lamentations of the graver sort, in their letters to, and communications with, one another.

cate the many evil weeds, which, at the beginning of the Reformation, were too numerous and too rank to allow the good seed of the pure word of God very quickly to attain sufficient root. This was undoubtedly the actual state of things in the times even of the good King Edward. The catalogue of prevailing and predominant vices is indeed great;* covetousness and selfishness being perhaps at the head. To which may, we fear, be added, corruption of public officers, judges, and magistrates; uncharitableness; oppression of the poor; thievery, murders, extreme licentiousness, adulteries, absurd contentions and disputes on topics both civil and religious, neglect of churches, ignorance and profligacy of both laity and clergy.

Were these then the legitimate fruits of the Reformation? far from it. Let us consider who those were that most complained of this sad defection of morals: may we not call Mr. Butler's own witnesses? *Luther*, *Musculus*, *Melancthon*, &c.? May we not call *Latimer*, who, in his homely but honest style, reproved without reserve the covetous courtiers, and corrupt crown officers, in the King's court, and in the King's own presence?

"I will become," said he, in one of his courtly sermons; "the King's officer for a while. I have to lay out for the King 2000*l.*, or a great sum whatsoever it be. Well, when I have laid it out, and do bring in my account, I must give 300 marks to have my bills warranted. If I have done truly and uprightly, what should need me to give a penny to have my bills warranted? Smell you nothing in this? What needeth a bribe-giving, except the bills be false? Well, such practice hath been in England; but beware—it will out one day. Beware of God's proverb, '*There is nothing hidden that shall not be opened;*'—and here now I speak to you my

* Strype's xxiiid. ch. b. ii. of his Memorials, under the year 1553, may be looked to for a view of the manners of all sorts of men in these times: nobility, gentry, yeomanry, judges, the poor, the clergy.

master minters, *augmentationers*,* receivers, surveyors, auditors; I make a petition to you, I beseech you all, be good to the King. He hath been good to you, therefore be ye good to him. Yea, be good to your own souls. Ye are known well enough, what ye were afore ye came to your offices, and what lands ye had then, and what ye have purchased since, and what buildings ye make daily. Well, I pray ye, so build that the King's workmen may be paid. They make their moans that they can get no money. The poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-makers, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, soldiers, and other crafts, cry out for their dues. They be unpaid three or four months; yea, some of them half a year; yea, and some of them put up bills this time twelvemonth for their money, and cannot be paid yet. It seems

* The Court of Augmentation, so called from the Augmentation of the Royal revenue by the suppression of religious houses, was constituted in 1536; it was composed of a Chancellor, a Treasurer, a Surveyor, ten Auditors, and several inferior officers, and was invested with discretionary powers in all matters relative to the estates of those Societies.—*Lodge's Illustrations*, vol. i., where may be seen a curious account, in a letter from James Clarke to the Earl of Shrewsbury, of the greediness with which the Church lands, &c., were bought up. "Sir Walter Mildmay," he writes, "and Kellwayne, another who is of my Lord Protector's Counsaile, or in comission for the sale of all chauntries, hospitalls and colledges. They sitte at Mr. Myldmayes ev'ry daye, and suche importunate hearing for houses in London hath not the like bene seane: xx years and xxx years purchase is nothing allmost; such a sturre is among the cetezens in purchasing one another's house over his hedd, that well is he that pricketh highest."

The Chantries were generally possessed of great wealth, derived from the pious pretence of saying Masses for departed souls. They were generally annexed to Churches; as many as forty-seven having been said to be within St. Paul's Cathedral, each of these had a separate, generally, landed estate. They were given to the King, as we have noticed, by Parliament in the first year of his reign, though not without much opposition as well from Protestants as Papists. There was a Chantry founded in St. George's Church in Stamford, by David Cecil, the grandfather of Lord Burghley. What became of this we cannot exactly say, but a portion of the Monastery of the Grey Friars in Stamford, certainly came to the Cecil family. In the accounts of the real estate of Lord Burghley, printed in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, No. 13, is, "Ac de et in Scitu, Solo et circuitu nuper dissoluti domus de Gray-Friers cum pertinentiis, extra muros ville de Stanford predicta." The surrender of this particular house is printed by Collier as a specimen of surrenders, in the time of Henry VIII.—See vol. ii. 159.

ill-favouredly, that ye should have enough to build superfluously, and the King lack to pay his poor labourers."

Latimer, of all people, had the most right to preach in this manner, since it is upon record, that he was so beset with *poor* suitors, during his residence with Cranmer at Lambeth, as not to have time, as he also told the King in another sermon, to look in a book. Nor were his bold and open remonstrances against the sins of the times without effect. We are particularly told, that one of his sermons on *Restitution*, absolutely awakened some of the Court extortioners to such a sense of their peculations, as to make them restore into the King's treasury, through the hands of Latimer himself, large sums of which they had defrauded him. Sir William Sharington (or Sheringham), the Mint-Master of Bristol, whom the Lord Seymour had corrupted, as has been before shewn, being particularly one.* But Latimer was not the only

* It is very remarkable that Bradford the Martyr should have been one of these restitutionists, in consequence of *Latimer's* sermon. He had in early life been employed under Sir John Harrington, Paymaster of the English forces, and builder of the military works or fortifications at Boulogne in France; and in this department it is supposed that he made those gains, of which, on hearing *Latimer's* sermon, he so much repented; restoring, in three years, as much as five hundred pounds (a large sum in those times), before the King or Council knew (if they ever did know, which seems doubtful) that any such wrong had been committed.—And this breach of trust, when brought home to him by Latimer's sermon, had such an effect upon him, as to alter his whole course of living, and determine him to settle in a more severe and strict calling or profession, above the temptation of all worldly ensnarements. It sent him to Cambridge, where, in a short time, he became Master of Arts, and so recommended himself to Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Ridley, Bishop of London, as to produce a sort of competition between them, which should have him of his particular College, Catherine, or Pembroke Hall. Bradford's own account, which he wrote to a friend, of the effect of Latimer's sermon, is very striking: "Since my coming to London," says he, "I was with Mr. Latimer, whose counsel is, as you shall hear, which I purpose by God's grace to obey. He willed me, as I have done, to write to my master, who is in the country, and to shew him, that if, within a certain time, he do not go about to make *Restitution*, that I will submit myself to my Lord Protector and the King's Majesty's Council, to confess the fault, and ask pardon. This life is uncertain and frail; and when time is, it must not be deferred: and what should it profit me, to win the whole world and lose my own soul? If, as I have justly

Protestant divine who thus reprobated the vices of the times in Sermons at Court. The following are the terms in which the venerable Bernard Gilpin adverted to the same sad topics of blame and reproach.

"Look," saith he, "in all countries, how Lady Avarice hath set on work altogether mighty men, gentlemen, and all rich men, to rob and spoil the poor, to turn them from their livings and their right; and ever the weakest go to the walls. And being thus tormented and put from their right at home, they come to London a great number, as to a place where justice should be had, and there they can have none. They are suitors to great men, and cannot come to their speech; their servants must have bribes, and they no small ones. All love bribes; but such as be dainty to hear the poor, let them take heed lest God make it as strange to them when they shall pray. '*Who stoppeth his ear at the crying of the poor, he shall cry.*' Oh! with what glad heart and clear consciences might noblemen go to rest, when they had bestowed the

deserved, I be put to death for it, God's will be done.—Even as thou wilt, Lord, so be it. Only grant me a penitent, loving, obedient heart; and of mere love to go forwards herein and not to shrink; to stand, and not to fall."—It seems that he was obliged to make *Restitution* out of his own means, though others were concerned; and that "to bring this thyng to pass," as his friend Sampson, sometime Dean of Christ Church, has recorded, "he did wyllingly forbeare and forgoe all the private and certain patrimonye whiche he had in earth."

We have an almost ludicrous instance upon record of the little moral effect produced by the Sermons of the *Romish* clergy, in the case of the famous Earl of Surrey; who, being brought before the Council, in Henry's reign, for walking about the streets at midnight, and breaking windows, by shooting from a cross-bow, gave this as his excuse: "It grieved me, my Lords," said he, "to see the licentious manners of the citizens of London: they resembled the manners of Papal [*Query*, Pagan?] Rome in her corruptest state, and not that of a Christian community. Was I to suffer these unhappy men to perish without warning?—that, common charity forbade. *The remonstrances of their spiritual pastors had been urged I knew in vain.* I therefore went at midnight through the streets, and shot my cross-bow at their windows, that the stones passing noiseless through the air, and breaking in suddenly on their guilty society, might remind them of the suddenness of that punishment which the Scripture tells us divine justice will inflict on impenitent sinners, and to lead them to a reformation of manners."—*Nott's Life of Surrey.*

whole day in hearing Christ himself complain in his members, and in redressing their wrongs! But, alas! what lack thereof! Poor people are driven to seek their right among the lawyers; and there, as the prophet Joel saith, 'what the caterpillar hath left in their robbery and oppression at home, all that do the greedy locusts, the lawyers, devour at London.' They laugh with the money that maketh others to weep."

In another place, alluding to the *hoarding* of *money*, a conspicuous branch of the prevailing *covetousness*—"She has brought it to pass," cried he, "that there was never more idolatry in England than at this day, but the idols are hid, and come not abroad. Alas! noble Prince (turning his speech to the King), that the images of your ancestors, graven in gold, and yours also, contrary to your mind, are worshipped as Gods; and all the poor lively images of Christ perish in the streets through hunger and cold."

Of the horrible resort of poor people to London, driven thither by the excess of inclosures, and too sudden conversion of tillage lands to pasturage, another preacher thus speaks: "O merciful Lord! what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lie and creep begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster! It is a common custom with covetous landlords to let their housing so decay, that the farmer shall be fain for a small regard, or none at all, to give up his lease; that they, taking the ground into their own hands, may turn all to pastures. So now, old fathers, poor widows, and young children, lie begging in the miry streets." But, "bold Knox," as Strype calls him, according to his own manner, went, perhaps, farther than any: in the very last sermon he preached before the King, "that innocent and most godly King," as he called him afterwards, he very particularly attacked the Duke of Northumberland, and Winchester the Lord Treasurer, the former ruling by his stout courage and proud

stomach, the Treasurer by counsel and wit; he accused them of being friends to the old religion, and temporizers; craftily concealing their inward judgments for the accomplishing their worldly ends and interests. "This," says Strype, "was well enough observed by the good sort."*

Though the above extracts relate chiefly to the crying sin of *Covetousness*, which bore so hard upon the poor, principally through the *ignorance*, perhaps, of the landlords, in too hasty a conversion of their newly acquired property, from a state of tillage to pasturage, inclosure of commons, &c.; yet the other predominant vices of the age were not allowed to pass uncensured or uncondemned by the leading Reformists. We have sufficient evidence of this in the Homilies. We allude particularly to the following: The *Seventh*, against Swearing and Perjury. The *Eleventh*, against Whoredom and Adultery. The *Twelfth*, against Strife and Contention. The *Seventeenth*, against Gluttony and Drunkenness. The *Eighteenth*, against Excess of Apparel; (a fault into which even many of the Clergy appear to have fallen, being, as Latimer speaks, "more fit to dance the morris-dance than to be permitted to preach.") The *Twenty-third*, of Almsdeeds; in which, Covetousness, of course, was duly reproved. And, finally, the *Thirty-first*, on Idleness; a vice to which many, who might have found employment, were dreadfully addicted.

Having but too faithfully, as it is to be feared, given an account of these things, shall we conclude, with the Papists, that they tend to cast an indelible reproach on the reign of our first Protestant Sovereign, and on the Reformed Religion, which he so zealously countenanced? Surely, far otherwise. The times were bad, indeed; worse, perhaps, in *appearance*, than the foregoing times, when crimes of all descriptions were, by certain *Religious* Ceremonies,

* See a curious extract from his "Faithful Admonition," in which he alludes to this Sermon. —*Strype's Memorials*, vol. ii. part 69, 70.

confession, masses, the invocation of saints, or purchase of indulgencies, to be hushed up, kept out of sight, and pardoned and atoned for: but these vain ceremonies being exploded, we may surely be allowed to ask, what was required in their room? we may learn from the words of one of the King's Commissioners, sent forth to remedy some of the evils so greatly deprecated by all parties.*

"For God's sake, good people, let us take heed; let us not provoke the ire and plague of God on us: but having received the KNOWLEDGE OF HIS WORD, let us live ACCORDINGLY. Let our *good living* and *works* appear to the world. Let our love and charity be abundant to our poor neighbours; that *other* men may speak wel of us, and say *no longer*, that we be *talkers* of God's word, and no *followers*. If we do not, no doubt but he wil take that his most holy word from us, and give it to a people that shal bring forth the true fruit of it. Let us begin, good people, to strive who may do most good. Let us have this godly opinion with us, that nothing can be profitable that is not godly and honest; nor nothing godly and honest, whereby our neighbours and Christen brethren, or the Commonwealth of our country is hurted or harmed. Let it appear, that we desire and follow that that is good, for the love that we bear to good, and not for fear of the laws or punishment. Let us remember that our time in this world is short. Let us use this short time to God's honor and glory. It hath pleased him, to send among us the LIGHT of his GOSPEL, which doth teach us how we should love, honor, and trust in him; how we should, and ought to love our neighbour as ourselves. Let it not appear, that we have received the grace of GOD, and the knowledge of his word, in vain; but let our doings be so charitable, that al the world may se and perceive that as God's word doth teach us to be al one, so we be al one:

* Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. part ii.

whereby we may provoke those that now hate God's word, to love and embrace the same, and to glorify God with us."

We may surely be allowed to cite these goodly words of exhortation, as a fair specimen of the proper spirit of the Reformation. Let us grant, for indeed we must do it, that many, both high and low, deviated widely from the purity of the Gospel, and were a disgrace to the times of which we are writing; but who were the reprovers of these inordinate proceedings?*—Reformed Divines. In whose presence were these abominations exposed and denounced?—In the presence of the first Protestant Sovereign of these realms. Who compiled the Homilies, in denunciation of all such crimes and misdoings, as entirely contrary to God's word?—Archbishop Cranmer, the first Protestant Archbishop, and perhaps Ridley, the first Protestant Bishop of the English metropolis. And how comes it, that we hear and read so much of the predominant vices of this short reign?—Because now the turpitude of them became more apparent, as condemned by Scripture, with no reserve of Papal indulgencies, dispensations, private masses, obits, or monkish endowments.

It is to clear the Reformation, and the early Reformers, from the guilt of these excesses, as far as we may reasonably do so, that we dwell upon them. Excesses there were; deplorable excesses, in which some who favoured the Reformation were deeply implicated, but it is to those who saw and lamented the abuses of Protestantism, as plainly and as much as the corruptions of Romanism, that we must look for the true state of the case.—We must look to the public papers, public formularies, as well as the private correspondence of the eminent individuals, who took part in the first movements of this great revolution, to discern, not what they expected to establish on the instant, but

* See an admirable Discourse, by Dr. Maclaine, concerning the spirit and conduct of the first Reformers, annexed to the edition of Mosheim, London, 1811, Appendix No. ii.

what they wished to instil into the minds of men as the pure doctrines of Christianity, and the surest principles of action. The Reformation, when rightly understood, could not make men bad, though in the endeavour to set men at liberty from a thraldom they did not rightly understand, it was nothing wonderful that they should, in many instances, fall into a state of licentiousness.*

There can be nothing, indeed, more unreasonable, than to confound the immediate and accidental *Consequences*, with the actual *Principles* of the Reformation. The popular tumults and disturbances at the beginning of Edward's reign were, all things considered, very natural *consequences* of the Reformation; but we must look for the *principles* of the Reformation, and of the early Reformers, in Cranmer's and Sir John Cheke's expostulations and advice to the insurgents. The wild and extravagant tenets of the Anabaptists were, in all likelihood, consequences of the Reformation, but we must look to Luther's remonstrances and complaints, for the better principles of the Reformation itself.† The inordinate covetousness and selfishness of those who by the alienation of the conventual property, obtained possession of lands, which they were too hasty to convert to their own private purposes, were no very unlooked-for consequences of the Reformation,‡ but we must look to the sermons and discourses of

* "Des maux momentanés accompagnèrent et suivirent cette revolution. Un système tel que le Romain, appuyé sur tout ce qui commandoit le respect, ne pouvoit être attaqué dans ses bases, sans que l'Europe en fut ebranlée."—*Koch, Revolutions de l'Europe.*

† These Anabaptists, as has been well observed, were nursed in the bosom of Popery, and passed directly from Popery to Fanaticism, without even entering into the outward profession of Lutheranism.—*See Appendix to Mosheim*, London Edit. 1811. No. ii.—This Number is by Dr. Maclaine, and of great importance to those who may be disposed to investigate such subjects.—Those who may be liable to be beguiled by the sophistry, if not the palpable dishonesty, of Hume, would do well to read it; we should indeed say, they ought to read it, before they venture to decide upon the merits of the first Reformers, or the true spirit of the Reformation.

‡ "Whenever the due proportion between population, and the food provided for its support, is, to any *material extent*, deranged, a corresponding weakness will be infallibly introduced into

those Reformed Divines, who saw and deplored the extent of the mischief, and would have amended it, if in their power, for the more liberal and charitable principles of pure and reformed Christianity. We may look to that very Court of Requests, for which the Duke of Somerset, and very probably Smith and Cecil, suffered punishment, but which was, undoubtedly, designed as a barrier to the poor, against the inordinate covetousness and ambition of the more wealthy, as well as against the corruption of the Courts, with whose jurisdiction it was supposed to interfere, but which were notoriously more open to the rich than the poor. Even the Protector, with all his failings, had many sound principles and commendable virtues. It is well known, that he was called the GOOD DUKE, and such titles are not very commonly bestowed on the Great, without discrimination. We do not read of the GOOD Lord Admiral, or the GOOD Duke of Northumberland.

some of the vital powers of the Commonwealth, by an immediate deterioration of the *moral* and political state of the people."—*Weyland on the Principles of Population and Production.* The remark is extremely applicable, inasmuch, as by the hasty and inconsiderate steps taken to alter the nature of the property, and the circumstances of the population, though they might be the *beginnings* of a more healthy and better state of things, the proportion spoken of, was, undoubtedly, "to a material extent, deranged;" but these were not, by any necessity, connected with the principles of the Reformation.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

State of Affairs on the Continent during Edward's reign—Death of Francis I. —Battle of Muhlberg and dissolution of the Smalcaldic League—Capture and submission of the Elector of Saxony and Landgrave of Hesse—Perfidious conduct of the Emperor, ruinous to his own interests—The Pope withdraws his Troops, and transfers the sittings of the Council from Trent to Bologna—The Imperialists refuse to leave Trent—The Interim—Duke Maurice, in revenge of the detention of his Father-in-law, the Landgrave, and suspicious of the Emperor's designs against Religion and the Liberties of Germany, confederates against him, surprises him at Inspruck, and settles the Affairs of the Church—Death and Character of the Elector of Saxony.

BUT it is time to advert to the general state of Europe, during this short but important reign. Nothing could appear to be in a worse condition than the Protestant interests in Germany, when Henry died. It has been already stated, that through a remarkable act of treachery (for so it certainly seemed) on the part of Maurice of Saxony, in deserting the cause of the Smalcaldic League, or rather of the Germanic Reformation, for he was not personally a party to that league, and siding with the Emperor, when the Confederates took the field, he was the occasion of all the misfortunes that befel the latter.

It was only three months after the death of Henry, that the battle of Muhlberg on the Elbe took place, which terminated in the capture of the brave Duke John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and the equally brave, but more intemperate Landgrave of Hesse.

The treachery of Maurice, and his views upon the Electorate, which Charles had insidiously held out to him as a bait, had induced the Elector to withdraw from the army at so critical a period, that others of the Confederates, fearing the consequences, broke up the league, thereby affording Charles every opportunity of revenging himself upon his two most formidable foes, the Elector and the Landgrave. The "Star of Austria," could never appear to shine more opportunely upon the Emperor than at this moment, for besides the confusion into which the confederates were thrown, by the natural desire the Elector evinced to defend his electorate from the rapacious grasp of Maurice; Francis I. who had been negotiating against Charles, with the Pope, the Venetians, Switzerland, the Kings of England and Denmark, and, which was least to be expected, with the Turk, suddenly departed this life, having survived Henry only three months. This altered the whole aspect of things, as regarded Charles: he now felt that he could defy both France and Rome; he could without molestation proceed to execute his vengeance upon the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, weakened by the desertion of their allies; nor did he long hesitate in taking his steps accordingly. As soon as the news of Francis's death had reached him, he quitted Bohemia with a reduced army, but confident of success, and proceeded directly towards Saxony. Duke John Frederick, with all his bravery, was particularly ill-qualified, from his wariness and slow movements, to check the ardour and impetuosity of his haughty opponent. On the 24th of April the two armies met and engaged on the banks of the Elbe, at Muhlberg, and after some most heroic feats on the part of the Imperialists, the Saxons were routed and their brave Elector taken prisoner; twelve hundred of his troops being slain. We would wish, for the credit of Charles V. to suppress what passed afterwards; but it is too remarkable an incident in the struggles of the Reformation

to be suppressed—flushed with his victory, and proud of his *prey*, Charles had the inhumanity (we might surely say brutality), not only to proceed immediately to Wittenberg, where the Elector's family lay, but to carry the Elector with him—exposing him in cruel triumph to the gaze of the multitude, and of his own subjects, though not to their contempt; he was far too much respected even in his misfortunes; nor could this foul affront and insolence, either break his spirit, or in the smallest degree disturb the tranquillity of his mind. This, however, was not all he had to suffer from the tyrant into whose hands he had fallen; Charles expected the gates of Wittenberg to be opened to him directly, and looked to enter the chief town of his captive's dominions, as its acknowledged Sovereign. But he met with an opponent he little expected: *Sybilla* of *Cleves*, the wife of the fallen Elector, heroically defied his power; shut the gates against him, and personally animated the citizens to a brave defence.

It was upon this occasion that Charles resolved upon the ungenerous and horrid project of *compelling* her to surrender, by putting the life of her husband in danger. He had him immediately brought to trial, and sentence of death formally pronounced upon him, after having given notice to *Sybilla*, upon a second summons, that unless she surrendered, the sentence should undoubtedly be carried into execution; any sensible mind would, we think, wish, as indeed proved to be the case, that the heroism of the high-minded princess, should terminate at this point. The imminent danger to which she now saw her brave husband and the father of her children exposed, suddenly damped her resolution, and seemed at once to subdue her otherwise undaunted spirit; while the Elector himself, not less moved by the tears and entreaties of his wife and family, in compliance with their united and earnest solicitations, was induced to consent to

the hard terms, of resigning into the Emperor's hands the electoral dignity, and becoming his prisoner. No threats, however, it should be observed, could prevail on him to renounce his faith, or, in violation of his conscience, to submit to the Pope and Council, on any of the controverted points of religion.

The Landgrave, the other great opponent of Charles, though still in arms, and capable of maintaining himself sometime longer, if not of renewing the confederacy in such force as to defy the Emperor, was too much alarmed by what had befallen the Elector, to think of any thing beyond that of obtaining the best terms he could, and submitting himself also to the power of the Emperor. Sometimes, indeed, he seemed to be quite impatient of submission, nor would this spirit probably have been subdued, but through the interference of Duke Maurice, his son-in-law, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, who undertook to mediate for him with the Emperor, and procure his pardon; offering themselves as securities to the Landgrave's family for his safety and release.

But Charles was no stranger to dissimulation; after seeming to accept the mediation, receiving in form the Landgrave's submission, and ostensibly releasing him, he caused him to be again arrested, to the great distress of his family, and, as it is said, by a subterfuge or fraud so despicable, as not to be generally credited. It is affirmed, that the Landgrave fell a victim to the following disgraceful stratagem. The Emperor pretended, that in the engagement entered into, there was nothing to prevent his imprisoning the Landgrave *anew*, but only that he should be exempted from *perpetual* imprisonment. A very trifling alteration in the wording of the treaty might occasion all this difference. He procured it to be written, as some assert, *ewiger gefangnis*, which means a *perpetual* prison, instead of *einiger gefangnis*, *any* prison. Robertson,

in his history of Charles V. does not attempt to decide, whether the story be true or not; but we seem to have it too well authenticated by Lord Burghley's great friend, Roger Ascham, to leave room for doubt. "When I was at *Villacho* in *Carinthia*," says he, in a letter already referred to, "I asked Duke Frederick's preacher what were the very words in Dutch, whereby the Landgrave, against his lookyng was kept in prison? he sayd the fallacion was very pretty and notable, and took his penne, and wrote in my booke, the very wordes in which the controversie stode. Duke Maurice sayd it was, *Vicht in einig gefengknes*, not in any prison. The Imperialists sayd no, but thus; *Vicht in ewig gefengknes*, not in everlastyng prison. And how soon *einig* may be turned into *ewig*, not with scrape of knife, but with the least dash of a pen, so that it shall never be perceived, a man that will prove may easily see."

Fortunately for the liberties of Germany, this paltry evasion changed the whole face of affairs. The Landgrave, as might naturally be expected, inveighed bitterly against the perfidious behaviour of the Emperor, not without some strong insinuations against the too great tameness and supineness of his pledges or sureties. Mauriee was of too high a spirit to brook such charges, he even offered to become prisoner himself to the sons of the Landgrave, unless they would trust to his designs for the liberation of their father.* From this moment he determined upon a different course of conduct; but instead of proceeding with such haste and impetuosity as might have ruined all his projects, he counselled present submission, that he might, by timely dissembling, more effectually accomplish the release of his insulted relative. Proceeding upon this cautious plan, he, in due time, so effectually threw the Emperor off his guard, as to obtain all the ends he sought for. But before we relate the particular circum-

* Burnet, ii. 388.

stances of this great revolution, we must take some notice of the proceedings of the Pope.

Interested as the Pontiff might have been supposed to be in any advantages gained over the Protestants, he was not willing that things should fall out so much as they had done to the aggrandisement of the Emperor. He soon began to perceive that the latter might become too great for his purposes; that he might not only obtain an absolute authority over the Council assembled at Trent, but even bring his victorious army into Italy, where the settlement of his relations and dependents, and the distribution of honours and territories amongst them, might at any time afford him a handle or pretext for such interference.

Paul, therefore, took the opportunity of suddenly recalling his troops, upon certain enumerated but shallow pretences, which he was careful to set forth in a public manifesto or memorial; and in order to prevent the Emperor obtaining, through his Spanish bishops and German divines, too great power over the Council, he as hastily entered into measures for the removal of that assembly farther from his dominions;* he seized the occasion of some slight symptoms of illness amongst the prelates to raise the alarm of a prevailing sickness† at Trent, and on this feigned pretence to translate the sittings of the Council to *Bologna*, thinking thereby

* For an account of the proceedings and character of the Council at this period, the letters of *Vargas*, the German minister, mentioned before, p. 153, abstracts of which are to be seen in Burnet, vol. iii, should by all means be consulted. It will there be seen, that in the opinion of this observing minister, the whole drift of the presiding Legates was to canonize all the abuses of the Church and Court of Rome. *Malvenda*, one of the Emperor's divines, and the *Bishop* of *Oren*, had expressed as much, it seems, in letters written in a similar strain. Burnet's reflections upon these remarkable testimonies to the partial views and designs of this famous Council are very just and good. See also *Jurieu's* History of the Council of Trent, and *Tableau des Revolutions de l'Europe* par *Koch*. One clause in all the Canons of Reformation, "saving in all things the authority of the Apostolical See," (*salvâ authoritate sedis apostolicæ*,) is telling the world, in plain terms, the minister *Vargas* writes, that what the Pope does not like shall signify nothing.

† See before, p. 157.

not only to get the assembly more within his own territories, but farther from Charles. This project, however, did not succeed as Paul desired and intended. It had the effect only of producing a schism in the Council, for not only did the Prelates in the Imperial interest object of themselves to the removal, but they received strict orders from Charles on no account to depart from Trent. Some endeavours were made to bring back those who had retired to Bologna; and, as it proved, the Pope would have done well to have given his consent; for, by not allowing it, he afforded Charles an opportunity of taking a step, the rashness and imprudence of which not only hastened his own fall, but ultimately procured for the Protestants the security they desired. We allude to the celebrated rule of faith and worship which the Emperor caused to be drawn up, with a view of maintaining peace in religious matters, during the interval of the interruption of the Council, or while they should be compelled to wait for the decision of another such assembly regularly convened; in fact, for what they had all along demanded, a *free general Council.* This rule of faith, for the reasons stated above, obtained the name of the INTERIM, or *Formula ad Interim.* It was principally drawn up by three commissioners, commonly called Pflug, Helding, and Agricola; that is, Julius *Pflugius*, Bishop of Nuremburg, Michael *Sidonius*, a creature of the Pope, and John *Agricola*, of Aysleben; the two first professed Catholics, the latter a reclaimed Protestant. It was supposed to be taken, in some measure, according to Burnet,* from the English Bishops' book, or King Henry's "*Institution of a Christian Man.*" It is called in the Dictionnaire Historique, "*Formulaire de Foi, Catholique pour le dogme, favorable aux Heretiques pour la discipline.*" It was, indeed, a most mixed formulary, and therefore quite unlikely to give full satisfaction to either party, while it greatly increased the anger of the Pontiff,

* Reformation, i. 397. Oxford Edit.

who, though he secretly rejoiced at it as likely to ruin the Emperor, felt his rights invaded as Head of the Church and Vicar of Christ, by the bold attempt of a secular Prince to settle the affairs of religion. As to the measure itself, the Papists were raised too high by the Emperor's successes to be expected to make many concessions; and though there was much show of moderation, all that was granted to the Protestants was so artfully managed, and so ambiguously expressed, as to render every thing insecure. If they should venture to avail themselves of the very indulgences *conditionally* granted to them, as the use of the *cup*, if they *chose* it, or marriage of the clergy, they might, by the decrees of some future general Council, have those grants overruled or condemned, their marriages in particular dissolved, and the issue of them declared illegitimate.* Neither party, in fact, was satisfied.† It was promulgated, indeed, under very suspicious circumstances, at the diet of Augsburgh; the Elector of Mentz, who presided, asserting it to be generally approved, though he had not deigned so

* There can be little doubt of the insecurity of these indulgences, when we reflect on the manner in which the very case was afterwards exemplified in England; the marriages that took place among the clergy, by law, under Edward, being pronounced adulterous under Mary, formally annulled, the parties separated, and the children pronounced to be so spurious, as to subject the fathers to severe punishment for even noticing them, as we shall have occasion to shew. Favourable as some passages of the *Interim* might seem to Protestants, the Emperor's confessor is said to have refused him absolution for ceasing to persecute heretics.—*Burnet.*

† Unfortunately the Reformists themselves split into two parties, in consequence of the conciliatory measures of the peaceful Melancthon, who gave it as his opinion that though the whole of the book of the *Interim* could not be adopted by the friends of the Reformation, yet that in things accessory or *indifferent* it might be received as an authoritative rule. He and his party were accordingly distinguished by the name of *Adiaphorists*. Melancthon, in this, was judged to give much too great countenance to the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the Popish worship, which were preserved in the Interim to dazzle the eyes of the vulgar.—*See Mosheim, Jurieu, Burnet,* &c. The particular articles of the *Interim* objected to by the Protestants may be seen in Strype's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 178, anno 1548, as communicated to the Protector Somerset, in despatches from Sir Philip Hoby, the King's ambassador, where may also be found a very circumstantial account of the reception the Interim met with in the different towns of Germany.

much as to ask for the opinions of the Princes and States assembled.

Objectionable however as it might seem, it was soon found that it was to be put in execution against the disobedient by force of arms. This seems to have awakened Maurice of Saxony, to some sense of the precarious situation of things, as regarded Protestantism, and the fate of his father-in-law, whose release he was bent upon procuring. He had obtained the Electorate on the fall of John Frederick, as has been shewn,* but under no very encouraging circumstances. Ascham, who knew him, writes, that when he took possession of the forfeited Electorate, in February, 1548, "two verses were sat upon his gate, which might more grieve him than all that honour could delight him;" and he has given us the very verses, which were these—

"Seu Dux, seu Princeps, seu tu dicaris Elector,
Mauricè es Patriæ proditor ipse tuæ."

His credit and reputation therefore were shaken in many ways, and it is no wonder that he should begin to perceive that he had been acting wrong. On a proposal for a fresh convocation of the Council of Trent (Julius III. having succeeded Paul†), Maurice put himself forward to insist upon some

* He was formally invested with the Electorate on the Emperor's birth-day, February 24, 1548, John Frederick looking on, as Burnet relates, with his usual constancy of mind. All he said was, "Now they triumph in that dignity, of which they have, against justice and equity, deprived me: God grant they may enjoy it peaceably and happily, and may never need any assistance from me or my posterity." And without expressing any farther concern about it, he went to his studies, which were almost wholly employed upon the Scriptures.

† Paul III. died on the 10th of November, 1550, aged 82. It was upon this occasion that Cardinal Pole became Pope, in a most extraordinary manner, if he would but have accepted the appointment; but he received the intelligence so coldly, not without some remonstrances against their coming to such a determination late at night, God loving light better than darkness, that the Conclave, not knowing how to appreciate such apparent disinterestedness, proceeded to another election, choosing the Cardinal di Monte (Julius III.) The Pope who so strangely distinguished his election, by immediately making a Cardinal of the servant who

conditions, too favourable to the Protestant interests to be assented to by the Archbishop of Mentz who was to preside: but he had further objects in view; he now saw plainly that the Emperor meditated some great invasion of the liberties of Germany, and the jurisdiction of its Princes. He had been nominated to take the command of the Imperial forces sent against Magdeburg, to reduce that city to an obedience to the Interim, and being joined there by Albert of Brandenburgh, who was highly incensed against Charles, for many slights shewn him in the course of his former services, they both determined to practise against the Emperor;* they even entered into an alliance with the King of France, and several of the German princes, for the avowed purpose of maintaining the rights and liberties of the Empire.

It is not necessary to go into the detail of their several movements, preparatory to their grand attack upon the Emperor at Inspruck, in the year 1552, where Maurice, with a powerful army, came so suddenly upon Charles, who lay there with a handful of troops only, totally unsuspicious of danger, as to render it almost impossible for him to escape. He was compelled indeed to depart in the utmost confusion, by wretched roads, in the midst of a dark night, and during a violent rain, borne in a litter on account of his ill health, and never venturing to stop until he arrived at Villach in Carinthia.†

had charge of his monkey, upon worse motives, as some have asserted, than mere caprice. See a good account of Cardinal Pole's election, in Burnet, Anno 1550. The Cardinal at the time being not free from suspicions of heresy, from the company he kept at Viterbo, where he had resided many years.

* Charles was always unpopular through his *unkindnesses*, as Ascham calls them: "There be few Princes in all the Empire," says he, "to whom some good byg matter of unkindness hath not been offered by the Emperour." He mentions many particular and striking instances.

† Ascham thus describes the catastrophe that befel the Emperor at Inspruck: "Even so these grieves in the whole body of the Empire, dyd first work secretly and not appeare openly,

We may very reasonably adopt the pious reflection of Robertson upon this very extraordinary incident:—"How wonderfully," he observes, "doth the wisdom of God superintend and regulate the caprice of human passions, and render them subservient towards the accomplishment of his own purposes." For it should be remarked, that though Charles never stood higher, than at the moment when he had, to all appearance, dissolved the Smalcaldic League, captured the two great leaders of the confederate army, and, in conjunction with the Pope, succeeded in severely chas-

untill this melancholy unkyndnes dyd so swell in mens stomachs, that at length in *Insburghe* it burst out into a shrewd sicknes, whereof the first fit was felt to be so dangerous, that if the Emperour and WE had not more spedely chaunged the ayre, I am affrayed, and sure I am we were wel affrayed then, the sicknes would have proved also to us that were present with hym very contagious."—In Edward the VIth's Journal, this extraordinary flight of the Emperor from Inspruck, is thus noticed: "The Emperor hearing of this (namely, the hostile approach of Duke Maurice and his party) departed by night from Inspruck, forty miles that night in post; he killed two of his gennets, and rode continually every night, first to Brixinium, and after, for doubt of the Cardinal of Ferrara's army, turned to Villacho in Carinthia. Also, the Emperor delivered Duke Frederick from captivity, and sent him through Bohemia into Saxony, to raise a power against Duke Maurice's nephew.—Duke Maurice, after that Hala and divers other towns had yielded, came to Inshpruck, and there caused all the stuff to be brought to the market-place, and took all that pertained to Imperialists as confiscate, the rest he suffered the townsmen to enjoy."

We must not, however, suppress the testimony borne by Ascham, a partner in Charles's ignominious flight, to the generosity and high-mindedness of the reformed Duke Maurice:—

"This last day," he writes, "I dyned with the Ambassador of *Venice*, in companie of many wyse heads, where Duke Maurice was greatly praysed of some for his wit; of others for the execution of his purposes. 'Well,' sayth a lusty *Italian* priest, 'I cannot much prayse his wit, which might have had the Emperour in his hands and would not.' Loe, such be these *Machiavel's* heads, who thinke no man have so much wit as he should, except he do more mischief then he neede. But Duke *Maurice* proposyng to do no harme to the Emperour, but good to his Father-in-law, obtayning the one, pursued not the other. Yea, I know it to be most true, when WE fled from *Insburge* so hastily, Duke *Maurice* sent a post to the good Kyng of the Romans, and bad hym will the Emperour to make no such speede, for he purposed not to hurt his person, but to helpe his frende."—He says afterwards, "If Duke *Maurice* had had a *Machiavel's* head, or a cowardes heart, he would have worne a bloudyer sword than he dyd, which he never drew out in all these sturres, but once at the *Cluse*, and that was to save the Emperour's men."

tising the favourers of Lutheranism, yet his very greatness ruined him; and from this period may be dated the decline of all his power and authority as Emperor. His ill treatment of the two valiant Princes, who had fallen into his hands, and whom he indecently carried about with him as a spectacle, disgusted his subjects, and brought Maurice, and the Elector of Brandenburgh, to a sense of the injury they had done to the Protestant cause, by trusting to the hollow assurances of the perfidious master they had been serving.

The surprise of the Emperor at Inspruck, soon led to the celebrated treaty or pacification of Passau;—the basis of the religious liberty of the German Protestants, and which was concluded between Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, and Maurice, in the month of January, 1552. The articles of this treaty are to be seen in many books; it may be sufficient to say that the obnoxious *Interim* was declared null and void, and it was stipulated that the contending parties should enjoy the free and undisturbed exercise of their Religion, until a Diet should be assembled to determine amicably all their disputes, and that this religious liberty should continue always. The Landgrave was to be set at liberty on or before the day on which the confederates were to disband their armies; Charles had already in his panic released the Elector of Saxony, though the latter chose to accompany him in his flight from Inspruck to Villach, there to await the result of the negotiations at Passau; not willing probably to put himself into the power of Maurice. The Emperor did not very readily submit to the treaty going forward at Passau, and Ferdinand, who had perhaps the greatest reason of the two to wish for an accommodation, was at the pains to go himself into Carinthia to communicate to his brother the result of the conferences between himself and Maurice. In King Edward's Journal we have the following entry relative to this: "The Emperor declared, that he

would none of these articles to which Duke Maurice agreed, and the King of the Romans also. The copy of them remaineth with the Secretary *Cecil.*"

Thus was all that Charles had accomplished against the Protestants, their power, and their religion, annulled by the very hand which had assisted him in procuring the former advantages over both, and the Protestant Church established on a sure basis, by the very person who had incurred such great blame for contributing to her almost entire destruction. He was assisted in this not by the Protestant King of England,* who might have been

* Money was asked, as appears from the following entry in the King's Journal: "Certain German Princes desired aid in cause of Religion 400,000 dollars, if they should be driven to make shift by necessity; and offered the like also if I entered into any war for them: whereupon I called the Lords, and considered, as appears by a scroll in the Board at Westminster; and thereupon appointed that the Secretary Petre, and Sir *William Cecil* another Secretary, should talk with the messenger to know the matter precisely, and the names of those who would enter the Confederacy."

Ascham is tolerably severe upon the King of France for his alliance with *Maurice*, who, it appears, when he saw through his plans, in some measure left him to himself. His account is very curious: "And of all other he served the *French* Kyng best, who fayn pretendyng the delivery of the two Princes captives, and the maintenannce of religion and liberty in *Germany*, purposed in very deede nothing els but the destruction of the Emperour and the house of *Austria*; for what cared he for religion abroad, who at home not onely followeth none hymselfe privately in his lyfe, but also persecuteth the trouth in others openly with the sword; but I do hym wrong to say he followeth none, who could for his purpose be content at one time to embrace all; and for to do hurt enough to the Emperour, would become at once by solemne league, Protestant, Popish, Turkish, and devilish——how much he cared for the libertie of Germany he well declared in stealing away so unhonorably from the Empire, the city of METZ.—But see how noble Duke *Maurice* did, which for the love of his country, durst fall from the French Kyng, before he atchieved any-thyng against the Emperor; and rather than *Germany* should leese her cities so by the *French* Kyng, he had lever hassard, both the leesyng of his enterprice, and also the leavyng of his father-in-law still in prison with the Emperour." Then he goes on to speak further of Duke Maurice, commending him for not proceeding in force against the Emperour, till every fair means had been tried for the peaceable delivery of the Landgrave. He specifies many remarkable instances, even the presence of twenty-four Ambassadors at once, before the Emperor at Inspruck, to solicit his release; but the Emperor sending them all home, upon a pretence that he would rather treat with Maurice alone,

expected to aid such a cause, but by the Catholic King of France, who, within his own dominions was at the same time, persecuting the Reformed party among his subjects, and in Scotland, where he had obtained no small sway, by the possession of its Queen, and her betrothment to his son, doing all in his power to check the growth of Protestantism and to support the tottering church. Even the Emperor's own brother had been led to contribute to the relief of the Protestants, and the very treaty which proved so fatal to the Romish Church, was negotiated and signed by a Roman Catholic Bishop!

Before the close of this reign, Charles met with another great discomfiture, in endeavouring to recover from the King of France his three important frontier towns of *Toul*, *Verdun*, and METZ, which had fallen into the hands of the latter during the conflict, as has been before observed, but in this he totally failed; principally through the extraordinary activity and valour of the Duke of Guise.

In the ensuing year, however, Charles's great opponent, who had brought so much mischief on his head, Maurice of Saxony, lost his life, in endeavouring to suppress or restrain the turbulent proceedings of his former colleague, Albert of Brandenburgh.* He

Maurice discreetly answered that he would wait upon him, which, as Ascham adds, he "indeede did so hastily and so hotly, as the Emperor could not abyde the heat of his breath."

* *Albert*, after the pacification of *Passau*, to which he refused to subscribe, continued the war against the Roman Catholics, and afterwards committed such ravages in the Empire that a confederacy was formed against him, at the head of which Maurice had been placed. There is a very curious account of this hot-headed young Prince, of his family, his manners, his character, and his person, to be seen in Ascham's Report of the Affairs of Germany; a report drawn up the very day on which he received the news of Duke Maurice's death, as he writes; "But that bonde is now broken: for even this day, when I was writyng this place, came word to this court that Marches (Marquess) Albert and Duke Maurice had fought, where the Marches had lost the field, and Duke Maurice had lost his lyfe." He describes some particulars of the person of Duke Maurice:—"He was well faced, in countenance, complection, favour and beard not much unlyke to Syr Raffe Sadler, but some deale higher, and well and

died of a wound received in battle, at the early age of thirty-one, regretted both by Protestants and Catholics; and the year following put an end also to the wearisome life of his valiant, and much respected kinsman, Duke John Frederick of Saxony, who, though restored to some portion of his former dominions, never recovered the Electorate.

While all these things were carrying on, or at least from the year 1550 to 1553, Sir William Cecil's friend and fellow-collegian, the celebrated Roger Ascham, was, as appears from the extracts we have made from his letters, in the way of observing what was passing, being in the suite of *Morisine*, Edward's minister in Germany; an appointment which enabled him not only to see much of the country, but to contract acquaintance with abundance of learned and eminent persons;* and as he drew up a particular Report and Discourse of the Affairs in Germany, for his friends at home, and which appears to have been transmitted through the *Secretaries Office*, we have judged it not amiss to transcribe some passages from it, since we have Dr. Johnson's authority for saying, that "he describes in it the dispositions and interests of the German Princes like a man inquisitive and judicious, and recounts many particularities which are lost in the mass of General history, in a style which to the ears of that age was undoubtedly mellifluous, and which is now a very valuable specimen of genuine English."

Of all the contemporaries of Lord Burghley, or rather, perhaps,

strong made to beare any labour and payne." Of the Marquess *Albert's* proceedings there is an account to be seen in K. Edward's Journal.

* "No week almost has passed," he writes to his friend Astely, "in the which there hath not commonly come to my hand for the most part of the notable thynges that have bene attempted in *Turky*, *Hungary*, *Italy*, *Fraunce*, and *Germany*."

† The title of the work is as follows: "A Report and Discourse written by Roger Ascham, of the Affaires and State of *Germany* and the Emperour *Charles* his Court, during certaine yeares while the sayd ROGER was there: at London, printed by John Day, dwelling near Aldersgate. Cum gratia et privilegio Regio Majestatis, per Decennium."

we should say, of all the public characters of the sixteenth century, no one deserves more to have his virtues commemorated, than Luther's great friend and patron, Duke John Frederick of Saxony, of whose death we have just spoken. The following lively description of him, therefore, by *Ascham*, who was probably, when he wrote it, in the way of *seeing* him *daily*, and whose account was, no doubt, principally intended for the eye of the Secretary,* we cannot refrain from copying.

"Duke John Fredericke is now 50 yeares of age, so byg of personage as a very strong horse is scarce able to beare hym, and yet is he a great deale bygger in all kynde of vertues, in wisdome, justice, liberality, stoutnes, temperancy in hymselfe, and humanitie towards others, in all affaires, and either fortunes, using a singular truth and stedfastness; so that *Luice de Avila*, and the Secretary of *Ferrare*, who wrote the story of the first warres in Germany, and professe to be his ernest enemies, both for matters of state, and also for religion, were so compelled by his worthiness to say the trouth, as though theyr onlie purpose had been to wryte his prayse. He was five years prisoner in this Court, where he wan suche love of all men, as the Spanyards now say, they would as gladly fight to set hym up again, as ever they dyd to pull hym down, for they see that he is wise in all his doyngs, just in all his dealynges, lowly to the meanest, princely with the biggest, and excelling gentle to all; whom no adversitie could ever move, nor policy at any tyme entyce to shrinke from God and his Word. And here I must needs commend the Secretary of *Ferrare*, who beyng a Papiste, and wrytinge the history of the late warres in Germany, doth not keepe backe a goodlie testimony of Duke Fredericke's constancy toward God and his religion. When the Emperor had taken the Duke prisoner, beyng advysed by some

* "Which letter if it be not yet come to your hand, ye might have heard tell of it in Mr. *Secretary Cicel's* chamber in the Court."—*Ascham to John Astely.*

bloudy counsellors, that Duke Fredericke's death, should, by the terrour of it, turne all the Protestants from theyr religion, caused a writ to be made for the Duke to be executed the next morning, upon a solemne scaffold, in sight of his wife, children and city of Wittenburgh. This writ, signed with the Emperour's own hand, was sent over-night to the Duke, who, when the writ came unto hym, was in his tent playing at chesse, with his cosin and fellow-prisoner, the Lansgrave of Lithenberg, and reading it advisedly over, layd it down quietly beside, and made no countenance at all at the matter, but sayd, 'Cosin, take good heede to your game;' and returning to his play, as quietly as though he had received some private letter of no great importance, dyd give the Lansgrave a trim (check) mate.—The Emperour (I doubt not) chiefly moved by God, when he understode his marvellous constancie, chaunged his purpose, and revoked the writ, and ever after gave hym honor."

"He is also," he goes on to say, "such a lover of learnyng as his librarie furnished with bookes of all tounges and sciences, passeth all other libraries, which are yet gathered in Christendome; for my friend *Jeronimus Wolfius*, who translated *Demosthenes* out of *Greke* into *Latin*, who had sene the French Kynge's library at *Augusta*, hath told me, that though in six monthes he was not able ownely to write out the titles of the books in *Fuggers* librarie,* yet was it not so byg as Duke Frederickes was, which he saw in Saxony. I thinke he understandeth no strange tounge, save the *Latine*, and a little the *French*, and yet it is marveilous that my friend *Johannes Sturmius* doth report by wryting, that he heard *Philip Melancthon* at a tyme say of this noble Duke, that he thowght the Duke dyd privately read and write more every day, than dyd both he and Dr. *Aurifaber*, which two were counted, in all men's judgment, to be the greatest readers and writers in all

* As to this Library, see *Bayle Dict.* Art. *Fugger.*

the Universitie of Wittenburg. And as he doth thus read with such diligence, even so he can report with such memorie, whatsoever he doth read, and namelie histories, as at his table on every new occasion, he is accustomed to cite some new storie, which he doth with such pleasure and utterance, as men be content to leave theyr meat to hear hym talke; and yet he hymself is not disdaynful to hear the meanest, nor will overthwart any man's reason. Two kyndes of men, as his preacher dyd tell me at *Vilacho*, he will never long suffer to be in his house, the one a common mockér, who for his pride, thinketh so well of his own wit, as his most delight is to make other men fooles—the other, a privy whisperer, a pick-thanke, a tale-teller, medlyng so with other men's matters, as he findeth no leisure to looke to his owne;——and, therefore, the Duke himself thincketh nothing which he dare not speake, nor speaketh nothing which he will not do."

In a letter to his friend Mr. Raven, of St. John's College, Cambridge, he also thus writes of the good Duke:—

"John Fredericke is noble, courageous, constant; one in all fortunes, desired of his friends, reverenced of his foes, favoured of his Emperour, loved of all; he hath been proffered of late by the Emperour, that if he will subscribe to his proceedings, to go at large, to have all his dignities and honours again, and more too. His answer was from the first, one, and is still, that he will take the Emperour for his Sovereign Lord, but to forsake God and his doctrine he will never do, let the Emperour do with his body what he will."

We cannot conclude this account of foreign transactions, during the reign of Edward, without noticing a paper to be seen in Strype's Memorials, drawn up by Sir William Paget, for a consultation about joining with the German Protestants. It is, like the paper we have copied of Sir William Cecil's, so well calculated to shew the extreme perplexity and intricacy of public

affairs, at that period (the first year of the King's reign), and which may fairly be said to have continued through the whole life of the subject of these Memoirs, that we think it ought to be transcribed, to save England, and the Ministers of England generally, from the charge too often thrown upon them, of *wantonly* embroiling other states, or upon grounds *less justifiable* than a *perfect assurance* that similar interruptions to the peace of *England* were constantly in agitation, could any suitable opportunity be afforded to her enemies or rivals, by a hollow peace, or some patched up conjunction of interests, to carry their purposes into execution. Sir William Paget, was at the time Secretary of State, and so accomplished a minister, as to have been pronounced to be, by Charles V. himself, as fit to be a King as to represent one. In the paper to which we refer, speaking of the Emperor and French King, as parties to be severally managed or guarded against, we find this curious passage: "But we see either of them so affected in his opinion, and by daily experience know so little faith to be given to any of their promises, when the breach of the same may serve to their purpose, as we have cause to be at the point of despair, to find any friendship in either of them longer than they may not choose."—Again, to mark the curious complication of hazards to which the nation stood exposed:—"So as, join we or join we not with the Protestants, we see what is to be looked for at the French King's hands—win the Emperor or lose he, and join we or join we not with the Protestants, we see what is to be feared of the Emperor if he win. The worst is, upon the two occasions to have them both winned together to be our enemies: or the one overcoming, the other to be our enemy, with the power of both, having first overcome the other. The best way is to keep them from agreeing, and from being any of them greater. If the Emperor overcome not the Almains, he is not like to be greater.—To bring both these to pass,

the best way is to agree the Emperor and the Almains; and this done, should be a great check to the [French],—and being done by us, should be a great surety to ourselves." Of the extreme duplicity and selfish intrigues of the Pope at the same time, both with regard to the Emperor and the French King, we have an excellent account in Ascham's Report.*

* The following, which we print from the original, may serve to shew the close intimacy subsisting between Ascham and Sir William Cecil, as well as the importance at that time attaching to the latter in his high office.

" Sr—So greate thankes for so little a token must needes procede both of moch ientleness in you, and of great good will toward me. There is a chart purposelie for *Mirandula*, yet so conteyning the confines about it, yt ye may se the hole platte of *Lumbardie*, from *Piemonte* to *Venice*, even as a man wold wisshe. *Rome* is stamped so likewise wh the best parte of Tuscane aboute it. Thies two chartes I wold I had to send them to yor Mrship: but Mr. *George Throkmorton* hath both thies and other MS. as he told me, wch I know, ye may both see and vse at yor pleasur. And I am glad yor iudgement to have particulare chartes doth cõfirm myn opinion in the same. Sr I wold be very glad to know of yor Mrship, if I, in place where I am abrod, may wh oute shenting at home, somtyme as occasion servith, taulke wh the Popes nũcios men, as I do with other Agents and Italians here. Hitherto I have not, nor wold not do it, for skyll, I know not whether I might do it or no, nor here after will not attempt it, except yor wisdom from home wold warrant me ther vnto. I believe yw have better advises from *Rome* of the hole state and sturres of *Italie*, than all the rest of Ambassadors have. And I wold trust so to arme my taulke, as I shold gette more of some of them than any of those shold wynne of me, and I wold also do it so, as neyther any at home, shold have cause to mistrust, nor those here, occasion to hope that I thereby shold be cum papisticall.

" We were at *Argentine*, and sory I was that we saw not *Joan St.* there. *Westeri Fres* (fratres) to whom he wrote *Nobilitas literata*, did very iently show vnto me diverse things of his writing, among the rest, the two first *Contrariæ orões* (orationes) excellentlye, as I think, translated, and at large; as I saw, cõmented by *Sturmi*. I had no leysur to peruse it moch, but even than I did remembre and wisshe that I had known the hard place in Demosth. wch yor mrship ons at *Sheen* did show unto me; and I wold the gladlier know the leaffe and line thereof in som certayn printe, bycause whan I red that pece of *Demosth.* not longe sithins, I did as a blinde horse doth, wch hath cause to stagger in euy (every) playn, and yet somtyme doth not stumble in the rowghest way, bicause he doth not se the perill of his passage, as I my selfe did not feele myn ignorance, when I am sure, I understood not the sentence.

" Sr, I taulke and troble yor Mrship to boldlie, but impute this to yor owne and old ientlenes, wch maketh me to misvse thus yor leysor from bettre busnesses. I can not expresse how moch I take my self bownd vnto yow, for that yt ye vtter, both in my lord Amb. lrẽs and myne, how ready and bent yow be, to do me a pleastr, whan any occasion shall serve thervnto; and seyng ye will need have me bold, surelie for this ons, ye must beare wh me, beying although in deed far too bold. It is yor pleasur to do me good, I besich yow bere my fond advise how ye may do it most easelie, and where I wold injoye it most gladlie, and yet deserve it, or serve for it, as I trust somwhat fitlye.

" Many times, by myn especiall good Mr, *Mr. Cheeke's* means, I have bene caulled to teache the King to write in his pvie chambre, at whiche tymes his Grace would oft most ientle pmise me, one day to do me good. And I wold say, *Nay, yor Matie wol sone forgette me, whan I shall be absent from yow;* wch thing, he said, he wold never do. Sr, I do not mistrust thies wordes, bicause ycl were spoken of a child, but rather I have layd up my sure hope in them, because ycl were uttered by a king. Next this pmise of the King's Matie, my trust is in my Ladis grace, my Mres, and ye rather I trust so, bicause I am assured in my conscience, that I did her faithfull and good service, in so moch yt Mastres *Astley*, this last year, sent me word from her Grace, by Mr *Loever*, yt her Grace wold eyther speake or write to the King for me in any reasonable sute. And surelie I haue reason, whie I shold desire, yt if I have a benefite done, I might haue som cause to thank her Grace for it. After thies, you and Mr. *Cheke* be onelie the stayes to whom I do lean. And three wayes there be, in one of the whiche I wold be glad to lead the residew of my liffe. The first, as it is most easie for yow to optein, so is it most in my wisshe to inioye, and that is that I may, setting out the *Greke* long in *Sant Johns*, be bownd to no other statutes nor acts in thvniuersitie. Secondarilie, to haue some corner in that office in the Corte of the whiche my lord *Ambassador* made mention to yor mastership not long sithins, and in that place perchance, beyng ondre yor mrship's correction, I cold do som good, and besides help forward wt som peece of lerning in the Corte, as my lord *Ambassador* hath oft told me I might; if neyther of theis two wayes may be sped, than I wold wisshe I were able to serve my cõtry abrode in this Corte, or in *Venice*, or in *Maximilian's* Corte in *Hungarie*, or in som other place, and I wold not doubt but marke as warelie, and write home as diligentlie soch *occurrents* yt do happen as som of theis strangers do, whiche have so good stipends out of the realme. And in this poynt, I am sure, I cold do yor mrship some pleasur, in spedely making yow partaker of thaffairs abrode. I blusshe, Sir, in wryting thus boldlie for my self, and I pmise yow, I wol not greatly use it here after. * * * * * I am ashamed to troble yor mrship wh such ragged and il ordred lrẽs, but my hope is ye will pardon all. The Lord kepe yow, and my good Lady Cicell. From *Spires*, the xxvij of Sept. 1552.

Yor Masterships to cõmaund,

R. ASCHAM.

Burghley Papers, Lansd. MSS. vol. iii. no. 2.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Conduct of the Secretary, in regard to the project of Northumberland to seat the Lady Jane on the Throne, farther examined—No otherwise concerned, probably, than as he was compelled by force of circumstances, in common with the rest of the Council, to appear to sanction a measure which had little chance of succeeeding—The project fails—Northumberland is arrested, and MARY *succeeds.*

IT cannot be expected that in the course of the short but extraordinary reign of Mary, we shall have much to say of the subject of these Memoirs as a very active member either of the state or the community; but we must have leave to repeat, that in order to understand aright, or to be able properly to appreciate, the proceedings of the English court and government in the Reign ensuing, when almost every point of foreign or domestic policy will be found to have been submitted, if not exclusively, yet principally to his advice and direction, it is highly expedient that we should know what he was in the way to witness while comparatively unemployed. The nation being, during the whole of the sixteenth century, and, therefore, during the whole period of his life, in a state of revolutionary commotion—a period noted for such subtle intrigues, such multifarious and deep-rooted jealousies, such oppositions of interest, such dark designs, and, in many instances, such sanguinary projects, almost from one end of Europe to the other, as to render his long life no better than one continual scene of restless vigilance, incessant attention, and constant labour and fatigue both of body

and mind; in saying which there is no danger of exaggeration, since the proofs are in existence, and accessible to any who might be disposed to doubt the fact.

We have, in the preceding reign, spoken at some length of the share he had, as far as appearances went, in promoting the ambitious views of Northumberland, to set the crown on the head of his new daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane; by which that aspiring nobleman, no doubt, expected not only to continue in the management of the affairs of the kingdom at his pleasure, but to transmit the succession to his own posterity.

Some things still remain to be noticed: since Hayward's charge, beyond mere *appearance*, in which also, at all events, he was not so much concerned as others, goes to the length of making him, if not the author, yet an immediate accessary and abettor of the measure, by actually drawing up the letters patent, and "furnishing reasons of state" for the projected settlement, as that author alleges: "which assertion of his," says a grave writer, "is as false as any thing can be."* It would appear, indeed, from many circumstances, that Northumberland was particularly distrustful of him: he seems, indeed, so far from having consulted the Secretary in the first instance, to have studiously avoided doing so; for Lord Burghley states, that he penetrated "the *secret*" only through a friend; and so far from expecting it to succeed, and yet being unable totally to retire from the Court, when he found the project advancing, he grew so uneasy as to cause his money, plate, and writings, to be removed out of his house in town—the Court being then at Greenwich; he even went armed, which had never been his custom before, and was in daily expectation of being made a prisoner. By the advice also of Mr. Walpole and other friends, he went so far as to convey all his lands to his eldest son Thomas, afterwards Lord Exeter; he practised besides with several Lords to

* Memoirs of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, 4to. p. 17. 1738.

go over to the Princess Mary. It seems to be true, indeed, as has before been intimated, that on the King's demise, he being himself then at Greenwich, Northumberland fixed upon him as Secretary of State, to prepare a Proclamation for setting forth the title and succession of the Lady Jane; but he avoided it, by shewing it to be rather the business of a skilful lawyer, and the task was transferred accordingly to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, who happening to draw one that appeared to be too long and perplexed, so far from charging himself even with the correction and amendment of such an instrument, he caused it to be delivered to Throgmorton to be shortened and improved; in which state it was afterwards published. He was still, however, commanded or solicited to pen a letter in justification of the Lady Jane's title, wherein Mary was called a *Bastard;** but this he also declined, and the Duke was

* Nothing could be more perplexing than the order of succession as settled by Henry. Both his daughters had been declared illegitimate by Parliament, and as such incapable of succession by inheritance; and yet both had been brought into the succession in virtue of another act of Parliament, giving the King authority to dispose of the Crown by will. But on his daughters, Henry imposed *conditions* which have been judged to amount to a second virtual (if not absolute) acknowledgment of their illegitimacy, and that they derived no right but from his favour. To revert to their original exclusion as *Bastards*, was to disqualify both alike; they could only stand in the line of succession upon the ground of Henry's will, which alone could bring the Lady Jane into the succession, not only before or after Mary and Elizabeth, but before Mary of Scotland. In the Duke of Northumberland's almost unintelligible letter, which we have not only often examined, but caused to be copied for the purposes of these Memoirs; Lady Jane is made thus to call upon her nobles, &c.: "in all things to the uttmoste of yor powere not only to deffend but allso assyst us in o^{r} Right full possessiō of this kingdome, and to disturbe, repell, and resyste the fayned and untrue clayme of the lady Mary, basterd daughter to o^{r} great unckle, Henry the Eight, of famous memory," &c. From the writing, it is impossible not to judge this to have been the first draught of a letter to be sent probably to the several Lord-lieutenants of Counties, there being a pretty correct copy of it, more full indeed, towards the end, in Sir William Cecil's own hand writing, (*Lansd. MSS.* 1236, No. 15, p. 24.) and which clearly appears to have been addressed to the Marquess of Northampton, as Lord-lieutenant of Surrey, Northampton, Bedford, and Berkshire. The date being the xth of July, 1553; whereas the Duke's foul draught, for so we must esteem it, is *indorsed* by Cecil himself, July 12, that being perhaps only the date of the indorsement. The direction of the

obliged to draw it himself; the very original of which, to all appearance, is still preserved, as we have also before remarked, indorsed by Lord Burghley himself.

But we confess, in looking more narrowly into this very intricate affair, as it is our duty to do, not as the professed panegyrists or compurgators of a courtier, compelled continually, by all the caution he could use, to guard against the subtlety of other courtiers,* but as faithful biographers, we are inclined to think

other has been partially obliterated, though afterwards in a great degree restored. It is indorsed by Cecil, N. XLV, *Jana nō Regina.* To account correctly for these things may now, perhaps, be quite impossible; but it would seem that Cecil had written the letter to the Marquess of Northampton, after the Duke's draught (though the dates may not serve to shew this), and either kept back the letter, or, it being not sent as intended, retained it in his own hands, and wrote upon it, *Jana non Regina,* when Northumberland's bubble burst, as a safe intimation of what he expected and desired; for Jane's possession of the throne would have been fatal to the claims of both the daughters of Henry. The superscription being *Jane the Queen,* might suggest to him the expediency of adding the other, while the obliteration of the address might be to shew that the Marquess of Northampton had never received it. All that we are concerned to prove is, that Northumberland wrote the first draught, or "*first copie,*" as Lord Burghley calls it in the indorsement.—See an account of this letter in *Strype's Memorials,* iii. 5, 6.

* The following passage from the Fifth Chapter of Fuller's *Holy State,* which treats of the "Wise Statesman," and which is followed by a short Life of William *Cecil,* Lord Burleigh, deserves to be copied:—

"To conclude:—some plead that dissembling is lawful in the statecraft, upon the presupposition that men must meet with others that dissemble. Yea, they hold, that thus to counterfeit, *se defendendo,* against a craftie corrival, is no sin, but a just punishment on our adversary.—One challengeth him (Lord B.) to have been a main contriver of that act and unnatural will of King Edward VI. wherein the King, passing by his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, entailed the crown on Lady Jane; and that he furnished that act with reasons of state, as Judge Montague filled it with arguments of law. Indeed, his hand wrote it as Secretary of State—[This the author must have supposed as trusting to Hayward]—but his heart consented not thereto; yea, he openly opposed it, though at last yielding to the greatness of Northumberland, in an age when it was present drowning not to swim with the stream. But as the philosopher tells us, that though the planets be whirled about daily from E. to West, by the motion of the *primum mobile,* yet have they also a contrary proper motion of their own from W. to E. which they slowly though surely move at their leisure. So *Cecill* had secret counter-endeavours against the strain of the Court herein, and privately advanced his rightful intentions against the foresaid Duke's ambition; and we see that afterwards Q. Marie not only pardoned but

some proofs of his indisposition to favour Northumberland have been a good deal overlooked; as Secretary of State, it may be thought he stood in the exact situation to draw up the memorials, proclamations, and other necessary instruments, and, indeed, to "furnish reasons of state" for the measure, as Hayward has intimated. But there was another Secretary of State from the very first, Sir William Petre, who, we know, by his letters still extant, was with the Court at Greenwich on the 15th of May, within less than two months of the King's death, while his colleague, Sir William Cecil, was absent through sickness; at which time Sir William Petre wrote to him as follows:—

"I am glad with all my heart to understand your good beginning to amend, which I trust with your good order will daily more and more increase. I have delivered your letters to my Lord's Grace of Northumberland, and have done as much as I might to get you a certain answer; but it could not be. In the

employed him; so that towards the end of her reign he stood in some twilight of her favor." p.266. We shall take this opportunity of adding here, though it might have been perhaps more proper in another part of our work, what the same grave writer says, of the slanders raised against Lord Burghley as to his birth, &c.—"No credit is to be given to their pen, who tax him with meanesse of birth, and whose malice is so general against all goodness, that it had been a slander if this worthy man had not been slandered by them." Speaking of his entry at Gray's Inn, in 1541, he says, "He went from St. John's to Gray's Inn (and used it as an inn indeed, studying there in his passage to the Court), yet his skill in fencing made him not daring to quarrel, who, in all his life-time, neither sued any, nor was sued himself."—It is a remarkable passage in the above extract—"So that towards the end of her reign, he stood in some twilight of her favour." Mr. Ellis, in his very interesting publication, "Original Letters," vol. ii. 2d series, 186, says, "Cecil, however, with all his subtlety, was unable to worm himself into the favour of Queen Mary." We cannot find that he ever attempted to worm himself into her favour, but that he stood sufficiently well with her, all things considered, seems clear. She received New Year's Gifts from him, gave him such in return, and suffered him to live unmolested; nor does she appear to have been at all jealous of his intimacy with Cardinal Pole, or his adherence to the Princess Elizabeth. We find among his memorandums, or rather inventory of his plate at this time, "Item, a gilt stād cupp wth a cov^{r} givē by the Quene for my new yere gift, xxii. oz."—And again, partly in Greek characters, "α κοθερεδ κυππ gilt οφ δε qυεες gyft, a^{o}. 1555, w^{t} eares cōteyning 22 oz."

end it was said, that when Garter shall come to Court, they will resolve upon the fashion of the robes, &c. And it seemeth, if they may, they would have the day deferred, for that they think it not expedient the King's Majesty should yet come to the open air, and remain so long abroad as this ceremony requireth.* Marry, this I write without commission, and surely I do not understand but they would *all* be very sorry, you should by any means hazard your health by *over soon coming abroad.*"

From this letter we may at least collect, that within eight weeks only of the King's death, Northumberland was in no very urgent haste to have Sir William back with the Court—but this is not all. It is not clear to us, that Northumberland did not almost wish to be rid of him from the Court, and even to take from him the Seals of Office; for, only one month before the King died, Sir William's near kinsman, Sir John Cheke, was actually made a sort of supernumerary Secretary,† and as we have good reason to believe, chiefly for his known disposition, as a friend to the *Reformation*, to favour the elevation of the Lady Jane to the exclusion of Mary. Strype, at least, was so persuaded of this, that, in his Life of Cheke, he corrects Lloyd for having made a great mistake upon this head. We must transcribe the passage: speaking of Sir John Cheke being

* We have this explained in a former letter from Petre to Cecil, dated May 12, 1553, to the following effect:—"After my most hearty commendations, thes be to advertyse you, that my Lord's Grace of Northumberland, asking me how you dyd, told me further this day, that the King's Majesty was desyrous to understand whether you felt yourself so amended as you thowght you might be hable, without hurting yourself, to bee at the Court att Whitsontyde, when the ceremony of the Order [of the Garter] shall be kept, or nott: and that his Majesty wold be gladd to understand somewhatt from you herein.—I doo also send you to be sealed with the seal of your office, the letters signed by the King's Majestie."—*Haynes*, 149.

† "A third Secretary of State was appointed, (a thing scarce known before)."—*Strype's Memorials*, anno 1553. Changes also were made at the same time in the appointment of the Governors of the *Tower;* the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, being made Constable in the room of Sir James Croft, and the Lieutenant particularly enjoined to assist the Lord Admiral in all things.

made Clerk of the Council, about which time, viz. May, 1553, the King bestowed on him and his heirs male, Clare in Suffolk, with divers other lands (as he had given him the manor of Stoke, *juxta Clare*, a year or two ago) he proceeds—"But this Clerkship was but in order to a higher advancement, namely, to that of one of the principal Secretaries of State, which he was called to in *June*, and made a Privy Counsellor. For to me it seems that in this juncture one of the Secretaries was intended to be laid aside, and he perhaps was *Cecil*, who cared not to go along with the purposes of the ambitious Duke of Northumberland,* to advance his daughter-in-law, married to Guilford Dudley his son, to the crown, and so to bring the kingly dignity into his blood; though the attempt proved to his own and his children's ruin. *Cecil* was now absent from Court, sick in mind and body; but *Cheke's* zeal for religion† made him willing to side with Northumberland and his party, to put the sick King upon settling the kingdom upon the Lady Jane, eldest daughter of Grey, Duke of Suffolk, excluding the next legal heirs, his two sisters. And it must be placed among the slips of the loose pen of the author of the State Worthies, when he writes, that Cheke was against this will of King Edward; and puts this sentence in his mouth thereupon—'That he would

* If Strype were right, as we incline to think he was, it is melancholy to see how any public character, may be robbed of his just fame, by the misrepresentations of hasty, prejudiced, or ill-informed historians. In *Heylin's* History of the Reformation, the author, evidently following Hayward, writes:—"In drawing up whereof (namely, the Instrument for settling the Crown on the issue of the Duchess of Suffolk), there was none thought fitter to be used than Sir William *Cecil*, one of the chief Secretaries of State, who having before served Dudlies turn against his old master the Duke of Somerset, was looked on as the readiest man for this service." These assertions, to repeat the words of an eminent author already cited, p. 531, we do of our consciences believe, to be "*as false as any thing can be.*"

† In the British Plutarch, the case is stated thus: "Upon the death of Edward, with a view of sustaining the threatened interests of the Reformed Faith, *Cheke* entered into the criminal project of transferring the Crown to Lady Jane Grey; to whose Council he acted as Secretary." This seems to be correct.

never distrust God so far in the preservation of true religion, as to disinherit the orphans to keep up Protestantism.'"* Which, if it had been true, we would just add, might have been enough, one would think, to have saved him from the troubles into which he fell under Mary; troubles probably owing in a great degree to the part he took *against* her. *Cheke*, according to the minutes of Council, was made Secretary on June 2, 1553. The entry being as follows: "Sir John *Cheke* was sworn and admitted, one of the principal Secretaries of State, Petre and Cecil being continued." On June 11, all three Secretaries, indeed, sat in Council.

It would seem then, as if Northumberland's application to Sir William Cecil, to write the Proclamations, &c. was rather to try him, or provoke him to resign his post, since either Petre or Cheke could have done it as well; and in fact the latter† was so

* Lloyd makes another strange blunder in stating that *Cheke* held the office of Secretary three years; he held it little more than four months.

† There is one considerable proof still extant of Sir W. Petre being much forwarder in the business than Cecil at the very commencement. When the Judges demurred, in the presence of the King, to meddle with the succession in the face of King Henry's settlement, asking time to consider of it, Burnet states, that "Secretary Petre *pressed* them to *make haste;*" we have here then two out of the *three* Secretaries, apparently more concerned in the business than Cecil, at two very extraordinary points; we do not say that it proves more, than that Sir John Hayward's account must be exceedingly wrong, that would make him a *principal* in advancing the project, while both cases seem as nearly as can be to prove, that of the *three* Secretaries, he was the *least* employed by Northumberland. In Lord Burghley's brief note of his submission and declaration of his doing, still extant, the Fourth Article is exactly as follows: "Of my purpose to stand against the matter, be also witnesses, Mr. *Petre*, Mr. *Cheke;*" in Articles 14, 15, he certainly gives Secretary Petre the credit of being against the matter as well as himself—"I did open myself to the Earl of Arundell whom I found thereto disposed, and likewise I did the like to the Lord Darcy, who heard me with good contentation, whereof I did immediately tell Mr. Petre for *both* our comforts;" and Article 15, "I did also determine to flee from them if the consultation had not taken effect, as Mr. Petre can tell, who meant the like." Art. 16. "I had my horses ready at Lambeth for the purpose." He purposed indeed to fly, it appears, when he first heard of the project; but was dissuaded, in a curious manner by Cheke. Art. 20. "When this conspiracy was first opened to me I did fully

employed in the course of the business, since the famous letter from the Council to Lord Rich, July 19, 1553,* urging him to continue steadfast to Queen Jane, and to which the names of sixteen of the Privy Council are affixed, being still preserved in the Museum, has Lord Burghley's own indorsement upon it, stating it to have been written by Sir John Cheke, and Cecil's own name does not appear among the signatures; though both the other Secretaries signed it, and Cranmer's name stands at the head. Dr. Lingard suspects, that when this letter was written, the Council knew that Lord Rich had gone over to Mary; perhaps it was so, being meant only to deceive Suffolk.

As long as Northumberland continued in the Tower with the Lady Jane, all the other Counsellors appear to have been in a state of absolute confinement, and it was only by a subtle measure that they could get free. Lord Burghley has acknowledged that he practised with the Lords, to overset the project, and serve Mary's cause. This Princess was in the way of obtaining support; the people of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, in particular, though friendly to the Reformation, yet fearful of Northumberland, who had, in the last reign, with a high hand, suppressed the rebellion in those particular parts, voluntarily stood forth to uphold her title; forces raised to serve Northumberland, headed by noblemen and other persons of importance, had very soon gone over to her; even a fleet, placed to intercept her, had she attempted to quit England, had also united itself to her cause. The Duke began to perceive, that the question must be settled in the field; he lost no time in levying forces, accordingly, to surprise her if possible, get possession of her person, and convey her to

determine to flee the realm, and was dissuaded by Mr. *Cheke*, who willed me for my satisfaction to read a dialogue of Plato, where Socrates being in prison was offered to escape and flee, and yet he would not. I read the dialogue whose reasons indeed did stay me."

* See this letter in Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. lxix.

London; and he thought of placing the Duke of Suffolk at their head. But this scheme the imprisoned Counsellors were interested in preventing. They applied therefore to Lady Jane, to endeavour to keep her father with her, and with no undeserved compliment to the bravery of her father-in-law, proposed that Northumberland himself should take charge of the forces.

With some difficulty this most unhappy prisoner of them all, procured the arrangement to be made as they desired, and Northumberland set off at the head of six thousand men to accomplish his object. But his passage through the City had something in it to damp his spirits, and awaken his suspicions, that he had taken an unpopular step. Observing the manner of the crowds that ran to see them pass, he could not help bidding the officers next in command observe, that of that great multitude, not so much as one had wished them prosperity, or bade them "God speed;" and, indeed, it soon became known, that Mary's party in Suffolk, to which she had retired, were increasing, and the Duke's prospects becoming more gloomy. This afforded the imprisoned Counsellors an opportunity of making another effort. They easily persuaded the weak Duke of Suffolk, that it was necessary, not only to levy fresh forces, but to place the troops already raised to support his daughter, in better hands; *that is*, in their *own;* and that, to this end, they must be permitted to leave the Tower, and hold their sittings elsewhere. The Duke assented, and, with the Lord Arundel as their leader, they repaired to the Earl of Pembroke's house, Baynard's Castle, where they were no sooner arrived than by the persuasion of Lord Arundel, they all declared for Queen Mary; though only one day subsequent to that on which they had written to the Lord Rich, as Lord-lieutenant of Essex, to stand fast to the Lady Jane.*

* In the French *Biographie Universelle*, Paris, 1813, Lord Burghley has the credit given him, of this removal: "A cette epoque les membres du Conseil étaient à la Tour, et s'y regardaient

It is certainly melancholy to record such tergiversation and duplicity, but the art the Council was obliged to use to get free from the Tower, plainly evinces the nature of the restraint and coercion under which it had been placed; nor should we ever seek to excuse one at the expense of the others, but that the Romanists continue, we are sorry to say, to keep alive the charge of treason and ingratitude, directed most particularly against *Cranmer* and *Cecil*, as two of the most conspicuous of our early Reformers. The biographer of either of these very eminent persons therefore, be his own opinions what they may, must feel bound, in order to discharge his duty aright, to look narrowly into all such charges, and if he cannot wholly justify the parties accused, should at least be allowed to bring forward every extenuating or palliating circumstance, even though driven to do it, in the apparently invidious way of comparison.

On the retirement of the Council to Baynard's Castle, and as soon as they had decided to declare for Mary, Lord Arundel and Sir William Paget were despatched to her, to notify their submission and obedience, and were soon after followed, we are told, by Sir *William Cecil*, who met with a very gracious reception. The Queen, notwithstanding all that had passed, being unwilling to listen to the insinuations of *his* enemies, who endeavoured, all they could, to bring his loyalty into question.

When the Privy Counsellors retired from the Tower, they left in it the unfortunate Lady Jane, to bewail the insatiable ambition, and fatal imprudence of her father-in-law; who, indeed, no sooner became acquainted with the steps that had been taken against him, and the revolt of the Council, than he ignominiously sought to make a merit of his own submission. "Deserted," says a late writer,* "by his partisans, his soldiers, and himself,

comme prisonniers; *Cecil* profitant du départ du Duc pour le Comté de Cambridge, les entirâ, et les assembla dans la maison du Comte de Pembroke." * Aikin.

the guilty wretch sought, as a last feeble resource, to make a merit of being the first man to throw up his cap in the market-place at Cambridge, and cry, 'God save Queen Mary.'" What followed may as well be told in the words of the same author: "On the next day, the Earl of Arundel, whom he had *disgraced*, and who *hated* him, though a *little before* he had *professed* that he could wish to *spend his blood* at his feet, came and arrested him in her Majesty's name; and Mary, proceeding to London, seated herself without opposition on the throne of her ancestors."

Stow's account supplies us with another most curious display of the hollow foundation on which ambition generally builds its hopes: "On the xxth of July (only fourteen days after the King's death, and the Lady Jane's forced elevation to the throne) letters," says he, "were delivered to Richard Rose, herault: to be declared to the Duke of Northumberland and his band, that if he doe not submit himselfe to the Queenes Highness, Queen Mary, he shall be accepted as a traytor; *and all we of the nobilitie*, that were Counsellors to the late King, will, to the uttermost portion, persecute him and his to their utter confusion."

CHAP. XL.

View of the Proceedings of the Council after their release from the Tower—The prominent parts taken by Lords Arundel and Pembroke—Bishop Ridley's Sermon; much censured by the Romanists, though from a full View of the whole Transaction, the conduct of the Protestants much more defensible than that of the Catholics—On Mary's Accession, however, the latter much more freely forgiven than the former—Cecil obtains his Pardon, and is offered to be continued Secretary—Remarks upon this.

It deserves to be mentioned, that at the Lord Pembroke's house, Arundel, after dwelling largely on the abuses of power likely to ensue, if Northumberland, by the elevation of the Lady Jane, should be afforded the means of continuing his authority in the state, proceeded to observe—"To accomplish this usurpation, indeed, the cause of religion was pretended, as though they had forgot the Apostle's advice, not to do evil that good may follow; and to obey even bad princes, not out of fear but for conscience sake; but who," he asked, "had seen cause to think, that, in matters of religion, Queen Mary intended any alteration? For when she was lately addressed about this in Suffolk, she had (which indeed was true) given a very satisfactory answer;* and what a madness is it," added he, "for men to throw themselves into certain destruction, to avoid an uncertain danger. I heartily

* And yet this is still denied by Catholic writers, though Lingard refers to Lord Arundel's speech; and tells us, what was probably quite true, however Mary and her Catholic Counsellors might seek to blind the eyes of the Protestants, that, on her accession, she lost no time in acquainting both the Emperor and the King of France, with her determination to restore the Catholic worship.

wish there had been no such transgression, but since there has, the best remedy for a past error is a timely repentance; wherefore, it is my advice, that we all join our utmost endeavours, that so, by our authority, Mary, the rightful and undoubted heiress of these kingdoms, may be proclaimed Queen."

Speeches of this kind are not always to be trusted; they may be badly reported, or they may be wholly fabricated; but there is certainly an air of truth in what is thus ascribed to Lord Arundel. It is unquestionably just what he might have said, for he had himself been as deep as any in the *transgression;* and yet the cause of religion, it is alleged, was but a pretended reason for the usurpation. "For who," he asked, "had seen cause to think, that in matters of religion, Queen Mary intended any alteration?" Such a security, certainly, had it existed, might have had some weight with the *friends* of the *Reformation;* but Lord Arundel was a *Catholic*—"a stiff Catholic," old David Lloyd calls him, "that owned no upstart designs against the old way of succession:" and his insinuations, first, that the people had been precipitate in fancying the plea of religion had any foundation in fact; and, secondly, that Mary could harbour any design of altering the religion as it then stood, must have been far from the conclusions of his own mind, and only adds to the inexplicable character of the transaction. Northumberland might have been solely actuated by ambition; but the cause of the Reformation could scarcely be separated, in men's minds, from the hazard of Mary's being called to the succession; so that all that were interested that way, however loyal, could not fail to think that Mary would countenance alterations. We know, indeed, that Ridley actually preached in favour of the Lady Jane's title; and he, of all people, had cause to know, that however respectable Mary's adherence to the Romish tenets was, as regarded herself, it was invincible. He had offered to enlighten her mind; she positively declared she would neither

hear or read any thing that favoured the new opinions.* Those then who favoured the cause of the Lady Jane, not to gratify Northumberland's ambition, but through an apprehension of

* "The word of God which you would preach before me, is a word of God which you would not have dared avouch for such in my father's days."—"As for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them, I never did, nor ever will."—Dr. Lingard calls Ridley's attempt to work upon such a mind a "a chivalrous attempt," and in truth he might well do so; but the severity of his reflection should not be suffered to fall on the worthy Bishop, but on the inaccessible object of his addresses. The real truth of the matter is, that it was a chivalrous attempt in that good and learned Bishop to seek to convert or convince so rigid a Papist; but it is certainly very strange to us that a Catholic writer should attempt to cast a slur, by the term "chivalrous," upon Ridley's visit to the Princess Mary, and forget the much more chivalrous attempt of Feckenham and others to shake the faith of the incomparable Lady Jane Grey in her last moments, and the triumph she achieved against them all, not by a sullen silence, but a sensible avowal and declaration of her own opinions.—*See Nicolas's Life of Lady Jane Grey.*

At the hazard of rather a longer interruption of the general thread of our history than we should otherwise allow ourselves to indulge in, we feel irresistibly compelled to compare the visit of the pious Bishop Ridley to Mary, with what was passing exactly at the same time in another part of the world, and with another King's daughter. The excellent and accomplished Duchess of *Ferrara*, daughter of Louis XII., had imbibed the *reformed* opinions. The Pope had admonished her husband, Duke Hercules, to prevail with her to renounce her new opinions, at the hazard of otherwise exposing himself to the censures of the church. But to afford him a plausible excuse for proceeding to *extremities*, if the Duchess should resist, the Pope procured the interference of the King of France, the Duchess's nephew. Henry II. accordingly sent *Oritz*, his *inquisitor*, to the court of *Ferrara*. His instructions bore, that he was to acquaint himself accurately with the extent to which the mind of the Duchess was infected with error; he was then to request a personal interview with her, at which he was to inform her of the great grief which his most Christian Majesty had conceived at hearing that his "only aunt," whom he had always loved and esteemed so highly, had involved herself in the labyrinth of these detestable and condemned opinions. If, after all his remonstrances and arguments, he could not recover her by *gentle* means, he was next, with the *concurrence* of the *Duke*, to endeavour to bring her to *reason* by *rigour* and *severity*. He was to preach a *course* of sermons on the principal points on which she had been led astray, at which *she* and all her family should be *obliged* to attend, "*whatever refusal or objection she might think proper to make.*" If this proved unsuccessful in reclaiming her, he was next, in her presence, to entreat the Duke, in his Majesty's name, "to sequester her from all society and conversation," that she might not have it in her power to taint the minds of others; to remove her children from her, and not to allow any of the family, of whatever nation they might be, who were accused or strongly suspected of heretical sentiments, to approach her; in fine, he was to bring them to trial, and to pronounce a sentence of exemplary punishment on such as should be found guilty.—The daughter of Louis XII., whose

Mary's Romish principles, must, at least, be allowed to have had more reason on their side, than those who favoured or pretended to favour the same cause, holding the same opinions as Mary herself.†

spirit was equal to her piety, spurned these conditions, and refusing to violate her conscience, her children were taken from her management, her confidential servants proceeded against as heretics, and she herself detained as a prisoner in the palace. She could have borne the insolence of Oritz, but felt in the keenest manner the upbraidings of her husband, who, without listening to her exculpations, told her she must prepare herself to conform unconditionally, and without delay, to the practices of the *Roman Church*. We have before spoken of this admirable lady, of whom much more is to be seen in Dr. M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, published while this work was in progress. The story is certainly worthy of the consideration of those who have commiserated *Mary's Persecution*, as they have called it, by her *Protestant brother*, Edward VI. The points of comparison are very remarkable: the Duchess and Mary, Henry II. and Edward VI., Ridley and Oritz—and we may surely add, Edward's mild letter to his sister (attributed by the latter to *Cecil)*, and Henry's injunctions against his aunt, peremptory throughout, but proceeding regularly through different stages of severity, with the concurrence of an unnatural and bigoted husband. One more comparison remains: the abject submission of Duke Hercules to the mandates of the Pope, in violation of all natural feelings, and the resistance of the Princess Mary's attendants to the King's orders; Sir Francis Englefield, in particular, who alleged that he could not find in his heart or his conscience to forbid her the Mass, and whose disobedience passed unpunished, while the Princess not only defied but insulted the delegates of the Council, with the Lord Chancellor at their head, and retained her Mass, with no further interruption: the King being contented to connive, though he would not licence.—*See Ellis's Original Letters*, first series, ii. 180, 1, 2. and the *King's Journal.*

* It was unfortunate for Ridley that he should have been called upon by the *Council*, under a *mere pretence*, as *Rapin* asserts, of zeal for the Lady Jane, to preach this sermon: "Utinam," says Godwin, "vir optimus hâc in re lapsus non fuisset:" and we could freely join in the remark, for he manifestly went too far, or did not govern himself discreetly, as Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, and who had the same task assigned him, managed to do. Dr. Lingard, observing upon the little effect Ridley's sermon had, says, "The Protestants had not yet learned that religious belief could affect hereditary right, and the *Catholics* were confirmed by the Bishop's arguments in their adhesion to the interests of Mary." Who could believe, if Dr. Lingard's own history did not shew it, that the Catholic Lords of the Council, as well as others, had acceded by their signatures and vows to the succession of Lady Jane, and joined in the letter written to Mary to *renounce* her claims? His remark respecting the Protestants may be true; for though the Jesuit *Persons* afterwards asserted that Mary owed her Crown to the zeal of the Catholics for the restoration of the old religion, her first and most available support was found amongst the *Protestants* of Norfolk and Suffolk, who attributed their respect for her hereditary rights to their better knowledge of the Gospel; "the consideration that she was established by the King her father and the Parliament, to be successor to her

In the latter it must have been as much against their own principles as Mary's right, and nothing could, morally speaking, have screened them from Mary's resentment but a perfect assurance that theirs had been one continued act of dissimulation, and that their oaths and covenants were from the beginning in the highest degree perfidious. Lord Arundel may not have spoken as the historian represents, but he had certainly *acted* according to the tenor of the *speech;* and while he makes some excuse for the Protestant members of the Council, he certainly aggravates the transgression on the part of the Catholics. And what other interpretation can we put on the whole of the transaction? It must be known to those who are conversant with the writings of the Romanists, from the period of the Reformation to this very day, that Cranmer, Cecil, and Ridley, have been accused of *ingratitude* and *treason*, for only appearing upon constraint to take part against Mary; whereas the Catholic Lords, who were speedily forgiven, were much deeper in the transgression, both as it regarded Mary, and as it regarded the unhappy Lady Jane. As it regarded Mary, because they were not only renouncing her right, but laying the foundation for a fresh triumph over her principles; as it regarded the Lady Jane, inasmuch as they seem to have even put themselves forward to impose upon her weakness. We have already shewn (from the testimony of Catholic writers) that Lord Arundel accompanied Northumberland, when he went to announce to Lady

brother, and heir to the Crown after him; and their knowledge from the word of God, that obedience was therefore due to her, made them vigorously assist her with their lives;" and so they professed in the *supplications* they put up afterwards to her Commissioners: "We protest before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken some root among us, we could not in time past have done that poor duty of ours, which was done in assisting the Queen, our most dear Sovereign. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden duty."—*Strype;* who asserts, in contradiction of Persons, that at that time the interest of the Papists was but little, the people being well pleased with King Edward's Reformation.—*Memorials*, 1553, *Queen Mary.*

Jane her accession to the throne by the will of her cousin; allowed him, in his presence, to declare that it was done to "preserve the realm from the infection of Papistry," himself being all the while a "stiff Catholic;" allowed him to call Mary and Elizabeth *bastards*, and therefore incapable of succession; and while the timid daughter of Suffolk would have shrunk from the burthen imposed upon her, and sunk to the ground with surprise and alarm at the very mention of her elevation, fell on his knees in mockery one would think of her short-lived Royalty, declared that he took her for his Sovereign, and swore that he was ready to shed his blood in support of her right.

But, beyond this, it would appear as though this Catholic member of the Council had even endeavoured to convince the Lady Jane of his *peculiar* attachment to her cause, and his *unquestionable* fidelity; since, in a letter she wrote from the Tower, on the 18th of July, twelve days after the death of the King, to Sir John Lowe and Sir Anthony Kingstone, urging them to arm their servants and tenants, officers and friends, to oppose those whom she was bidden to call a "base multitude," and "rebels to her Regal authority;" she bids them especially repair to her right trusty and right well-beloved cousins, the Earls of *Arundel* and Pembroke, as those whom she meant to place at their head;* though they were at that very instant, as has been justly observed, above most others, plotting and contriving her overthrow. We have noticed the behaviour of Lord Arundel, when he accompanied Northumberland to communicate to Lady Jane the fact of her elevation to the throne, and we read, besides, that after he had finished the speech at Baynard's Castle just referred to, Lord Pembroke drew his sword, exclaiming, "If the arguments of my Lord of Arundell do not persuade you, this sword shall make

* See in Strype's Cranmer, Memorials, No. lxx. a similar Letter to Sir John Bridges and Sir Nicolas Poyntz, vol. ii. 913.

Mary Queen, or I will die in her quarrel."*. This Lord, also, caused his son, Lord Herbert, who had married the Lady Katherine, sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane, to be divorced from his wife, to break so hazardous a connexion.†

We ought, however, to observe, that in the very letter sent to Mary from Baynard's Castle, and conveyed by the Earl of Arundel—a letter still in existence, and indorsed by Lord Burghley,‡ the whole Council there assembled, excuse themselves in the following terms:—"Seeing hitherto no possibilitie to utter our determination herein, without great destruction and bloodshed, both of ourselves and others, 'tyl this time."§ Of course, if this excuse be to be admitted, it acquits all or none; no imputation after this should be thrown on individuals, as a distinct or particular charge.‖ All were in the transgression, but apparently, if

* Lingard. † Aikin.

‡ See this Letter in Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. lxxi. vol. ii. p. 915.

§ It was customary for every new Sovereign to repair to the Tower. Northumberland therefore had a most favourable opportunity afforded him by Edward's will, of getting the Council within its walls.

‖ "It is not therefore to the Council," says Rapin, "so much as to the Duke of Northumberland, by whom the Board was directed in all their resolves, that whatever was done in favour of Jane, after Edward's death, is to be ascribed:" he indeed calls their submission a "*slavish awe*," and so indeed it must appear in these days; the causes of the difference we have endeavoured elsewhere to explain. In the 5th Article of Cecil's submission, he says, "I did refuse to subscribe the boke, when none of the Counsell did refuse; in what perrill I refere it to be considered by them which knew the Duke." He acknowledges that he dissembled with the Duke in one instance, in which we must leave him to the excuse Fuller provides for him in a passage cited above, the *se defendendo* plea. "I dissembled," he says, Art. 12. "the taking of my horse, and the rising of Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire, and avowed the pardonable lye when it was suspected, to my danger."—He certainly seems to have given the Duke reason to think he was obeying his orders, in attaching to his service his horses and servants, when in fact he was countermanding his own orders by more private letters. It is impossible to defend such conduct, but upon the grounds already alleged, of compelled submission, absolute want of liberty, and, possibly, an understood confederacy, to allow a traitor to be caught in his own toils. One paper in existence has puzzled us a good deal. It is in the Lansdown Collection, No. ciii. 1. It has two endorsements, one stating it to have been

there were any difference, those were most deeply so, who had most reason to attach themselves to *Mary*, on religious grounds. And as to the influence exerted by Northumberland, which in these days must appear to have been most extraordinary, we may reasonably conclude it to have been irresistible and overwhelming, to have had effect on Lord Arundel, who had particularly suffered from his inordinate power; but the issue,

written in the Tower. "As it seems at the tyme when they were transacting affairs for the establishment of Q. Jane, wth a Letter of Sr Wm Cecyl to the Lincolnshire men."

A later endorsement states it to be,—1552, "Names of the Gentlemen, &c. who transacted affairs for the Establishm^t^ of Q. Jane, with a Letter of Sr Wm Cecil to the Lincolnshire men." The letter, if by any means it could refer to the Lady Jane's business, is so cautiously worded, that it would be impossible to say whether it was meant to aid Jane or Mary, for he only calls upon his countrymen (as he calls them), "to shew themselves (as ye have all weise bene) dilligent and redye in the service of your Contrey, to the best of your power, and the furderance of the Quene's service." It does not say what Queen—and, in fact, in 1552 there was no Queen; the Lady Jane, as is well known, not being married till May, 1553, and Edward, of course, alive at that time. The letter also states that he was *required* to write to them. As the date is so wrong, perhaps the whole contents of the paper may relate to something else. It deserves some notice, however, since Sir William seems to have acknowledged, as we have shewn, a tampering with the Lincolnshire men; and as the Lord Admiral (Clinton), to whom Northumberland had committed the government of the Tower, had connexions with Lincolnshire, and is mentioned in the letter, it would seem that he was the person who had *required* it to be written, if it do really apply to the case of the Lady Jane.

There is another paper in the same most valuable collection, of the genuineness of which we cannot satisfy ourselves sufficiently to make any use of it; though, as it seems to refer to the time of Edward's death, we shall transcribe the title of it as it stands in the catalogue.—*Lansd. MSS.* civ. 2. A letter indorsed, "My Letter to my Wiff sent by Mr. Attorney of the Court of Wards." This has been supposed to have been written by Sir William Cecil, when in prison and in danger of his life. It is not in his hand-writing; but it seems to be a copy made by his Secretary, Mr. Hicks, June 13, 1553. Another indorsement runs, "Tempore Regis Edwardi VI. under imprisonment and in daily expectation of suffering death."

We must profess we know not to what passage of Lord Burghley's life to refer it. In 1549 he was imprisoned, but in no danger of death. On the 13th of June, 1553, he was certainly not in prison, but in Council, as might easily be shewn.—The letter undoubtedly does credit to the heart and understanding of the writer, and a firm resolution not to act against his conscience; but we cannot bring ourselves to regard it as a letter written by Sir William Cecil in 1553, or in any period of Edward's reign.

betrayed at once the partiality and injustice of Mary's proceedings. The offending and forward Catholics were speedily and entirely forgiven, while the Remonstrants against the usurpation of Northumberland, were generally persecuted or neglected. Of the Judges in particular, Hales, who had strenuously opposed Mary's exclusion, was so ill-treated, before one year of her reign had passed, and so threatened with punishment and persecution, as to be driven to suicide; and Montague, who, notwithstanding Hayward's slander, appears to have equally resisted the mandate of Northumberland, and who had a large family of six sons and ten daughters, was fined and imprisoned; while Bromley, who had made no other resistance, than questioning the legality of the measure at first, but signing the deed nevertheless without hesitation or compunction, having afterwards professed himself a Papist, was not only forgiven but advanced to the high post of Lord Chief Justice.

In this most mysterious affair, *Cecil*, indeed, was one of those who obtained forgiveness, but there is sufficient proof that he was a Remonstrant, nor does it at all appear, that he acted *with*, though much more, indeed, that he acted *against* Northumberland; his faithful Domestic affirms, that he greatly incurred his displeasure, by refusing to acknowledge the Lady Jane, to the extent the Duke wished. It is probable that his great talents for business were not overlooked, and may have pleaded in his favour. It is difficult to set aside the following testimony of the Author of his Life, so often referred to.

"When Queene Marie came in, she graunted Sir William Cecil a general pardon; and in choosing her Counsellors, she had so good liking of him, as, if he wold chaunge his religion, he shold be her Secretarie and Counsellor—and to that purpose, some wise men weare, under hand, sett to allure him, and discover his disposition.—But, like himself, he wisely and Christianlie answered,

'he was taught, and bound to serve God first, and next the Queen; but if her service shold put him out of God's service, he hoped her Majestie wold give him leave to choose an everlastinge, rather than a momentarie service. And for the Queene, she had byn his so gracious Ladie, as he wold even serve, and praie for her in his heart; and with his bodye and goods, be as ready to serve in her defensce, as anie of her [most] loyall subjects, so she wold please to graunt him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at larg as a private man, rather than to be her greatest Counsellor.' There," he proceeds, "was no torne-coate, nor seller of his soule, nor renouncer of his faith, for ambition of a Counsellor's place, as manie would do upon so fair an offer. But where the foundation is surely laid, the house is hardly shaken; and God, laieing the first stone, the buyldinge must needs prosper, As [was] veryfied in him; to whome God gave the fruits of his faith, and the reward of a good Steward."

Such is the account, and such the reflection; but some writers appear disposed to question the truth of the fact, thinking it unlikely that he should have stood so well with Mary. Rapin adopts it, and puts it upon its proper footing; namely, his able discharge of the duties of that high office, under Edward. His words are these: "William *Cecil* had been Secretary of State to Edward the Sixth, and discharged the office so well, that if his religion had not stood in his way, he had been continued in the same post under Mary." But he immediately adds, "He was nevertheless exposed to no persecution on account of his religion; whether his *artful behaviour* gave no advantages against him, or his particular merit procured him a distinction above all other Protestants." The expression used by Rapin, "artful behaviour," has been supposed to cast a slur upon Sir William, and authors have gone out of their way to refute it. We must confess the whole paragraph appears to us extremely intelligible, and not

unfair; if we be but careful not to put upon the term "artful," the worst sense it admits of. If it be held to express, what seems to have characterised the conduct of Sir William during the whole of this very trying reign, extreme caution and prudence, and an abstinence, as far as possible, from all public business and employment, it expresses no more than the truth; if taken in the sense of any practical deception, secret conspiracy, or treacherous dealing, we find nothing in his conduct at this period to support it. He has been rather blamed for too much compliance, and yet in this he seems to stand acquitted by his biographer; for we find, that he did in no manner comply so far as to quiet his adversaries. "Though he had still the Queen's favour," says the Author so often cited, "he was, by some, not favouring or fearing him, sought to be brought into danger: [they] urging manie heynous crimes against him."—"And," he adds, "among the rest, his being received into service and intelligence with the Ladie Elizabeth, now Queene."

We may be allowed, we think, to observe here, that "artful behaviour," having Mary for its object, would have deterred Sir William from having any intelligence with the Ladie Elizabeth; but as long as Mary continued without children, loyalty to one was loyalty to the other, and the only *prudent* behaviour, was to keep clear of conspiracies. It is said also, that he acted "*privately*" for Elizabeth. This is a term also that should not be misinterpreted; to act privately for the Heir Presumptive, in such critical times, and under such peculiar circumstances with regard to Religion, would bespeak no more than steady loyalty and extreme prudence; and if we may judge from the manner in which Elizabeth herself passed through the fiery trials of her sister's short reign, it can only reflect honour on any private Counsellor who had to preserve her from hazardous competition with the Court, and yet keep her title sure and unimpeachable.

Mary, in the first instance, reigned exactly upon the footing of the same settlement, that gave the Crown in reversion to Elizabeth. How could any friend of the latter, therefore, conduct himself more properly, than, without entering into any covert intrigue against Mary, during her life, to have an eye constantly to the assertion of Elizabeth's Regal claims, in case of her sister's demise. And this clearly appears to have been the utmost of Sir William's "service and intelligence," into which he was *accused* by his enemies, of being received by the Princess Elizabeth.

And truly this extraordinary personage stood in need of friends at this time. She, who has since been sorely charged with persecuting others, had herself been previously persecuted, as all histories conspire to shew: and though it would be deviating from the straight course of history, to enter farther into particulars here, yet, as we may have occasion hereafter to look back upon this period of the lives, both of Sir William and his great Mistress, it is fit to note things as they occur.

Before we pass on, however, to the next incident in the Life of Lord Burghley, noticed by his Domestic, and one indeed, which will also require a good deal of attention, it may be proper to notice what took place on the accession of Mary, and deposition of the Lady Jane.

CHAP. XLI.

Mary proclaimed, July 20, 1553, *fourteen days after the death of King Edward—The King's funeral—Contradictory accounts of the Ceremony—Mary blamed by Sanders, for paying honours both to her Brother and Father—Account of Lady Jane Grey, during and after her usurpation of the Crown—Her character and extraordinary attainments—Her fall—Apprehension of her adherents.*

EDWARD died on the 6th of July. On the 20th Mary was Proclaimed and acknowledged to be his lawful successor. On the 8th of August his obsequies took place in Westminster Abbey, with great weepings and lamentations of the people. His corpse was conveyed to the place of sepulture, in a chariot covered with cloth of gold; on which was his effigy, "lying piteously," says Strype, with a crown of gold, and great collar; his sceptre in his hand, covered with his robes, a garter about his leg, and his coat with embroidery of gold.

Burnet had stated in his work, that Archbishop Cranmer performed the office of burial, according to the Reformed way, with a very lively sorrow, because he had both loved the King beyond expression, and looked on his funeral as the burial of the Reformation, and a step to his own. But among the corrections sent to him by his correspondents, and still printed with his works,* this fact was disputed, and Hollinshed and Godwin cited to the contrary; the latter plainly stating, that Bishop Day of Chichester, not only preached the Sermon, which all allow, but

* See Oxford Edition, 1816.

performed the service also, "*vernacula usus Anglicana,*" and administered the sacrament, "*et Eucharistiam præsentibus exhibuit;*" and he adds, that he could never find any good authority for the contrary, "except his Lordship." Strype, nevertheless, who also supplied Burnet with some corrections, seems, in his Memorials, to agree with him in this, affirming that Cranmer, though under a cloud,* "celebrated his burial by the English Service Book, to which was joined a communion by him also administered." Collier does not help to clear the matter, saying only, that the corpse was buried at Westminster; Day, Bishop of Chichester, preached the Sermon, and here all the service was in English.†

But if the *Abbey* solemnities savoured at all of the Reformed religion, it was not so with the *Requiem*, which on the same day was said, after the *Popish forms*, before the Queen at the *Tower;* the Marquess of Winchester, and the Earls of Pembroke and Shrewsbury being chief mourners; and Gardiner, released from

* The King's funeral, we have shewn, took place on the 8th of August. Though Strype, in his *Ecclesiastical* Memorials, expressly asserts, that Cranmer celebrated his burial, and administered the sacrament, we do not find the same account in his *Memorials* of Cranmer. As to the cloud he was under, we find, in the book just referred to, the following statement—"But about the beginning of August, as may be collected from a letter of the Archbishop's to *Cecyl*, he was before the Council about the Lady Jane's business, without all question; and then, with the severe reprimand he received, was charged to keep his house, and be forthcoming. At that time he espied *Cecyl*, who was in the same condemnation; and would fain have spoken to him, but durst not, as he told him in a letter, dated August 14. as it seems, out of his love and care of him, lest his very talking with *Cecyl* might have been prejudicial to that pardon, which he now lay fair for; but by letter, he desired him to come over to him at Lambeth, because he would gladly commune with him, to hear how matters went, and for some other private causes, *Cecyl* being now at liberty."

† Rapin decidedly says, not only that Cranmer performed the service and administered the sacrament in the new or reformed way, but that he stoutly opposed those who would have had it otherwise, which corresponds much with Burnet's account, viii. 132. Dr. Lingard allows that Cranmer officiated according to the *Established form*, but that it was in compliance with the advice of the Emperor to Mary, to abstain from any public innovation till she had the consent of Parliament. "Qu' elle attende jusques elle aye opportunité de rassembler Parlément," is the account of Renard, as cited by Dr. Lingard.

prison, with his mitre on his head, as Bishop of Winchester, executing the office.

Sanders, the calumniator of the English Reformation, in his book, *De Schismate Anglicano*, seems not to spare his own party, in regard to this ceremony; for he absolutely judges the Queen to have been too much governed by her affection upon this occasion, and blames her for recommending her brother's soul to the mercy of God, and having any share in the Funeral Solemnity; because he died out of the Communion of the Church, meaning the Church of Rome. We may also collect, from what he adds of Henry VIII. the opinion entertained by the Popish bigots (of Sanders's stamp, at least) of the religion of that Monarch, whom Mary herself, in Edward's reign, was for making her pattern; for after blaming her for doing honour to the memory of her *heretical brother*, Edward VI., he tells us she was *better instructed* afterwards, and consented, though with great reluctance, "that her *father* should not be publicly prayed for." Indeed it would appear from a Sermon extant of Poinet's, Bishop of Winchester, as if the Papists had once a project in their heads to disinter the body of Henry VIII. and commit it to the flames as the body of a heretic.* We may at least be able to judge from this, how much the rigid Papists had it in view to *undo* all that had been done, during the two preceding reigns, in favour of the Reformation; and we shall soon see how much the Queen lent herself to accomplish all their purposes.

We have said but little of the Lady Jane, the ostensible, but most innocent occasion, of all the difficulties that befel the nation on the death of Edward. Her story is too well known to occupy much of our time, but is too interesting, and too much interwoven with the general subject of these pages to be wholly passed over; it is difficult, however, to reconcile what has been related by

* See Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. part i. 251, 2.

different authors, of the first circumstances that befel her, after the death of her Royal cousin. Some writers affirm, that she was conveyed by water from Durham House to the Tower, four days after the death of Edward, still ignorant of his demise, and first apprized of her extraordinary situation, by observing the peculiar respect and formality with which she was received by the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, at the Tower Stairs; that Northumberland, after her arrival at the Tower, lost no time in acquainting her that the King was dead, and that she was become, by his special appointment, his acknowledged Successor. This sudden intelligence is stated to have thrown her into great perturbation of mind, and that she evidently betrayed great alarm at the thoughts of her extraordinary advancement. But, "since an answer was to be given," to follow the account in Collier, "after some pause for recollection, she told the Duke of Northumberland, that as far as she understood, natural right and the constitution of the kingdom, cast the government upon the Princess Mary; that she was unwilling to encumber her life and her conscience with a character that did not belong to her; that those who broke through right to grasp a sceptre, were infamous in story; that to scruple the stealing of a shilling, and digest the usurpation of a Crown, was mere bantering of justice, and mocking God Almighty. To this she added, the instability of human affairs, and the danger of a public eminence, and therefore desired the liberty of a private station; but being solicited and urged to accept the Crown, by the two Dukes, her mother, and her husband, she forced her inclination, resigned to their importunities, and was thus dragged as it were into treason."

By this account it would appear that she was unapprized of her appointment under Edward's will, till she arrived at the Tower.* Burnet says, it was at Durham House, she received the

* *Heylin's* account is the same.—*See his History of the Reformation.*

first intimation of it, the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk having repaired thither to give her notice of it. But in Lingard's history of the transaction, the story is told differently from both the preceding accounts. It is generally agreed that it was on the fourth day after the death of the young King, that the first steps were taken to make public what had passed. On that day, according to Lingard, the chief of the Lords, attended by a numerous escort, rode to Sion House, to announce to the Lady Jane her succession to the Throne of her Royal cousin; she herself was then at Chelsea, but was summoned by the Council to Sion House to receive their communications. We have already stated that Northumberland was attended upon this occasion, particularly, by the Marquess of Northampton, the Earls of Huntingdon, Arundel, and Pembroke. We have also related the terms used by Northumberland in making the communication, and the lowly homage paid by the Lords to their new Sovereign. Of the effect it produced upon the sad victim of their hypocrisy, his account is not much different from other authors; "She trembled," he says, "uttered a shriek, and sunk to the ground. On her recovery, she observed to those around her, that she seemed to herself a very unfit person to be a Queen; but that if the right were hers, she trusted God would give her strength to wield the sceptre to his honour and the benefit of the nation."

Dr. Lingard assures us this is her own account, contained in a letter written from the Tower to Queen Mary; and he supposes it to be the confession required of her on her committal to prison. It has been preserved, he adds, in an Italian translation, made by Pollini, from a copy in English, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra*, published in 1594. This learned author appears to have had access to foreign writers and foreign libraries, which are not so immediately within the reach of others. Upon very essential points we should think it our duty to follow

him in such researches, but it certainly is not of much consequence where the Lady Jane was actually first informed of her unfortunate call to the throne, though as to the circumstances of her conduct upon the occasion, it is otherwise. We ought to know how this extraordinary young person acted; and, if possible, what she said. But Dr. Lingard cautions us against trusting to what he calls the embellishments of the historians: we shall not withhold this caution from our readers; adding, however, what is most true, that as to any embellishments we may *borrow*, to set off the virtues and character of this "Protestant Martyr," as some have called her, and of which embellishments, other Catholic writers, as well as Dr. Lingard, seem strangely jealous, we see nothing in any writer that goes beyond the just praise due to her, on the score of humility, modesty, and a correct judgment, in a case the most perplexing that could occur to a female of such tender years. None seem to deny that she sacrificed her own feelings; how could they deny it, when Northumberland himself confessed, that so far from aspiring to the Crown, "she was by enticement and force made to accept it." To what then did she sacrifice her feelings? To the importunities of an ambitious mother and husband,* a weak father, and a wicked unprincipled father-in-law. Not that she yielded to them under the characters I have described, but that she must have felt, that had she drawn back, she must in so doing have sealed the doom of all these near connexions. For, if she did not submit herself to the will of the deceased King, what they had done, in her name, was treason and rebellion in regard to Mary. Her situation and her conduct, in short, were such, as almost to defy the flattery of historical *embellishment*. As to her attainments in learning, though they were very surprising, she may have been flattered;

* See Lingard's account of Lord Guilford Dudley's behaviour, in claiming to be made King, to the great distress of Lady Jane.

we can ourselves scarcely believe all that is reported of her;* but of her conduct from Edward's death, to her own, there can be no doubt, and we shall without scruple therefore, in what we have more to say of her, follow those historians who seem to relate it best, assured of the facts, though there may be some variation of words. If ever there were an innocent victim sacrificed, Lady Jane Grey may surely be regarded as falling under that description: her progress from the throne to the scaffold was but short, and though it may seem to be a digression from the main purport of these Memoirs, to dwell upon it, it ought at least to be briefly recorded, as it was altogether consistent; for so little disappointed does she appear to have been when she found that Mary's party had prevailed over Northumberland's, which had raised her against her will to be a Queen, that when her father, the Duke of Suffolk, agitated and dejected at the turn of affairs, went to his daughter's apartment, ordered all the ceremonies of royalty to cease, and admonished her to bear with what patience she could, her return to a private station; she answered him, we are told, with a countenance not at all discomposed, that this was a more welcome summons to her, than that which forced her against her will to such an elevation. "In obedience to you, my Lord," said she, "and to my mother, I acted a violence on myself, and have been guilty of a grievous offence; but this present is my own act, and I willingly resign to correct another's fault, if so great fault can be corrected by my resignation and sincere acknowledgment."†

Such then was the dignified manner in which this very accom-

* We agree with Mr. Nicolas, for instance, in thinking that her eulogists must have gone too far, in describing her to have been *deeply versed* in seven foreign languages, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, French, and Italian, besides musical and other elegant attainments. Her education, nevertheless, was a very extraordinary one, especially under Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London.

† Godwin.

plished young woman is said, by grave writers, to have descended from a throne, which she never would have ascended, but on the suggestion and by the will of others, particularly her inexperienced husband, according to the testimony of Pollini, cited by Dr. Lingard; and if she had been allowed to go back to the private station she coveted, she might have lived long to be a pattern and example to her sex, of every amiable and feminine virtue; but it is not our business to speculate upon what might have happened, but to record what actually did occur. She was seized and again lodged in the Tower, and her attendants dismissed; nor was it long before Northumberland, with his three sons (the Earl of Warwick, the Lords Ambrose and Henry Dudley), and his brother, Sir Andrew Dudley, were brought to the same place; being followed by the Marquess of Northampton, Lord Robert Dudley (afterwards the celebrated Lord Leicester), Bishop Ridley, the Duke of Suffolk, Sir John Cheke, Cooke, and Cox, Edward's preceptors, and the Chief Justices, Montague and Cholmley. It is very extraordinary that in the space of four days only after his commitment, the Duke of Suffolk, though so much implicated in the original plot, was pardoned and dismissed, and this, as it is said, at the suit of his Duchess, more implicated, perhaps, even than himself, as to her influence with her daughter. The number of the prisoners, indeed, originally twenty-seven, was by Mary herself reduced to eleven; those that escaped were the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lords Robert and Henry Dudley, the Bishops of London and Ely, the Lords Ferrers, Clinton, and Cobham, the Judges Montague and Cholmley, and the Chancellor of the Augmentations, Henry Palmer, Sir John Cheke, John York, and Dr. Cox.

CHAP. XLII.

Conduct of Foreign Powers—Their views as to the Succession—The Emperor for Mary—France against her—The former at first apparently wavering and uncertain—The Affairs of England constantly viewed with a jealous eye by the principal Continental powers—Elizabeth quiet during the Lady Jane's Usurpation—Her conduct questioned by Catholic writers—Release of Prisoners on Mary's entrance into the Tower—Effects of her Accession to the Throne on the Protestant Clergy, Bishops, and others—Exorbitant flatteries of the Popish Clergy.

We have not yet noticed the conduct of foreign powers, while Northumberland's great project was on foot. It would be natural to think, that with regard to Charles V. the case must have been very plain, and that his near relationship to Mary, and the resentment he had expressed upon Henry's divorce from his aunt, her mother, must have left no room for his connivance at Northumberland's undertakings, yet this was really not so. Politics inclined him so much to court the amity of England, that his own ministers and servants, knew not well what to do. There is a very curious conversation recorded between one of the Emperor's servants, Don Diego, and the English ambassadors at the Imperial Court, Sir Philip Hoby, the Bishop of Norwich, and Sir Richard Morrison, in which Don Diego seemed so satisfied that the Emperor was prepared to acknowledge the new arrangements, that while he condoled with the ambassadors for the loss of Edward, he rejoiced that they had so noble and toward a *Prince* (meaning the Lord Guilford Dudley) to succeed him; and this he did, upon the authority of one more in the confidence of the Emperor than himself, M. *De Arras*, who, after first checking him,

had subsequently told him that he might resort to the ambassadors, and both sorrow and *rejoice* with them, as he proposed, and make all the offers he could to the *King's Majesty* (thereby also intending the Lord Guilford); and that in so doing he would not only not offend, but absolutely please the Emperor. But both M. *De Arras* and Don *Diego** were deceived as to the Emperor's real sentiments, if we may at all trust to the letter the latter wrote to Queen Mary, as soon as he judged her to be established on the throne; for *then* he scrupled not to assure her, of the "*grande affection et contentement*" he felt, for God having been pleased to advance her, according to her *just right*, to the crown of England; begging her to be assured, that he should take as great an interest in her success and prosperity, as in his own.†

But, to shew how very little the affairs of England can ever be separated from those of the Continent, we are told that both the Emperor and King of France were attentive to all that was going on from the beginning; and though both Catholics, and on that ground alone interested in the success of Mary, yet politics would not allow them in any manner to concur. If Charles appeared anxious to assist Mary, Henry II. became immediately apprehensive that she might be able to throw such a weight into the scale of his great rival, as might essentially interfere with his peculiar interests. These two potentates were, therefore, equally careful to send into England special ministers, to *watch* what was doing;

* This Don Diego, it appears, was godfather to the Lord Guilford Dudley, which may account for his over-eagerness to call him *King*.

† Rapin seems to have been quite unacquainted with the extraordinary interview above, and which tends, at least, to shew that Charles V. *had wavered*; fearful probably of supporting Mary, had her case in England been hopeless. Rapin says, Queen Jane's messenger, Shelley, could not procure an audience of the Emperor, but the truth is, he never asked for one. So rapid was the fall of the Lady Jane, that before Shelley attempted to deliver her letter to the Emperor, the news of Mary's success had reached the Imperial Court, and frustrated the whole object of Shelley's mission.—*Strype's Memorials*, vol. iii. 13.

and the instructions with which they were respectively furnished, to be still seen, as we are told, in the Library at Besancon,* and in the Ambassades of Messrs. de Noailles, tend to shew that the French agents were employed expressly to counteract the attempts of the Imperial envoys, and to *offer to the Council the aid of France, if foreigners should attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the Realm;* that is, to frustrate Northumberland's designs.—This must have given him for some time, a support and encouragement which has been very little noticed; and tends to prove, what should never be forgotten in the Life of such a Statesman as Lord Burghley, that no transaction submitted to the decision of the English Council, or English Ministers, or the Sovereign, during the four reigns under which he lived, could be regarded as purely national. Every Foreign Court had its eye constantly upon this country, jealous of every movement that not only might affect itself, but its neighbours. It was the very era, when the grand political scheme of a Balance of Power began to be understood, and brought into operation, multiplying to an incalculable extent the difficulties attending not only the adjustment of external relations, but every interior arrangement. Thus Northumberland's project could not be confined to England, though apparently a mere national Revolution; Germany and France were in a position that rendered it a matter of considerable importance to both, whether Mary should reign according to her father's will, and with the natural consent and approbation of her near relative Charles V., or be displaced, with the probability of alienating Germany from England, and throwing the latter thereby into the arms of France. The amity of England, in fact, was the great object with both parties, and to obtain this, it seems extremely plain, that *Charles* was for a short time *prepared* to sacrifice *Mary*, and *France* the *Catholic* religion—no other construction can be put upon the vacillating politics

* In the Collection of Papers of the Ambassador Renard.

of these two great Courts, while the claim to the Crown was apparently undecided.

The situation of the Princess Elizabeth while these things were pending, was certainly very extraordinary; her own title in succession was the same as Mary's, and the defeat of one was the defeat of the other. How might she be expected to act? could any thing be more prudent than the part she took? On whose advice she acted we cannot pretend exactly to say; but to adopt the terms of the most modern Catholic historian,* "she took *no part* in the *contest*." Northumberland, according to the same author, had offered a bribe for the renunciation of her title,† but it was not accepted. At length, however, she joined Mary. And how is this represented by the same historian? in the following terms: "Now, however, the *contest* was at an end: the new Queen approached her capital; and Elizabeth deemed it *prudent* to *court the favour* of the *Conqueror*." Is this a fair account of the conduct of Elizabeth? was it a mere matter of contriving prudence that she should side with Mary? had she not, according to the same writer, rejected the proffered bribes of Northumberland? and upon what plea and pretence? The same author tells us: "She replied, that she had no *right* to renounce as long as her elder sister was living." Could she possibly have made a wiser reply? What she might have been under the rule of *Queen Jane*, we shall not pretend to conjecture; but the triumph of Mary was her own triumph. "Their titles in the late contest," says Burnet, "had been linked together;" and after all, she had probably *less* to *fear* from the Queen Jane (that most amiable and accomplished young woman, her near relative) than from her nearer relative Queen Mary, had she not considered her own title to the Crown. To pretend that there was any art used to set up "the merit of non-resistance" [Lingard], is absurd; *non-resistance*, and taking *no part* in the *contest*, was

* Lingard. † A large sum of money and a considerable grant of lands.

by much her wisest plan. Her prudence, therefore, was no artful, but a strictly wise prudence; and she could not have done better than she did do, which was to acknowledge her sister's right, and pay her all the honours due to her. But as for *aid*, what had she to render? Dr. Lingard, who seems to blame her for not *aiding* her sister Mary, seems to forget that he had represented Mary herself as a defenceless female, without money and without followers; how then could Elizabeth be expected to aid her? being single as well as herself, and altogether as defenceless against Northumberland, had his party been as strong as it pretended to be. But it is not clear that she made no efforts to support Mary; for when she went forth to meet her sister, it was with an attendance of a thousand horse, which she is said* to have "equipped with all speed, determined to make common cause with Mary against their common enemies." She was careful, therefore, to meet Mary on her entrance into London, with a great show of attendants and retainers, and to accompany her to the Tower, all which took place on the 3d of August.

It is related by some historians, that on the very entrance of Mary into the Tower, an extraordinary scene presented itself, and that she found there on their knees, ready to implore her mercy, four very important prisoners—the Duchess of Somerset, widow of the Protector, whose Lord had been beheaded; the aged Duke of Norfolk, who had been in prison from the time that his accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey, had been put to death by Henry VIII. and who had only escaped himself a like sentence of condemnation by the timely death of his imperious and ungrateful master; Edward Courtney, son of the unfortunate Marquess of Exeter, another victim of the unrelenting cruelty of Henry, who had been in prison from the period of his father's death, that is, from the early age of fourteen to twenty-six; and where, to the

* Aikin's Elizabeth, i. 129.

surprise of every body, he was found to have so applied himself to the acquisition of every manly grace and accomplishment, as to be able to come back to the world, with all personal advantages, becoming his high rank and station in society: lastly, Gardiner, the degraded Bishop of Winchester, the spokesman of the party, who, in the name of all, congratulated her Majesty on her accession, imploring help. It is almost needless to say that they were all released;* the Duke of Norfolk being re-invested with the Order of the Garter, as has been before remarked, and called to take his seat in the Council of the eighth English monarch he had lived to see. Courtney was restored to some of the honours of his family, being made Earl of Devonshire; and Gardiner recovered his Bishopric, having also but a few days afterwards the Great Seal committed to his keeping; though he was one who had signed the sentence of Queen Katherine's divorce, and written in vindication of Henry.

And now, as might be expected, though there can be little or no doubt that Mary had raised expectations to the contrary in the breasts of her friends in Norfolk and Suffolk, a severe re-action commenced against the favourers of the Reformation. Besides Gardiner, who, as we have shewn, recovered the Bishopric of Winchester, Boner, Tonstal,† and Heath, were restored to the Sees

* Dr. Lingard says, Mary called them *her* prisoners. It would be difficult to say what this could mean, except as taking them under her protection. The imprisonment of Norfolk and Courtney cast a reproach on her father; Gardiner she might be glad to redeem; but the Duchess of Somerset must have appeared strangely amongst them.

† It would be wrong to withhold from this eminent prelate the praise bestowed upon him by discerning writers: "In quo," says Godwin, "nisi pontificæ religioni fuerit addictior, nemo haud temere quisquam quicquam opinor reprehenderet." Sir Thomas More, writing to Erasmus, speaks thus of him, "Ut nemo est omnibus bonis literis instructior, nemo vita moribusque severior, ita nemo est usquam in convictu jucundior." We shall probably have more to say of this eminent person hereafter. It is certain, that, as the learned author of the Life of John Knox observes, he possessed, like others of his contemporaries, qualities of a very opposite nature; his character is indeed well drawn in that work, vol. i. 81, 82; his Life, ably collected from various writers, may be seen in the Christian Remembrancer for 1823.

of London, Durham, and Worcester, or empowered at least by the Queen to proceed to the recovery of them by the dispossession of Edward's Protestant Bishops, and which was soon accomplished; under a load of charges and accusations the most monstrous that could be conceived: as for preaching and setting forth erroneous doctrines; for treason, heresy, marriage, and other offences; and, for fear none of these should reach them, at all events for a defect of title, in having received their appointments under the clause "*quam diu se bene gesserint.*"* Under this commission, *John Taylor*, Bishop of Lincoln, was deprived for the bad title before-mentioned, and for thinking amiss concerning the Eucharist. *John Hooper*, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, for his *marriage*, and other demerits. *John Harley*, Bishop of Hereford, for wedlock† and heresy. *Robert Ferrar*, Bishop of St. David's, for the same. *John Bird*, Bishop of Chester, for marriage. *Robert Holgate*, Archbishop of York, for marriage, being also committed to the Tower. *Nicholas Ridley*, Bishop of London, for making an ill sermon (in defence of Queen Jane's title, as before-mentioned), and being noted for heretical pravity. *Barlow*, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and *Bush*, of Bristol, seeing how the tide ran, voluntarily resigned their Sees; *Miles Coverdale*, of Exeter, retired to make room for John Voysey, who had formerly resigned; and *Poinet*, who had held Winchester during Gardiner's deprivation and imprisonment, was ejected and committed to prison for being married.

Some Bishops temporized,‡ and were allowed to retain their

* The clause, "quam diu se bene gesserint," happened however to be adopted as the law for the purpose of dismissing them.—*See Burnet*, ii. part i. 495, 6.

† In Queen Mary's first injunctions to the Bishop of London, Art. 8, he and other Bishops are directed to "use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives are dead, than with other, whose women do yet remain in life."—*Burnet*, ii. part ii. 351.

‡ There is to be seen, in Cardinal Pole's instructions to Goldwel, whom he had sent to Queen Mary on her first accession, a very curious charge against *all* the Bishops, under Edward and Henry; and as some were now allowed to retain their Sees, it may be judged,

Sees accordingly: Cranmer fared worst of all, being not only deprived by attainder, but imprisoned as a traitor for signing King Edward's will for the succession of Lady Jane, and formally deposed and excommunicated by the Pope for manifest and notorious heresies.

"After this manner," to use the language of one who lived at the time, "this Queen began her reign; so that it might be conjectured, what she was like after to prove; sending up for abundance of people to appear before the Council, either upon the Lady Jane's business, or the business of Religion; and committing great numbers into prisons; and indeed she boasted herself a Virgin sent of God, to ride and tame the people of England."*

That the Queen should so boast herself is not to be wondered, if we look into the speeches of the Popish Clergy, beginning again to raise up their heads, and recover their power. At the opening of the Convocation in October, Harpsfield who preached, compared her to all the females of celebrity, in Holy Writ and the Apocryphal Books, not excepting the Virgin Mary. To *Judith*, for her great art in the cutting off the head of Holofernes;

who must have been the prevaricators—speaking of the Queen's laying aside the title of Supreme Head of the Church, which he was to urge her to do, he expresses his diffidence of entrusting such a proposition to any Member of either House of Parliament, in the following terms:—"When I looke in my mynde upon *al* them I know of the Lordes both Spirituall and Temporall, and persons of the Lower House, that myght have authorytie to do the same; I do see *none*, but either he hath defended the contrarie cause by his sentence and wryting, as the spirituall men have done; which taketh awaie a great part of authority to persuade other, when men heareth them accepting that matter, that aforetime they have expunged—or ells to speak of the Temporall Lords, or other, beyng all entangled with pryvate proffet, enjoieing goods of the Church by rejecting the authoritie of the same, they cannot speak with that freenesse of spirit, as such a matter requireth." He, therefore, wishes the Queen to be moved to do it herself.—*See Strype's Cranmer*, ii. 924. It is remarkable that of all the *Spiritualls* none had written and spoken more in favour of the Royal Supremacy than Gardiner.

* Hales' Oration.

applying to her Majesty, the words of Ozias, "Blessed art thou, daughter of the most high God, above all women upon the earth. Blessed be the Lord God which hath created the heavens and the earth, which hath directed thee to the cutting off the head of the chief of our enemies." To *Esther*, for "turning their mourning and sadness into mirth and joy, that there may be days of feasting and gladness, to send portions of food to one another, and to give gifts to the poor." To *Deborah*, for that "the strong had ceased in Israel and were at rest, until that Deborah arose—a mother arose in Israel, the Lord chose new wars." "So," said the preacher, "Religion had ceased in England, it was at rest, until Mary arose—a Virgin arose in England, the Lord chose new wars." To the *Sister* of *Martha*, as a gentle reproof to the Princess Elizabeth, the Queen's sister, "Mary hath chosen the better part." Lastly, to the *Virgin Mary*, the mother of God, because, being raised up to the profit and benefit of her people, and gloriously magnified in their eyes, she might justly sing, "Behold, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed, because the Lord who is powerful hath done great things, and holy is his name."

But Weston, the prolocutor, of whom we shall have more to say, went further still: "O unheard of and wonderful goodness of God, that in such a ruin of the Church, such a shipwreck of faith, *Religion* being in effect *at an end;* that a Virgin Queen, like some [deity] dove [like*] sent down from heaven, should be by the great and good God bestowed upon the Virgin Church, by whose conduct and influence all these miseries should be restrained, dissipated, and driven away." But he was careful to add, that after all, she herself should be subject to the Bishops, that is, the spiritual power; enumerating from the records of history, various

* See the original.

instances of such submission, on the part of the Emperors, and potentates of past time.*

The most surprising thing in this celebrated oration is, that he comforts the Popish Bishops, who had been incarcerated, as he calls it, with having suffered more in the cause of Christ than decapitation—"Ye are not yet beheaded with John the Baptist, but yet have suffered *far more bitterly*: for it is not one and the same thing, in a short time to lose the head, and for a long while to struggle with such dolors, terrors, threats, bonds, carryings away, rapines of goods, hands of executioners, impudent tongues of sycophants, reproaches, jests, and taunts." The passage in the original is too curious to be omitted. "Nondum decapitati estis cum Johanne Baptista, sed longe acerbiora tulistis; non enim idem est, brevi temporis momento caput omittere, et longo tempore cum talibus, lucturi doloribus, terroribus, minis, vinculis, abductionibus, bonorum rapinis, carnificum manibus, sycophantarum impudentissimis linguis, convitiis, salibus, et dicacitatibus." —As this learned orator appears hereafter in the character of an inflictor of punishments himself, it is well to notice the terms in which he describes the spirit of persecution, as prevalent under the reign of Edward. Who could believe, that the incarcerated Bishops, to whom he alludes, had met with every kind and gentle usage they could expect, under the opposition they had raised against the existing government; we have not time to go into particulars, but the case is still capable of proof. We have already indeed had occasion to touch upon it, in former parts of this work: at all events, we shall have an opportunity of comparing the sufferings of the Clergy under this reign, with those to which allusion is made, in the passages above.

The inferior clergy suffered as well as the Bishops, on the

* This very extraordinary speech in Latin, may be read at length in Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. Collection of Records, No. viii.

accession of Mary, and for the same unpardonable heresies and crimes, particularly *Marriage*. "Winchester (Gardiner) being resolved," says Strype, "to make quick work, to reduce if he could the realm to the Old Religion; so that they, (the Reformed Clergy, &c.) came into the Marshalsea thick and threefold, for religion, sent by him thither." Nor did the Universities escape, where many were, upon special visitations, deprived and ejected from their Headships, Fellowships, and Professorships, for their attachment to the Reformed religion.

CHAP. XLIII.

Our early Reformers still subject to misrepresentations by Catholic writers—Instances of this—Cranmer refuses to withdraw from the Kingdom, though urged to do so by his Friends—The Clergy suffer much—Repeal of many Statutes favourable to the Reformation—Romish Services restored—The Convocation meets—Disputations adjourned—Reserved for Conferences at Oxford, at which Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, then in prison, might be present—Peter Martyr leaves England—Gardiner in great power.

It is far from our wish to dwell longer on these things than necessary, to the aggravation of differences not even yet adjusted; but since those differences have, from the very commencement of the century in which Lord Burghley passed his long and laborious life, led to contradictions in history* of a most extraordinary nature, and which still subsist to the hazard of misleading the unsuspecting reader, we cannot forbear pointing out such as bear particularly on the characters of the times and persons, with which that great man was conversant.

In the pages of a living Catholic writer of repute, we still find the unfortunate Archbishop (Cranmer) stigmatised for his *intem-*

* We have a strong instance of the opposite views taken of a particular event, at the very moment of its occurrence, in the following Letter from Peter Martyr to Bucer, Jan. 10, 1551, while Gardiner was under examination in Edward's reign. It was written from Lambeth. "De Wintoniensi jam actio quarta in judicio habita est; neque dum respondet, alio spectat quam ut se a Contumacia purget. Verba ejus a *papisticis* hominibus, ut *docta* et *acuta* prædicantur; a veris autem et sanis judicibus, *vafra, subdita, aliena* a *causâ*, et ut uno verbo dicam, *Sophistica.*"

perance, in repelling a foul and cruel slander raised against him; as though, soon after the Queen's accession, he had directed the Mass to be celebrated after the Popish form in his Cathedral, and had offered himself to perform Mass before the Queen; both of them being as great untruths as could well be uttered. That the Archbishop asserted his innocence in strong terms, and resented the injury done him with some asperity, we shall not attempt to deny, but if he be still to be blamed for his intemperance under so gross a provocation (for Mass had been performed in his Cathedral without his knowledge, by one that he could not help calling a fawning hypocritical Monk, *Thornton*, the suffragan Bishop of Dover), it should not be concealed that his endeavour to keep himself quiet and give no open offence, had subjected him to the rudest mockery on the part of Boner, the restored Bishop of London, who wrote thus scornfully of him to his friend Mr. Lechmore:—"Mr. *Canterbury* is become very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things, but that will not serve his turn, and it is expected that he will be sent to the Tower this very day."* It was upon such reports as these, that he was moved to answer with some indignation, the cruel and malevolent charges brought against him; and to shew that he did it under a truly conscientious feeling of his innocence, though warned by his friends to fly, as others were preparing to do, from the rising persecution, he resisted all advice and entreaties to that effect,

* See more of this letter in Burnet. It abounds in scurrility and low wit, with the basest ingratitude towards Ridley. The opposite conduct, indeed, of these two Bishops, is very characteristic of the religious principles of the two parties, at that period. When Ridley came to the See on Boner's deprivation, it is pretty generally known, that he paid respect not only to the property but to the family of the dispossessed prelate; honouring Boner's mother so far as constantly to place her at the head of his table, and encouraging his guests to pay her such respect as would be due to his own mother. But when, upon another change, Boner was restored, *he* ridiculed Ridley's sufferings, and would not allow him to intercede for those to whom he had granted leases—the validity of which he rudely disputed.

steadfastly determining, in consideration of his high station in the Reformed Church to abide all consequences.

The rapidity and severity with which these changes proceeded, on Mary's settlement on the throne, will, perhaps, help us to explain another circumstance in the life of Lord Burghley, which has caused much perplexity, and of which we shall soon have to speak.

Burnet, it should be observed, is inclined to think Gardiner would not of himself have been so hasty and precipitate, but that it was more to be attributed to the Queen, urged on by Cardinal Pole. Gardiner, he tells us, was for slower measures, but with the same view of ultimately bringing the whole nation round to the old religion, and obedience to the Pope: he judges so, from the steps he took to prevent the return of Pole, by writing to the Emperor to stay him on his journey, and to procure the Great Seal to be placed in his (Gardiner's) hands, upon an assurance that he would serve the Emperor's interests so earnestly and zealously as to bring about all that he desired; but that as the people were much set against the Papal power, and those who had obtained possession of the Abbey lands feared to lose them again, time was required to soften or remove these prejudices. But this correspondence with the Emperor, will, as we shall have occasion to shew, admit of another construction.

To whichsoever of the two, however, the Queen or Gardiner, this great haste in reversing what had been done in the preceding reign is to be attributed, certain it is, that in the very first few months of the Queen's reign, abundance of the Protestant Clergy were brought into great jeopardy; deprived of their livings and preferment of all kinds, committed to prison, or made to answer, as for crimes of the blackest dye, for the liberty they had assumed under the *statutes*, *laws*, and public regulations of the preceding reign; and to shew how entirely it was the purpose of the new

government to undo all that had been done under Edward, in favour of the Reformation, in the second session only of Mary's first Parliament,* by one single act, no less than *nine* others, which had been passed in the former reign, for the furtherance and establishment of the true religion,† were peremptorily repealed; thereby restoring the Popish canon law to its full force, to the great confusion of the married Clergy; and at the same time declaring valid the marriage between Henry VIII. and Katherine of Arragon, notwithstanding all that had passed, and to which Gardiner had been consenting;‡ putting the title also of the

* Of the methods taken to secure a Parliament subservient to the Queen's views, an account may be seen in Rapin. The Upper House, which could not be new-modelled like the Commons, was to be managed otherwise; by the removal of obnoxious Bishops, and temptations put in the way of the temporal Lords, which, to their great disgrace, made them almost all Roman Catholics, in this reign, whatever they might have been before.—*Ibid.*

† "Through the influence of a faction in Edward's minority," is the expression of Dr. Lingard. In the Bill for confirming the marriage of Henry and Katherine, he says, all reference to the Papal dispensation was dexterously avoided; but *Jurieu*, in his History of the Council of Trent, observes, the confirmation of the marriage of Henry was a great step towards an accommodation with Rome, seeing *that* marriage could not be declared lawful, without admitting the dispensation of Julius II. who had dispensed with Henry to marry his brother's widow; so that the Parliament, by that procedure, owned that the Pope had power to dispense with the laws of God, and by consequence acknowledged him Head of the Church. Dr. Lingard shews, that the Act asserted, that the marriage not being prohibited by the law of God, could not be dissolved by any human authority; it remains, however, a question for *Catholics* to solve, what *was* the prohibition to the marriage, which the Pope's dispensation was wanting to remove or set aside? Cardinal Pole, in his letter to the Queen, had objected to the Act for confirming the marriage of her father and Katherine of Arragon, because there was no mention made of the Pope's Bulls, by the authority of which only it could be a lawful marriage.—*Burnet*, ii. 406.

‡ "Gardiner," says Rapin, "must have been past all blushing, who procured the repeal of a sentence, which he had been the chief promoter of, and was concerned in before Cranmer was known at the Court. Nay, which he had approved, advised, and assisted as a judge in the execution." If the character given of Mary's Parliament be correct, and it would be difficult to prove the contrary, how strange must we think the following account in Dr. Lingard's History of Mary's meeting her first Parliament: "Such was the situation of affairs when Mary met her first Parliament; both Peers and Commons, according to the usage of ancient times, accompanied their Sovereign to a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost! The Chan-

Princess Elizabeth in jeopardy, and establishing the power of the Pope to dispense with what had been decided to be a law of God.*

And thus were matters brought back as far, and as soon as possible, to the old system, in regard to all the offices and ceremonies of the Church, administration of Sacraments, appointment of Bishops, ordination of Ministers, and celibacy of the Clergy; that is, in fact, to the point at which they stood in the last year of the reign of Henry VIII. The Reformed Liturgy, which Edward's Parliament, says Lingard, "had attributed to the *Inspiration of the Holy Ghost*, was now *pronounced* to be [he does not say *proved*] a new thing imagined and devised by a few of singular opinions."†

The Convocation was as busy as the Parliament in condemning all that had passed in opposition to the Church of Rome; nothing being thought more objectionable than the publication of the Reformed Catechism, and the setting out, as it was termed, "an abominable Book of Common Prayer;"‡ in seeking to restore all the Doctrines, Rites, and Ceremonies that had been abandoned, particularly such as related to the Eucharist; but this attempt was at first ably and resolutely resisted by five distinguished members, Philpot, Cheney, Haddon, Philips, and Aylmer, whose pleadings in defence of what had been done by King Edward were found to

cellor in his speech to the Houses, the Speaker in his address to the Throne, celebrated the piety, the clemency, and the other virtues of their Sovereign, and her ears were repeatedly greeted with the loudest expressions of loyalty and attachment."

* See Jurieu's History of the Council of Trent.

† There being a sort of sneer in this, evidently reflecting on the promoters of the Reformation, it may be curious to see how little scruple professed Romanists would feel to overset any system of their opponents, even though it should claim to have been established by the *Inspiration of the Holy Ghost*. For the power of the Romish Church (we are almost ashamed to write it) has been held by their casuists to extend even *beyond this*. "Dico," says one of them, "nulla esse Christi præcepta, nisi quæ per *Ecclesiam* pro talibus accepta sint. Mutato judicio *ecclesiæ*, mutatum est et DEI judicium."—*Cusan. ad Bohema. Ridley against Phillips*, 185.

‡ Burnet.

be so forcible and unanswerable, that Weston, the Prolocutor, vexed at the defeat, broke up the meeting abruptly, and with a remark that bespoke at once the weakness and the strength of his cause, "You have the word, but we have the sword."*

The questions thus left unsettled were reserved for a future conference at Oxford, at which Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, who had been put in prison in September, might, as it was alleged, be present, and for which purpose indeed, in the next year, as we shall have occasion to shew, they were all sent down from London, after having for some time, with Bradford, been crowded together in one room of the Tower, most inconveniently as to all bodily comfort, but to the no small joy of their souls, as they acknowledged, in the opportunity it afforded them of religious conference and consolation.

No man seems more to have felt and lamented the change that had so suddenly and alarmingly taken place than *Peter Martyr*, who being ill at Oxford at the time the young King died, was not immediately able to look to his security; but being afterwards permitted to come to London, he put himself under the protection of his old friend and patron Cranmer, at Lambeth. A most tottering support, and one which he was soon obliged with sorrow to abandon; not, however, before he had incurred great danger of suffering with others, as a notorious opponent of the Romish tenets, and which, indeed, he only escaped on the grounds of hospitality and public faith as a native of another country.†

* Some account of the whole dispute, as far as it extended, is to be found in Burnet, part ii. 473, &c. It was soon after printed in English, as well as in Latin, by *Valerandus* Polanus, and is to be seen at large in Foxe's Acts and Monuments.

† The same liberty was granted to John A'Lasco the Pole, of whom we have before had occasion to speak. And, says Rapin, "this was the only act of clemency and justice which appeared under this reign with reference to religion." But this, perhaps, is not quite true, as

Even abroad, however, he was led to suspect that there were snares laid for him; nor did he feel himself at all safe till he arrived at Strasburgh, where the Senate paid him the compliment of restoring him to his old situation, and whence he wrote his bitter lamentations on the state of persecuted England to Calvin, to the refugees at Zurich, and other friends. In a letter to Calvin particularly, he comforts him with the reflection, that though, in the country he had left, many had betrayed great weakness, the constancy of others was likely to uphold the credit of the Reformed Church; "so that he doubted not England would have many famous Martyrs, if Winchester, who then did all, should begin to rage according to his will."* Besides Peter Martyr, abundance of other Foreigners quitted the kingdom, with many of the most eminent of the reformed party, fearful of Gardiner's vindictive measures.

And, indeed, to him was committed, to all appearance, the whole governance of the Realm. He appears to have ruled as he would, even to the entire control and management of the Parliament. Three things he seemed to be anxious to accomplish, and he was not long before he succeeded in all. First, that the service in the English tongue should be done away; secondly, that the Queen should marry with a foreign Catholic Prince; and, thirdly, that the Bishop of Rome should be restored to his authority in the realm.

But it is time to revert to state affairs. It was not likely that Northumberland, whatever lenity might be shewn at first to the Duke of Suffolk, should be suffered to escape the punishment due to his treasonable practices against the Queen. On the 18th of August, less than a month after Mary had been fixed on the

some of the Reformed undoubtedly lived free from molestation, as we shall shew. Alasco did not fare so well abroad as P. Martyr, being actually driven from his first place of refuge, Denmark, when it was found that he professed the Helvetian doctrines or confession of faith.

* Petri. Martyr. Epist.

throne, he was brought to trial, with his sons and accomplices. The old Duke of Norfolk, who had so recently regained his own liberty, and was yet under the sentence of an unrevoked attainder, being nominated to preside as High Steward on the occasion, assisted by three of the very Council who had acted with Northumberland in the whole affair of Lady Jane, the Marquess of Winchester, and the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke. The Duke remonstrated, but in vain, nor was he allowed to plead the consent of the Council, because, under the usurpation, they were no legal Council; and the same was alleged as to the Great Seal, which could have no authority from an usurper.* The Duke's sons, and many of his accomplices escaped, but Northumberland himself, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were all condemned and executed.†

On the scaffold, Northumberland so spake, as pretty plainly to intimate, that he not only recanted all that he had done in favour of the Reformed Religion under Edward, but that he had constantly dissembled and temporized in every thing that he had so done, having in his heart always been of the old Religion;‡ but

* Rapin.

† It may not be amiss to notice in this place, in order the better to understand the bearings of the Queen of Scots' case in the next reign, that a Catholic writer of the present day, in celebrating Mary's lenity on this occasion, in executing so few, says, "It was in vain that the *Imperial Minister urged* her to include the *Lady Jane* in the number; were *she spared*, the Queen, they alleged, could never reign in security; the first faction that dared, would again set her up as a rival. She had usurped the Crown, and *policy* required that she should pay the forfeit of her presumption." We merely mark this passage to shew, what was judged to be a *necessary* act of *policy*, with regard to this unfortunate lady, by the *Catholic* Imperial Court, at that time; a policy so loudly condemned by all Catholics on a subsequent occasion, equally melancholy, but certainly far more alarming to the reigning Sovereign; as we shall have occasion to shew, not in the way of excuse, but of explanation, the policy in both cases being equally deplorable; but from the above relation, we may have cause to know, that it was not exclusively the policy of the Protestants, as in the second case was loudly asserted.

‡ "And theis were in my harte, as my Lord Bishop [Heath of Worcester] can testifye."—See his Speech, *Strype's Cranmer*, Appendix, No. lxxiii. p. 917. from the Cottonian MSS.

Foxe, who lived in these times, declares that the Duke had a promise made him of pardon, even though his head should be on the block, if he would but thus recant before the time of execution came, and hear Mass; so that little confidence is to be placed in such declarations. So desirous of life does he appear to have been, that it is affirmed, that he offered to do penance all the days of his life, if it were but in a mouse-hole.

But he was not a man of that principle to be believed, one way or the other; his Protestantism under Edward might certainly have been insincere, but not more so than his dying declaration in favour of Romanism on the scaffold. He had great points about him; but his honesty in politics, and sincerity as to religious matters have always been doubted. He acknowledged himself to be guilty enough to render both his sentence and his execution just and lawful. His valour could not be disputed; and I imagine, that it is to his valour and not to his virtue, that the

Titus, B. ii. 162. Dr. Lingard reports his speech thus: "He called on them to witness, that he was in charity with all mankind; that he died in the faith of his fathers, though ambition had induced him to conform in practice to a worship which he condemned in his heart; and that his last prayer was for the return of his countrymen to the Catholic Church, from which he had been instrumental in leading them astray." And to shew that he was *now* sincere, in answer to Foxe, who had asserted that he was induced to make this profession of his belief, by a delusive promise of pardon, he goes on to shew how earnestly he had asserted the contrary—"I do protest to you, good people, earnestly, even from the bottom of my heart, that this which I have spoken is of myself, not being required, nor moved thereto of any man, nor for any flattery, nor hope of life. And I take witness of my Lord of Worcester here, my ghostly father, that he found me in this mind and opinion when he came to me."

It is difficult to settle this very curious incident in history. Dr. Lingard acknowledges, that Gardiner tried to save him. Why so? If so guilty as he acknowledged himself to be. Foxe says he was deluded. This the Catholics dispute; insisting upon his own declaration, that in heart he was always a Catholic. But if so, he was a dissembler, and certainly no credit to them, though they still like to claim him. Lord Burghley has been accused by Catholics, of adhering to him for his cunning, and yet his cunning, with them, would seem to have been his greatest merit, since it consisted in being a sound Catholic, while he acted as though he were quite the contrary.

following compliment is paid in a Latin work dedicated to Archbishop Parker, in the days of Queen Elizabeth, in which he is spoken of, as a man, "peregregiæ Nobilitatis, admirandæque *virtutis.*"*

* In the "True Secret History of the Lives and Reigns of all the Kings and Queens of England," the following occurs upon the fall of Northumberland: "There is this farther remark may be made upon him, that as he suffered under the very same fate, and upon the very same block, that the Duke of *Somerset* did, so 'twas his hap to be laid under the very same stone, in the same grave, where they now lie side by side, as good friends, that living were irreconcileable enemies. Two headless Dukes, lying between two headless Queens, each as far divided in religion, as they were in their affections."

CHAP. XLIV.

Difficulties arising out of Northumberland's supposed recantation, as applicable to Lord Burghley—The latter vindicated from the foul slanders of Persons, the Jesuit—The Queen's Coronation—Trial and Condemnation of Cranmer, the Lady Jane, and her husband Lord Guilford Dudley—The former pardoned for Treason, but detained on a charge of Heresy.

Lord Burghley has, by his enemies, been much blamed, for his connexion with Northumberland after the disgrace and fall of Somerset, and by none more, or so pointedly, as by his great calumniator, Persons, the Jesuit *(Philopatris)*. It becomes, therefore, the more difficult to reconcile the strange accounts given of his end, by different writers. If he renounced Protestantism on the scaffold, with so much truth and sincerity, as the Catholics of those days pretend, it is natural to suppose, he would have been a greater favourite with the Catholics of 1592 (when Philopatris wrote), than appears to have been the case. To understand this matter aright, it is little less than necessary to transcribe what was said of Lord Burghley, with regard to this connexion, in another quarter, *thirty-nine* years afterwards.

After charging him with the offence, of which, in our opinion, he stands perfectly exculpated, of stimulating the Duke of Somerset against his brother, Lord Seymour, to ingratiate himself with the Duchess, he proceeds to state, that, "afterwards, he

(Cecil), seeing Dudley, Earl of Warwick, to be more cunning and * * * * than the Duke of Somerset, his master, secretly forsook and betrayed him, and gave matter of overthrow to Warwick against him; for which service, when the Duke and his courtly friend were pulled down and cut off, Mr. *Cecill* was set up by Warwick and brought in the King's favour and council again, and so he followed that man's counsell ever after, so long as he stood in prosperitie, even to the consenting to the deprivation and deposition of all King Henry VIII. his children, and, namely, of Queen Mary and this Queen (Elizabeth), against whom he wrote and formed the proclamations and others that the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk set forth against them; *and would have been content to have been also the headsman himself, to have dispatched them both with his own hands at that time, rather than they should have escaped to his loss and disgrace, if Northumberland would have put him to it.*"

A fouler slander could scarcely have been invented; I have copied it from a manuscript account of the libel, sent soon after its appearance on the Continent, to Lord Burghley's own Secretary, by an intelligencer in foreign parts. The last charge, to a biographer of the noble Lord would be sufficiently startling, if it were not upon a par with others known to have proceeded from the same quarters, and quite as little to be regarded as far as the truth goes; for we shall hereafter have occasion to shew, that the work alluded to contains scarcely any thing but the grossest falsehoods.

But the Papists of Queen Mary's days, as we see, pretended that Northumberland, before his execution, convinced Gardiner that he was so entirely a Catholic, as greatly to interest him in his favour. A witness is even brought forward to attest, that he heard Northumberland declare to Bishop Gardiner, that "as for religion he was of no other than the Bishops, which is the Catholic. For

I never was (the Duke is made to say) of any other indeed, nor ever so foolish, as to believe any of that which we had set up in King Edward's days, but only to use the same for my own purpose of ambition, for which God forgive me." Upon which the Bishop, it is said, went to the Queen to *implore her pardon* for him; but his *enemies*, resolved to destroy him, got the Emperor Charles, who was in Flanders, to interpose and hasten his execution.

Here we must pause to consider two things; first, the reflection cast on Bishop Gardiner by the Papists themselves, in representing him to have been so greatly interested in *favour* of Northumberland, upon the discovery of his having been so great a dissembler and so base and consummate a hypocrite, as the story implies;* secondly, one would think the Emperor Charles would rather have pleaded for his release than for his execution, if the knowledge of his being a true Catholic could have worked such effects upon Gardiner; for the Emperor himself was also a Catholic, and little less disposed to overlook faults so atoned for. Northumberland besides had acknowledged Mary's right.

But *Cecil*, it seems, according to Philopatris, only joined Northumberland, because he found him to be a more cunning man than his first patron, the Duke of Somerset. But it is plain that he did not know half his cunning, if he were really such a Papist as they pretend; and, indeed, it would be extremely difficult to account for the great want of cunning in all the *other parties*, not to discern what Philopatris so confidently asserts to have been passing in the mind of *Cecil* at this particular time; we mean the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and, we may add, the Duchess of

* How different was the death of Northumberland from that of Somerset; the one confessing that notwithstanding all acts and outward appearances to the contrary, he had constantly "in his harte" cherished the Romish faith; the other honestly protesting that he rejoiced and triumphed in nothing so much as in having been an instrument in reforming the National Church according to the purest principles of antiquity.—*Secret History of England*, 241.

Somerset; who, whatever may be said of the endeavours of *Cecil* to ingratiate himself with her by stirring up the Duke against his brother, must have known, if the other charges of that great man's calumniators had had any foundation in truth, that through his treachery, in a great measure, for so it has been asserted, she lost her husband, her high rank in the nation, and suffered imprisonment in her own person; and yet to this very destroyer of her peace and happiness, as his enemies would have represented him to be, she bequeathed in her will a special token of her esteem. Had he taken an active part against the Admiral, to ingratiate himself with the Duchess, we have already shewn, that in the nature of things, he must in the same proportion have alienated the minds of Queen Katherine and the Princess Elizabeth; and yet the very reverse of any such consequences seems to have ensued. Again, the Princess Mary caused Northumberland to be beheaded, and yet would have made his *chief agent*, as the accounts above would represent him to have been, her Secretary of State, if he would have accepted the office; but, at all events, soon employed him in her service, and allowed him to live through the whole of her reign unmolested and undisturbed. But, the Princess Elizabeth, who had more abundant reason than all to question his fidelity, if the foregoing circumstances of his life told so much against him as his enemies pretend, not only took him into her service the moment she ascended the throne herself, but would never afterwards suffer him to quit her service, or even his enemies to drive him from her counsels. He stood the highest in her confidence at the very time when these slanderous and atrocious libels were promulgated on the Continent; and yet, for the six remaining years of his protracted life, she entrusted every thing to his care; and, if other accounts are to be believed, lamented him on his death, not merely as a minister but a friend.

After all, Northumberland stood in no need of the treachery

imputed to *Cecil*, in the case of the Duke of Somerset, for he had another ready to his purpose, Sir John Palmer, who suffered with him, under the very reproach of having betrayed his patron, the Duke of Somerset; and yet neither to save his life or redeem his honour, does he appear ever to have sought to shift the blame from himself to *Cecil*.

The writer of general history, or abridger of lives, may be at liberty to neglect or despise such incidents, as not of public importance enough to detain the reader; but the professed biographer would betray his duty if he neglected to sift such calumnies and misrepresentations to the bottom. Nor can it be considered as any revival of forgotten stories, that had better be left in the obscurity time might be thought to have induced; the calumnies are still to be seen, where they have reposed indeed for ages; but instead of becoming less accessible or less known than in times past, are, from that spirit of minute historical research which has lately arisen, and the daily increasing facilities afforded to such investigations, more, perhaps, in the way of being known than ever, and if known, perverted again to bad purposes, if not prevented, by a due examination of particulars. It has fallen in the way of the writer of these Memoirs to peruse several of these false charges in manuscripts of the sixteenth century, preserved in the British Museum, and in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where it is to be concluded they may remain for ages to come.

It was on the first of October, 1553, that Queen Mary was crowned, by Bishop Gardiner, with the old Ceremonies. The Princess Elizabeth carried the Crown on this occasion; and, as it is reported, having whispered to the French ambassador, Noailles, that it was very heavy, he replied, "Be patient, it will seem lighter when it is on your head." After the ceremony, a pardon was proclaimed, but with such exceptions, as plainly bespoke the speedy

overthrow of the Reformed religion;* and it was in the Parliament immediately succeeding her Coronation, that the act spoken of above was passed.

On the 13th of November, Cranmer, the Lady Jane, her husband Lord Guilford Dudley, and his brother Lord Ambrose, were brought to trial and condemned; all of them as accomplices in the crime for which Northumberland had suffered, namely, that of setting the Lady Jane on the throne. Northumberland had attempted to escape, on the plea that he had acted only on the authority of the Council, and with some *now* near the throne. This was not quite an unfair plea; but Cranmer, who at all events had done no more than the rest, but who is credibly reported, as we have shewn, to have indeed done all he could do to resist the measure, was arraigned as a *traitor;* and though his enemies were so ashamed of this charge as to procure the Queen's pardon for the alleged *treason*,† yet was he detained on a charge of *heresy*, and prosecuted to death upon it, as will hereafter be shewn.

But it was at this period that he was urged by his friends to depart the kingdom; that is, before he was apprehended, but not before he had a knowledge and discernment of the nature of the charge upon which his life would be brought to depend. His answer to the advice of his friends is thus recorded: that if he were in danger of being taken up for theft, parricide, or any other such horrid crime, though he knew his innocence, he might, perhaps, be prevailed with to fly; but since the cause now

* Lingard says, the exceptions were entirely for "*treasonable* and *seditious* offences since the Queen's accession." It would be difficult to make this out. They were in all sixty persons.

† "Cranmer's sentence," says Rapin, "rendered him incapable of holding any benefice, and so made a vacancy in the See of Canterbury. But the Queen chose to dispense with the ordinary forms, and leave Cranmer, though a condemned person, in possession of his dignity. This was partly owing to her design of restoring the Clergy to all their privileges, in consequence of which this prelate was to be canonically degraded; but this could not be done till the laws of Henry VIII. were repealed."—*See also Burnet*, vol. ii. 463, Oxford edit. 1816.

depending, said he, is my faith in God, and the truth of the Holy Scriptures, in opposition to the errors of Popish doctrines, I have determined to shew a constancy worthy a Christian Prelate, and to lose my life rather than withdraw at such a time." He was unwilling to go, says *Strype*, lest it should seem "that he was afraid to run all the changes that were by his means made in religion in the last reign."*

Those who did depart at this time, and they were very many, went, some to Strasburgh, some to Wesel, Embden, Antwerp, Duisburgh, Worms, Frankfort, Basil, Zurich, and Geneva. Their names may be found in many books. We shall only notice here, though almost all of them were the correspondents of *Cecil*, and more or less upon terms of intimacy or acquaintance with him, his great friend and relation, Sir John Cheke, of whom we shall have much to say hereafter.

On Cranmer's attainder, Wotton, Dean of Canterbury, performed the principal duties and offices of the See. The Arshbishop sued for pardon, not on the score of religion, but for what he himself called "his hainous folly and offence," in signing King Edward's will; pleading, that he was among those who remonstrated, and "that if it had been in his power, he would have letted the doing of it;" that "he endeavoured to talk with the King alone, but it was not permitted;" referring in proof thereof to the Marquess of Northampton and the Lord Darcy, who were present, and whose presence prevented what he sought. That with Northumberland he had little or no communication; but that at last he was overcome by the King's earnest request to him, that he would not be the only man that refused it, which, with the judgment of the lawyers, "overcame him to set his hand."

* That the good Archbishop was aware of the *prudence* of departing, and even of the necessity of departing, in the case of those who had only their own private feelings to consult, is very evident from a letter to be seen in *Foxe's Acts* and in *Strype's Cranmer*, vol. ii. 916, addressed by him to Mrs. Wilkinson, *persuading her to fly*.

We have before observed, that, without seeking to palliate the offence, the non-remonstrants must have been the most inexcusable, and that there might be something in the earnest dying injunctions of the first truly Protestant Sovereign of the kingdom, anxious to save the nation from a relapse to Popery, under the rule of a successor of whose pertinacity at least, not to say bigotry, he had himself had ample proof, to make the *Reformed* members of his Council waver; especially when it is considered that a promise was held out to them, that whatever they did should be ratified by Parliament, as Lloyd relates, and I think truly, in his account of Sir Edward Montague.*

But all that might thus have had weight with the Protestant members of the Council to support Northumberland's project, must, in the same degree, it would seem, have influenced the Catholic members against it. *Their* concurrence, therefore, must have been altogether forced and unnatural, and, consequently (for surely no other interpretation can be put upon it), most insidious and deceitful; and yet the latter were not only speedily forgiven, but taken into the Queen's council and administration; while Cranmer was almost as speedily brought to judgment and attainted of high *treason:* and though that was pardoned, as we have shewn, at the suit of those who were partners in the transgression, yet so little mercy was intended towards him by this interposition, that he was left to answer upon the charge of *heresy;* for which, as he often expressed himself, he was much more prepared to suffer

* It is reasonable to think, the Judges must have looked to this as indispensable to the legality of whatever they should do, since not only Henry VIII.'s settlement had been sanctioned by Parliament, but in the early part of Edward's own reign an act had been passed, which declared it to be high treason in any one to attempt to change the order of succession. Northumberland had great difficulty to procure Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, the Chancellor, to put the Great Seal to it, nor would he do it till all the Judges and Privy Counsellors had signed the Instrument. Then it was that Hales stood out, and Gosnald, at first, till intimidated by Northumberland's violence.—*See Nicolas's Memoir of Lady Jane Grey.*

than for the former. But, as in the case of Edward, he professed to have a great desire to be admitted to a private audience of the Queen, "hoping," as Strype says, "that when she should hear plainly and truly the reasons that moved her father and brother to do what they did (a thing studiously concealed from her), she might be better inclined;" but in this also he was, as might be expected, disappointed and hindered.

CHAP. XLV.

The marriage of the Queen a principal object of attention with the public—The chief competitors for her hand, Philip of Spain, Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, and the Cardinal Pole—Others spoken of, as the King of Denmark, the Infant of Portugal, the Prince of Piedmont, and the son of the King of the Romans—Different pretensions of the leading competitors—Great objections raised to Philip of Spain—His views upon England strongly suspected, as well as those of his father the Emperor Charles V.

The marriage of the Queen began very soon to occupy the attention of the nation. She was at this time in her thirty-seventh year, and is said to have been hitherto averse from matrimony; but now she seemed herself to think, that her sex's weakness might expose her to the slights and contempt of the people, if she remained unmarried in times of so much uncertainty and danger. She was, indeed, solicited to marry, and several persons were selected and proposed to her as proper aspirants to her hand. Of foreigners, Philip of Spain, the son of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, the King of Denmark, the Infant of Portugal, the Prince of Piedmont, and the son of the King of the Romans. Of natives, Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, son of the Marquess of Exeter, one of the released prisoners at the Tower, connected with the throne as the great grandson of Edward IV.; and Reginald Pole, Cardinal of Rome. Courteney had many accomplishments and captivating qualities, but was suspected of inclining too much to the Reformation; he was much younger than Mary, and much more disposed, as it has been said, to be a suitor to the Princess Elizabeth; his moral

character was, besides, accounted far from correct. Of Philip of Spain, we shall of course have much to say hereafter; and shall therefore for the present, after dismissing his foreign competitors, proceed to consider the pretensions of her ecclesiastical suitor, the Cardinal Pole. He also was connected with the Crown through his mother, Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. He was supposed to have been the object of an early attachment on the part of Mary; who, if not actually educated with him, as Lloyd has ventured to state, though the disparity of their ages seems to contradict it, might possibly have been much in his company, in her younger days, at the house of his mother the Countess of Salisbury.* He had been a favourite with Henry, to whom indeed he is said to have been indebted for his education, both at home and abroad, but having ventured to expostulate too freely with his royal kinsman, on the subject of his divorce from Katherine of Arragon, he not only incurred his anger, but appears to have excited suspicions, that, though a churchman, he had been careful to proceed no farther than Deacon's orders, that he might be able to marry the Princess Mary, of whose legitimacy he seemed so tender. He had been invited into England, to discuss in person with the King certain passages of a book he had written on the Unity of the Church, in which Henry's conduct, was in no measured terms condemned and censured; but being too wary to trust to such an invitation,†

* She appears to have been placed under the care of the Countess by her mother, Katherine of Arragon, and as it has been alleged, with some view to her marrying one of the Countess's sons. The Earl of Warwick, the Countess's only brother, having been executed, as a preliminary to the Queen's marriage with Henry, Katherine is said to have confessed, that her mind would never be at ease till the Crown should revert to the Earl's family, by the marriage of one of his sister's sons with her daughter, and the Cardinal being the youngest, she had particularly fixed upon him.—*Life of Reginald Pole.*

† Pole had some reason to fear the wrath of Henry, since the memorable interview he is reported to have had with him on the subject of the divorce. Having had reason given to him to believe that the King meant to bestow upon him either the Archbishopric of York or See

after the offence he had given (and, indeed, he had been very offensive in many passages of his expostulation),* instead of returning to England, he went straight to Italy, where, to widen the breach still more by exasperating Henry's jealous and impatient temper, the Pope, with the concurrence of the Emperor, gave him a Cardinal's hat, and sent him back into the very neighbourhood of England, as his Legate to Flanders. Henry himself being at the same time under an interdict or sentence of excommunication, his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and his Kingdom actually made over by the Pope to his nephew the King of Scotland.

This affront was too great for Henry to overlook; he immediately addressed himself to the Governess of the Netherlands, to send him out of the country, before he had began to discharge the functions of his office, and it was soon found to be extremely dangerous for any of Henry's subjects to hold any intercourse or correspondence with him. In a short time, indeed, his passions were so wrought upon, by the supposition he was disposed to indulge, that the Cardinal even aimed at the Crown, to the dispossession of his son, by marriage with the Princess Mary, that upon information communicated to him, even by one of the Cardinal's own brothers, Geoffry Pole, of a traitorous correspondence going forward between the Cardinal and several persons of distinction attached to the Papal interest, the Marquess of Exeter, the Viscount Montacute (the Cardinal's elder brother),

of Winchester as the price of his consent and obedience, he went to the palace prepared to accept the King's offer; but on seeing Henry, felt so repugnant to the giving his consent to the divorce, that he professed himself unable to comply with the King's wishes; which so enraged the latter, as to tempt him several times to put his hand on his dagger.—*See British Plutarch; Wood*, vol. i. and *Thompson's Memoirs of Henry VIII.*

* The book *De Unitate Ecclesiasticâ*, was written in reply to one put forth in England by Dr. Sampson, and which the King had sent to Pole, requiring his opinion upon it. Sampson's book was in support of the Kingly supremacy, and consequently against the Papal authority.

Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Carew, were all apprehended, tried, and found guilty of high treason; and the Cardinal himself excluded by a bill of attainder.

It is very possible, that Henry's suspicions might not be totally destitute of foundation, considering how much he stood exposed to the vengeance of the Pope, and his Catholic adherents; but his method of proceeding against the persons criminated was contrary to all law and justice, and his treatment of the aged Countess of Salisbury, the Cardinal's mother, barbarous and cruel. At seventy years of age, she defied the executioner to put her to the ignominy of laying her head on the block, and treating the sentence against her with indignation and contempt, compelled him to use force, that she might not be supposed voluntarily to put herself into any posture of submission. These things occurred as far back as in the years 1538, 1539, from which time, to the accession of Mary, the Cardinal may be regarded as under an almost irrevocable sentence of exclusion from his native land. He was attainted, a price was set on his head, and no foreign potentate could afford him the common rights of hospitality, without exposing himself to the indignation and wrath of Henry. But no sooner was Mary seated on the throne, than her known adherence to the Romish religion, set many engines in motion on the Continent to recover England again, and reduce her once more to an abject dependance on the See of Rome. The door seemed to be shut against any direct communications, by the influence of Gardiner, who was known to have not only connived at, but actually consented to and encouraged Henry's assumption of Ecclesiastical Supremacy, and was in many ways besides, a suspected character. It seems very clear, indeed, that he particularly set his face against Pole, as a rival whom he dreaded, and whose interference he deprecated on political grounds, as looking to a more rapid return on the part of

the nation to its obedience to Rome, than he judged to be practicable; in which, considering the transfer of Church property, he might be right; though Latimer regarded his objections as no better than "so many *put-offs*, so many *put-byes*, so many respects and considerations of worldly wisdom."

In the mean while, a secret and disguised agent, Francisco (or Gianfrancesco) *Commendone* (afterwards a Cardinal), was sent over by Cardinal Dandinó, the Pope's Legate at Brussels, to sound the Queen unknown to Gardiner himself; and through this agent the Queen found means to confer with the Pope, Julius III., and to solicit the particular appointment of her friend and relation Cardinal Pole, to be the Pope's Legate to England. It is said, that at this time, she also proposed the question, Whether being only in Deacon's orders, the Pope might not grant him a dispensation for marriage? Her letters and communications were so much expected and looked for at Rome, and so well received when they came thither, that in virtue of a Bull *ready prepared*, Pole was immediately made Legate, and despatched to Flanders, to be ready to pass into England.

And at this point it was, that he appears to have been deliberately interrupted by the jealousy of Gardiner; who immediately wrote to the Emperor, to express the danger that might ensue from the Cardinal's too hasty entrance into England; and very possibly, as it has been insinuated, suggesting, as matter of alarm to the Emperor, that he might become a rival to his son Philip, as a suitor to the Queen.* In fact, he himself dreaded having a rival in the Cardinal, particularly one who might inter-

* The Emperor had his own suspicions, which induced him to carry on a sort of clandestine correspondence with his own Ambassador *Renard;* who, to deceive the Court, was ordered to live in much privacy, and repair thither as seldom as he could. The inquiry made at Rome, concerning the Pope's power to dispense with Pole's marriage, must have given Gardiner no small advantage at the Imperial Court.—*Rapin. Lingard.*

rupt his own views on the See of Canterbury, and would no doubt have prevented his return, if he could have done so.

But, however highly Gardiner, by holding the Great Seal, was exalted in the Court of Mary, she sought, and found for the Cardinal, a means and opportunity of giving her his advice. A messenger of the name of *Goldwel*, was selected to convey to her from the Cardinal a very long letter of counsel and instructions. He endeavoured to convince her, that, as so many of the Parliament must have assented in time past to the renunciation of the Papal Supremacy, none but *herself* could be expected effectually to propose a return to that obedience, and that the more speedily she did so the better. He expressed some anger and impatience at being stayed on his journey; made many objections to what had even already been done by the Parliament; and threatened to return to Italy, if not soon allowed to pass the water.

The Parliament had, indeed, revoked all that had passed relative to the dissolution of the marriage of Henry with Katherine, the Queen's mother, thereby confirming again the sanction of the Pope's dispensation, and rendering the Queen's title to the Crown clear and legitimate, invalidating in the same proportion, as we have before hinted, the claims of the Princess Elizabeth; but yet, as the Cardinal thought, it was scarcely to be trusted with the decision of the question of the Pope's Supremacy; and in truth, the clandestine communication that had been going on through Commendone, being discovered, had produced, in that body, no small dissatisfaction. To carry this point, therefore, a new Parliament was judged to be essentially necessary, and measures were speedily taken to assemble such a one as might be sufficiently subservient to the Queen's and the Cardinal's views.

It is now time to consider the pretensions and expectations of the third competitor for the hand of the Queen, Philip of Spain.

He was nine years younger than Mary,* which, in itself, amounted to no trifling objection, while the nation had great reason to dread a union with so potent a foreigner; a prince, besides, already known to be more covetous and ambitious than liberal. The scale, however, preponderated in his favour; as one bred as it were to the business of a Crown, heir to the greatest potentate in Europe, and by his connexion with Flanders likely to advance the trade of the kingdom.

But in all that was passing, relative to this important arrangement, Gardiner appears to have had more to do than was commonly suspected. His enmity to, and jealousy of Pole, led him after some demurs, to support the Spanish match as much as possible, hoping thereby not only to disappoint the Cardinal, but to have credit with the Emperor and Philip for bringing about the marriage, and when he found the Parliament was disposed to be refractory, for they had deputed twenty of their members to address the Queen to abstain from marriage with a foreigner;†

* Philip was born in 1527, and at the age of sixteen had been married to a Princess of Portugal, who died two years afterwards in child-bed of Don Carlos. He had in the year 1548, been called into Flanders by his father, to be made King of the Romans, instead of Ferdinand, and with a view, of course, to the succession of the Empire. But this was so stoutly resisted by Ferdinand and Maximilian, backed by the Germans and Flemings, who were alike disgusted with the haughty manner and bigotry of the Spanish Prince, as to be entirely relinquished by his ambitious but prudent father.

† The coquetry of the Emperor upon this occasion, as reported by Lingard, is quite amusing. *Renard* is Dr. Lingard's great authority. When Mary had given up all thoughts of Courteney, "Charles," says Lingard, "now ordered him [*Renard*] to inform the Queen that he approved of the reasons which had induced her to *reject* her young *kinsman*, and was *sorry* that the *unambitious piety* of Cardinal Pole made him *prefer* the duties of a *Clergyman* to the highest of worldly distinctions. Still, perhaps, she had no cause to regret the loss of either; a *foreign* prince, would bring, as a husband, a firmer support to her throne; and were it that his age would allow him, he should himself aspire to the honour of her hand. He might, however, solicit in favour of others, nor could he offer to her choice one more dear to himself than his son, the Prince of Spain. The advantages of such a union were evident; but let her not be swayed by his authority; she had only to consult her own inclination and judgment, to communicate to him the result without fear or reserve."

he procured it to be dissolved, and another summoned, which was to be bribed by the Emperor to further his purposes. Four hundred thousand pounds were actually sent over, to be expended in this way by Gardiner; and, as Burnet rightly observes, England was to be *bought* and *sold* by a practising Bishop, and a corrupted House of Commons; for when the Emperor, who had borrowed the money from some of the free towns of Germany, was pressed by them for repayment, he plainly told them, it was to promote his son's match with Mary, and therefore he expected to be *reimbursed* by *England*.* The designs of those who promoted the match on the part of England, were pretty well understood to be, the better and surer establishment of the Papacy here; while the Spaniards had deeper views, hoping to get possession of the Crown of England, and so effectually to triumph over France.

Sir Francis Hastings, who lived in the time of Elizabeth, and had been in the way of knowing more of the views of Spain than most others, thus describes, in a book called "The Watch-word," the situation of affairs at this time:

"This marriage," saith he, "was sought and intended also in how, only to strengthen the hand of the Queen of England to bring in the Romish religion again, and to establish it with continuance: with purpose and meaning to add strength to all the corners of Christendom. To continue Popery where it was, and to bring it in where it was not. That so the Arch-prelate of Rome, might hold the sceptres and powers of all princes and potentates of Christendom in his hand, to dispose at his pleasure. But the plots and practices laid and pursued by the Spanish King had made a woful proof to England, of a further mark shot at

* According to Burnet, he had bound his son to repay the sum as soon as he should obtain the Crown of England.

(which was discovered in a letter to some of our nobles from a true-hearted Englishman in Spain), had not God Almighty in his rich mercy prevented their purposes, and defeated them in their determinations."

The plan alluded to in these expressions, was, it seems, under the semblance of a great zeal for the restoration of the Romish religion, to prevail upon the Nobles and Commons to set the Crown upon his head, and so to establish himself in an absolute power over England, to bring which to pass he was to spare no cost nor kindness in bestowing favours.

"And if once he had obtained," says our author, "the Crown and Regal power, then (as in that letter of discovery is laid open) the council-table must be filled with his Counsellors; the haven-towns must be possessed with governors of his appointing; fortifications must be made by his directions; and soldiers of his own must be placed in garrisons, at places most apt for strength to himself and annoyance to this nation. Then must the common law of this land be altered, by which justice is truly taught to all sorts; the prince to govern, the people to obey; the nobles to live of their own, without wronging the inferiors; the inferiors to live under nobles, with all love, reverence, and duty; the rich to dwell among the poor without oppression; the poor to dwell with the rich without disorder; the offenders to be punished without partiality, and the well disposed to be defended without respect of persons. This the *Laws of the Land* doth offer unto us, to our comfort, and from this he purposed to make an exchange to his *Spanish* laws, which being no better than his *Spanish* Inquisition (as indeed they are not), we could not without question, receive great comfort by the exchange.—Their intolerable taxes also, we must have been pestered with, being such (as the author reporteth who knew them well) as *England* was never acquainted with."

The same author did further unfold his treacherous purpose towards this land, by discovering upon his own knowledge and hearing, this King's intentions to be, by little and little, to root out the Nobility; to keep the Commons in beggary; and not to suffer one to live here, that was born in twenty years before, but either to destroy them, or to make them slaves amongst the Moors; the colour whereof was, because they were *born* out of the *faith* of the *Catholic* Church of *Rome*. And lastly, the faster to settle the Crown upon his head (if he had gotten it), he laid his plot to destroy the Queen Elizabeth, having decreed with himself, that neither she, nor any of that *cursed nation* (so he termed it) should govern England any more.——While this plot was laid, and the practice was in hand, to set the Crown upon the *Spaniard's* head, the Spaniards themselves (in the author's hearing), often cursed the time that ever their King should marry Queen Mary, unless they might get the Crown; but, if that might be brought to pass, they should do well enough.

Though this was written long after the union of Philip and Mary, yet it is of some importance to introduce it here, that the policy of Spain, with regard to England, may be set in its proper light, as early as possible; it being one of the chief glories of Lord Burghley's long administration under Elizabeth, to have constantly baffled the designs of this false friend, or most inveterate and perfidious foe. And there is the utmost reason to believe, that in all that befel the Princess, during the reign of her sister, she had more or less the benefit of his advice; being "retained," as it is expressed in his Life by a Domestic, in her "service and intelligence;" of which his enemies would have made a handle to work his ruin, but as the same author adds, "neither their might nor malice prevailed, for his temperance quenched their fury, and his wit made escape out of danger."

CHAP. XLVI.

Fresh intrigues of Foreign Courts—Courteney and the Princess Elizabeth, implicated by means, probably, of the Court of France and its Ministers —Renard the Imperial Minister's politic and cautious proceedings in favour of Philip—The Spanish Match extremely unpopular—Wyat's insurrection —His designs probably directed not against the Queen, but her Ministers, as favouring the Spanish Match—Fatal to the Lady Jane and her husband —The former visited by Feckenham—Their execution, &c.

In the mean while, France had constantly her eye upon what was passing, and to thwart this match with Philip, did all she could to promote a union between Mary and Courteney; and even when the backwardness, or coolness, or timidity of the latter, disappointed their projects, they sought to promote a match between him and the Princess Elizabeth, and excite a rising in their favour. The jealousy of the Imperial and French Courts at this time, had something in it very curious and remarkable. The French had made sure of the Queen of Scotland, to the discomfiture of the Emperor, but the prospect of Philip's match with Mary, seemed to throw the balance entirely on the other side. *Renard*, the Imperial Ambassador in England, had the management of the concern for Philip, and he seems to have proceeded with a *caution*, highly creditable to him as a diplomatist, and with a very just knowledge of human nature; and, indeed, he had enough to do, if we are to believe the accounts given by the French Ambassador *Noailles*, of the state of things at that time, as well as by himself, particularly with respect to Gardiner,

who is represented to have been friendly to the Queen's marrying with Courteney; a circumstance which has led Dr. Lingard, to reject the authority of all other historians, who make Gardiner the Deviser of the Spanish Match. Where there is art, it is difficult to decide, how many may have been deceived. We have shewn that the French, to prevent Philip's marriage, endeavoured to promote the union between the Queen and Courteney, and why may not Gardiner have pretended to do the same, in order to ingratiate himself the more with Charles and Philip, when Courteney should be removed; or, why may he not have pursued exactly the same plan as the Imperial Minister *Renard;* who, to promote the Emperor's views for Philip, and upon his knowledge of the female character (to use Dr. Lingard's own words), "bearing in mind, that the inclination of a woman, was more likely to be inflamed than extinguished by opposition,"—was careful, "to commit no act, to drop no word, from which Mary might infer that he was an *enemy* to her marriage with *Courteney?*"—Why might not Gardiner, we may ask, who corresponded with the Emperor, and prevailed with him to stay Pole, as a probable impediment to the Queen's marriage with his son, have appeared to favour the French project, of marrying her to Courteney, reserving to himself a power of guiding her as he chose, to the Emperor's purposes, not however in *concert* with *Renard*, that the latter might not share with him the credit of the match?—They seem all to have been playing a deep game, but if Gardiner was truly the friend of Courteney, instead of his opponent, as most historians represent him to have been, he must, as well as the French (and the Venetians too, who were equally set against Philip's marriage), have been out-duped by *Renard* and his Imperial Master, which does not appear to have been the case; indeed, it seems impossible, if his opposition had been so strong, and so notorious, as Dr. Lingard represents it to have been, to

suppose, that when at last, he gave an *unwilling* consent, "convinced at length, that to oppose was fruitless," he should have been allowed to take so prominent a part, as the very next words imply;* "he *consented*," says Lingard, "to negotiate the treaty on such terms as he deemed requisite to secure the rights and liberties of the nation." The treaty negotiated under his direction, was indeed exceedingly good, but calculated to maintain his own power, by a positive exclusion of all foreign Counsellors, and so far *obnoxious* to Philip, had not the latter been made to believe that he owed much, if not every thing to Gardiner's interposition in his favour; an interposition which we are willing to grant, he would possibly have avoided if he could, through his jealousy of

* There is an inconsistency in Dr. Lingard's account which seems to have been a good deal overlooked. He represents the Court to have been divided into two factions; Lord Arundel, the Lord Paget, and Rochester, Comptroller of the Household, being Imperialists, that is, favouring the match with Philip, but *opposed* by *Gardiner*, who, it is asserted, had all the people on his side, Catholic and Protestant, who eagerly wished for the arrival of Pole, he being supposed to be *adverse* to the *Spanish match;* and yet who kept Pole away so much as Gardiner? and upon what pretence? Truly, lest he might, if he came, thwart the marriage with Philip. But Dr. Lingard attributes all this to the other party; not, however, in any manner attempting to shew, that Gardiner was eager to bring the Cardinal over, to support him *against* the Imperial party. Burnet, indeed, inclines to think Gardiner wished the Queen to marry Pole, that the latter might be no competitor with him for the See of Canterbury. (ii. part i. 466). Again, Gardiner is supposed to have been friendly to the Queen's marrying Courteney, which the French also wished, in jealousy of Spain, and this led Noailles the French minister, as Dr. Lingard states, to connect himself with Courteney, with the leaders of the Protestants, and the discontented of every description. Now, it is very certain that Courteney was judged to be favourable towards the Protestants, and little likely therefore to be Gardiner's choice. *Noailles* took to himself the credit of stimulating the Commons to address Queen Mary against a foreign match, which, *it is said*, the Queen attributed to the secret influence of Gardiner; though Gardiner is represented by other historians, to have been the very person who advised the Queen to dismiss this refractory Parliament, and call another, which he was to manage, by money supplied by Charles and Philip. Courteney is there represented to have been moved by his *adherents* (*Query*, Is Gardiner included?) to murder Arundel and Paget, and so *frighten* Mary into a match, or if that should fail, to marry Elizabeth, but his heart failed him; or, according to the report of *Noailles*, "like all *Englishmen*," he would not understand his own danger, or act with the *energy* of *despair*.

foreigners, but which he pursued with great activity, as soon as he began to see, that he had no other hope of standing well with the Queen, the Emperor, or Philip. That he was the Deviser of the Spanish Match, may be too strong an expression, but that he was a chief agent in bringing it at last to bear, there can be little doubt, and that he managed the Parliament by aid of the Emperor's money, thereby securing to himself, by a timely precaution, the favour both of Mary and Philip, leaving the French quite in the lurch, as to Courteney.* But indeed the case is most intricate, and rendered more so, by the Foreign Ministerial Correspondence, to which Dr. Lingard so constantly refers, and in which, by his own account, there seems to have been continual endeavours to deceive. A remarkable instance of which occurs in his 53rd note. But to return—

That the Spanish match was extremely obnoxious to many persons, Catholic as well as Protestant, cannot be doubted. The Protestant preachers declaimed loudly and largely against it, particularly Goodman and Knox, of whose rude invectives, for they must be called so, a specimen will be found in Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 197, 198. Oxford edition.

But, an alarm of a different nature was excited. The known tyranny of Spain, and of Philip in particular, excited as lively apprehensions in the breasts of the Laity, as any questions of religion, could do in the minds of the Clergy. Sir Thomas Wyat,† a Knight of Kent, a Catholic, as some say, but who had in embassies to Spain become but too well acquainted with the extreme bigotry

* On the conclusion of the treaty, says Lingard, "the Chancellor explained the articles to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and displayed in an eloquent speech, the many and valuable benefits that he anticipated from a union between their Sovereign and the Prince, the apparent heir to so many rich and powerful territories." Yet this was the great and principal *opponent* of the match.—*Lingard*, 203. compare 194.

† Son of the poet of that name. Sometimes spelled *Wiat*, of which his contemporaries made an anagram, calling him, as we are told, "*A Wit.*"

and cruel practices of that Court, determined, if possible, to save his country from a connexion, which seemed to him, so much to threaten its peace and its liberties. He was connected by blood with the Dudleys, and yet had particularly refused to co-operate with Northumberland, in his attempts to set the Crown on the head of the Lady Jane; he had even been forward to proclaim the Queen in the town of Maidstone, before he knew that it had been done elsewhere, and did not, says Burnet (in proof of his disinterestedness), run to her for thanks as others did; he received them however, from the Queen herself, through the Earl of Arundel. So far his motives may be concluded to have been most pure and loyal, but he miscalculated his strength, lost his opportunities, and totally failed to convince the Queen in time, of his patriotic intentions. In an account delivered to Lord Burghley afterwards by the son of Sir Thomas, it is affirmed that the Queen was ultimately so satisfied of his good intentions, as to have intended to pardon him, had not the Prince of Spain, or perhaps rather the Emperor, as Burnet thinks, sent a message to her, which procured his execution. His very first movements, however, bore the character of a treasonable conspiracy, and they could not very well be otherwise interpreted. It was a rash measure altogether, especially in the confederates who stood forth to support him; Sir Peter Carew, in Cornwall and Devonshire, who soon deserted, after having by his bad judgment and precipitation betrayed, the cause; and the Duke of Suffolk, who, of all people in the nation, should have remained quiet, but who undertook to raise the midland counties, and in so doing, speedily fell a victim to his great want of judgment, involving some of his unfortunate family in the same ruin. The struggle was of no long continuance, though the metropolis was thrown into great confusion by becoming the object of Wyat's attack, in order to gain possession of the Tower, and procure the Queen to change her Council. Some troops sent

against him revolted to his side,* which gave, of course, a great alarm to the Court; whereby indeed, it must be acknowledged, the Queen herself displayed, notwithstanding the sneers of *Noailles*, greater fortitude and composure, than many around her.† The issue, however, was fatal to Sir Thomas; he was taken prisoner on the 7th of Februâry, and afterwards, though not for some time, tried and executed. *Te Deum*, was, by command, sung at St. Paul's, and the bells rung in every church in the metropolis, on his apprehension, to denote the victory the Queen had gained, though Wyat's troops, on entering London, were bidden to cry, "God save Queen Mary;" nor did Wyat himself, direct his march to the palace, but to the city, where he hoped to get the Londoners to join in a petition to the Queen, against the Spanish match.

But the defeat of this rash adventurer, for so we must call him, though indeed what Burnet says of him, may be very true, "that nothing set him on to raise the country as he did, but his love and zeal for the public," was far from being the winding up of the tragedy. Nothing could have occurred more fatal to the prisoners under condemnation in the Tower, the Lady Jane, and her husband, Lord Guilford Dudley. It was almost impossible to impute the Duke of Suffolk, her father's imprudent measures, to any

* The speech of Bret to his soldiers, who headed this revolt, and afterwards suffered for it, is calculated to shew the notions entertained at first of Wyat's designs. I find it thus reported in The true Secret History of English Kings, &c. "Valiant Countrymen, we now engage ourselves in a cause, which before we proceed further, would requìre mature deliberation. We march, but against whom? are they not our friends, our fellow natives?—Have they not taken arms for the preservation of the ancient glory of the English name, and to vindicate our common liberties against the insolencies of the cruel Spaniards? You whose degenerous spirits can brook the indignities of servitude, continue, in God's name, with your brave Generals, who without doubt well deserve the service of such worthies. For me (who had rather undergo many of the most torturing deaths, than betray my liberty to a Spaniard), I here (happy and prosperous may it prove), inroll myself under Wyat's colours, and am confident that some of you, out of affection to your country, will follow my example."

† See Underhil's account in Strype's Memorials, iii. 137.

thing, but a reviving hope of still setting her on the throne; though as far as his knowledge of the attempt went, he is said to have declared, that it was in favour of Elizabeth; but this, if true, might of course have been to save his daughter? We shall have more to say of the Princess's concern in it presently.

Almost immediately after the apprehension of Wyat, a message was sent to the unfortunate prisoners to prepare for death. Sentence had been passed on them three months before, but what hopes of mercy were held out to them in the interval, we know not; certain it is that on the very morrow of the seizure of Wyat, a warrant was signed for the execution of "Guilford Dudley and his wife," at the expiration of three days. The Queen, we are told, repented of her former lenity, in pardoning so many at the time Northumberland was executed, and it may be added, in resisting the sanguinary advice of the Imperialists, not to suffer the usurper of her throne, however guiltless, or however deserted, to live to become the head of any new faction. This we are told,* had undoubtedly been the advice of Charles and his ministers; and now the necessity of such a step, was pressed upon the Queen from other quarters. On the 11th of February, the very day before their execution, Gardiner, in a sermon before the Court, had publicly admonished the Queen to shew *no mercy*. Perhaps, if the Queen had contemplated the release of her unhappy relative before this unfortunate affair, it was only upon terms to which the latter would never have assented, namely, the renunciation of the Protestant Faith. It is exceedingly well known, that she was exposed to this trial and temptation; not only "divers learned Romish Catholics," as one author states, "were sent unto her, to dissuade her from that true profession of the Gospel, which, from her cradle, she had ever held;"† but as subtle a disputant, and as zealous a Catholic, as was to be found perhaps in the whole nation, Fecken-

* Lingard. See also before, p. 580. note †. † See a tract cited by Mr. Nicolas, p. lxxxii.

ham, Dean of St. Paul's, was specially appointed to prepare her for her end, and his anxiety was great, as we also know, to convert her to the Romish Faith. Thinking that time might be wanting to accomplish this end, Lady Jane having innocently objected that she had none to waste upon controversies, he went to the Queen, and solicited a reprieve of three days, and returning to the Lady Jane, earnestly exhorted her, as we are told, to hearken to his arguments and to learn a better faith; but she was not to be moved. "Alas, Sir!" said she, "I did not intend that what I have said should be reported to the Queen, nor would I have you think, I am covetous of a moment's longer life, which ever since your departure has been so burdensome to me, that I am only solicitous for a better life in eternity, and will gladly suffer death, since it is her Majesty's pleasure." The Dean would not relinquish his task of procuring her to become a member of the Romish Church, but her answers to him, which are still preserved, shew her extraordinary qualities, her acute understanding, her great learning, her constancy of mind, and an invincible fortitude, far beyond her age and sex. His endeavours (the sincerity and good intention of which however we are far from disputing) must have tended rather to disturb than comfort her in her last moments; but we have his own acknowledgment, that he was utterly astonished at her calm behaviour, her great knowledge, and the extraordinary sense she had of her religion. There are many different accounts extant, of the trials she was subjected to upon this score, but as some very extraordinary notes remain either of her actual "Conference" with Feckenham, or of a "brief sum of her faith," which he requested to have delivered to him; we shall be contented to refer our readers to this curious document, as an undoubted specimen of the arguments by which she defended her religion, and repelled the Popish doctrines.*

* It is marked as a Conference Dialogue-wise held between the Lady Jane Dudley and M. Feckenham four days before her death, touching her Faith and Religion, and it bears her signature.

It was only two days before her execution (viz. February 10), that her father, the Duke of Suffolk, with his brother, Lord John Grey, were also lodged in the Tower; a few weeks previous to which she had written a moving letter to her father to moderate his grief* upon her condemnation, little thinking that he would, by another rash act, accelerate rather than retard her unhappy fate, but which was undoubtedly the case; his joining Wyat's conspiracy, or indiscreet enterprise, having the effect, as it is said, in a remark accompanying the papers in the Harleian MSS. of "diverting the Queen's clemency towards his daughter, whose life (yt was generally conceived) she would have pardoned, but her father's miscouncelled rashnes hastened her death."†

The account of her end and execution is so well given by Godwin, Bishop of Hereford, that we cannot, we think, do better than transcribe it, though we may have to notice a few other well authenticated circumstances.

"Her husband, the Lord Guilford (Dudley) being first to suffer, had obtained leave to see her, and take his last farewel; but she would by no means consent to it, beseeching him to omit this, as a fomenting of grief, rather than a consolation in death, for they should shortly have an interview in a better place, and be joined

The conclusion is remarkable: "To this M. Feckenham gave me a long, tedious, yet eloquent reply; using many strong and logical persuasions, to compel me to have leaned to their Church: but my faith had armed my resolution to withstand any assaults that words could then use against me; of many other articles of religion we reasoned, but those formerly rehearsed were the chiefest and most effectual. JANE DUDLEY."

Her exhortation to her sister, the Lady Katherine, written on some blank leaves at the end of her Greek Testament, the night before her Execution, is certainly also a very remarkable paper.—*See Nicolas*, p. 41. and *Christian Remembrancer*, 1823.

* See this letter in Nicolas, from a copy in the Harleian Collection, p. 47.

† It must, however, be granted, that if it be true that Mary had been blamed by the Emperor for sparing her life, when Northumberland suffered (See *Lingard*), the Duke might think her release, could only be effected by some very desperate effort. Had Wyat got possession of the Tower, which seemed at first to be his chief object, her rescue might have been accomplished.

in a stricter union. Yet she had such presence of mind, as to look on him through the window, when he passed to the scaffold, and saw his headless body afterwards brought back in a cart, to be interred in the Chapel of the Tower. There was no doubt but the death of this innocent unhappy lady would excite pity and regret. 'Twas determined, therefore, not to bring her to the usual place of execution, but a scaffold was erected within the Tower, where about an hour or two after her Lord, on the 12th of February, she was beheaded. When she was brought out to suffer, the Lieutenant of the Tower desired her to favour him with some memorial of her, upon which she asked for a table-book, and wrote three short sentences, in English, Greek, and Latin (of both which languages she was a wonderful mistress), by which she asserted her innocence; and though she owned she had committed a capital error, yet she thought, that among men, her ignorance might, without injury to the laws, have been allowed in excuse of it.

"At last, having saluted the crowd as she went, with an unconcerned countenance, and desired their prayers, she came to the scaffold, holding Dr. Feckenham by the hand, whom she kindly embraced, saying, 'God will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your humanity to me, though it gave me more uneasiness than all the terrors of my approaching death.' Then turning to the spectators, she modestly related her misfortune after this manner:—

"'I am condemned, not for grasping a sceptre, but for not refusing it when offered;* and my death will be a memorable

* In the xiiith volume of the Archæologia, a false conclusion seems to be drawn, from a remarkable circumstance relative to this unhappy sufferer. It is probably well known, that on some alterations made in the Tower, not very long ago, in the part called *Beauchamp's* Tower, anciently the place of confinement for state prisoners, a number of names and devices were found on the walls, made probably with nails, and many repetitions in particular, as the paper sets forth, of the *royal* title of the amiable and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Whence it is *concluded*, that it was designed to intimate, that not even the horrors of a prison could force her

instrument to posterity, that innocence is no excuse for great facts which tend to the public detriment; for it is criminal enough to be made, though never so unwillingly, the unhappy instrument of another's ambition.'

"Having said this, and repeated the Fifty-first Psalm, she commended herself to the Divine mercy; then, with the assistance of the ladies her attendants, she took off her gown, and the ornaments of her head and neck, and having covered her head with a handkerchief, laid her head on the block, and hastened the executioner when he delayed to do his office, which was at last performed, and drew tears from the eyes of the spectators, even of those who from the first had espoused Queen Mary's party."*

to relinquish that title; but this seems very much to contradict the known sentiments of this short-lived Sovereign. It might surely be a mere memorial of her unhappy fate, as the instrument of others, in assuming such a title. This is more consonant to her expressions in her letter to her Father, before-mentioned: "And yet though I must needs acknowledge that being *constrained*, and, as you know well enough, *continually assayed*, yet, in taking upon me, I *seemed* to consent, and therein grievously offended the Queen and her laws, yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that being in so *royal estate* as I was, my *enforced honour* never mingled with mine *innocent* heart." After all, we know not why the learned author of the paper has supposed it to be, with so much certainty, her *royal* title that appeared on the walls; for it was simply her name *Jana*, not *Jana Regina*, which is well known to have been the signature whereby she set forth her *royal* title. The omission of *Regina* would rather bespeak a different state of mind from that attributed to her.

* Among those who distinguished themselves at the time by paying a public tribute to the memory of this most unfortunate young woman, Sir Thomas Chaloner, a particular friend of Lord Burghley, was one; he wrote a long Elegy in Latin, which he called, *Deploratio acerbæ necis, heroidis præstantissimæ D. Janæ Grayæ, Henrici Ducis Suffolciæ filiæ, quæ securi percussa animo constantissimo mortem oppetiit a D. Thoma Chaloner milite scripta.* It is to be seen in *Strype's Memorials*, vol. iii. Catalogue, No. ix. See also *Biographia Britannica*, Art. *Chaloner*, Note A.

CHAP. XLVII.

Execution of the Duke of Suffolk—Inquiries into the Charges brought at that time, and since repeated, against the Princess Elizabeth and Courteney, for their concern in Wyat's rebellion, or opposition to the Spanish match—Noailles' despatches to his Court, rather shew the extreme backwardness of Courteney to engage in the Plot.

SUCH was the end of the Lady Jane Dudley; a person most illustrious by birth, and the titles of her ancestors, but still more so by her own personal and eminent virtues, and endowments of mind. "Who," says Thuanus, "swayed by the ambition of her father-in-law, and of her imperious mother, assumed the fatal title of Queen; and being suddenly hurried from a throne to a scaffold, suffered for guilt not her own, surmounting all these inflictions of adverse fortunes, by her innocence and amazing constancy."

In less than twelve days after the execution of this unhappy pair, the Duke of Suffolk himself paid the forfeit of all his weaknesses, being beheaded on the 23rd of the same month;* a nobleman more perhaps to be pitied than blamed, amiable in his general conduct, no dissembler, patient of injuries, and a patron of learned men, of whom Bishop *Aylmer* and *Bullinger*, were among the particular objects of his care and attention; both of them,

* Dr. Lingard speaks of him as "a Precisian, in point of religion, a disciple of the most stern and uncompromising among the Reformed teachers, and one who deemed it a duty to risk his life and the fortune of his family, in the support of the new doctrines." Perhaps this may seem to some to be a panegyric, rather than a reproach. He was certainly the patron of very eminent Reformers, and it does not sound well, in a Catholic, to reprove a Reformist for *uncompromising* principles. Who so uncompromising in principles as themselves? Hollinshed has drawn a very amiable picture of this unfortunate nobleman; not concealing his faults, but doing justice to his virtues.

having contributed largely to the learning and education of his very extraordinary daughter.

Wyat's rebellion involved also two other persons, in the trouble and distress of his imprudent attempt. These were, the Princess Elizabeth, and Courteney Earl of Devonshire, already so often mentioned. It is very difficult to say, how much they may have known of Wyat's plans and proceedings, but they stand charged, undoubtedly, with being accessary to them, beyond what they could ever be brought to acknowledge themselves, and quite beyond what admits of any direct or positive proof. Wyat suffered the punishment due to a traitor and conspirator, but not immediately, several of his accomplices going long before him to the scaffold, to the number altogether of fifty-eight; but the Queen has the credit of pardoning as many as four hundred,* who were brought to the palace with halters about their necks, in token of their lives being forfeited to the law. The week succeeding Wyat's apprehension, however, was indeed a *black* week, beginning with the execution of Lady *Jane* and Lord *Guilford Dudley*, Monday, February 12, on which very day, "for a terrifying sight," says *Strype*, "many new pairs of gallows were set up in London, as at every gate one, two pair in Cheapside, one in Fleet Street, one at St. Magnus, one at Billingsgate, one at Pepper Alley Gate, one at St. George's, one in Barnesby Street, one on Tower Hill, one at Charing Cross, and one at Hyde Park Corner; and

* The numbers are very differently represented by different authors: *some* hundreds, is a cautious expression I find used by the author of the Court of Queen Elizabeth.

In a letter written from London on the very day of the execution of Lady Jane Grey to the Earl of Shrewsbury is the following passage:—"This day my Ladye Jane was beheded w^th^in the Towre, and the Lorde Gylforde, her husbande, on the Towre Hill; and gret execucion shalbe don this wyke, as well in London, as in all other places wher the rebells dwelte. This day my Lord of Deyneshire was sent to the Towre, wth a gret compenye of the gardes, my L. Elizabethe was sent for III dayes ago, but as yet she is not comen, whatsoev'r the let is." Feb. 12, 1553-4.—*Lodge's Illustrations.*

there they stood for a terror to the citizens, till Wednesday, February 14, when men were hanged on every gibbet, and some quartered too." All these are particularized by that diligent writer, but we need not extend our extract, having said enough to shew, that this was but a probable consequence of Gardiner's sermon before the Court on the Sunday preceding.*

But the Earl of Devonshire and the Princess Elizabeth, though fortunately not among the victims who suffered death, were brought under suspicion to such an extent, as to debar them of their liberty, if their lives were not also in great jeopardy. On the very day that Lord Guilford and Lady Jane suffered, Devonshire was sent to the Tower, and the Lady Elizabeth only excused on account of sickness.

Wyat, on his trial, had in a very remarkable manner, so accused the Earl, as clearly to implicate the Princess also; for he is said to have declared, that the Earl was not only privy to the conspiracy, but that he had promoted and furthered it, out of anger against the Queen for refusing him as a husband, and with a purpose of mounting the throne, by marrying her sister the Princess Elizabeth.† Such a declaration whether voluntary or

* "These gallows," Hollinshed tells us, "remained standing there a great part of the summer following, to the great grief of good citizens; they were not removed, indeed, till it became necessary to clear the streets for the celebration of the Queen's marriage with Philip."

† In the account given by the son of Wyat to *Lord Burghley*, already referred to, it is asserted that his father "never accused the Lady Elizabeth, but that being *entangled by questions* in one examination he had said somewhat reflecting on the *Earl* of *Devonshire*,—for this he begged his pardon." It seems, indeed, to have been the system of Mary's Court, to find some charge against the Princess Elizabeth, if possible, by this very *entanglement* of *questions*, alluded to by Wyat. This it was no doubt, which led Throckmorton, in the course of his most interesting trial, to observe, that from the many questions put to him, he perceived it was but a trap to catch others greater than himself. "Whatever plots," says the *Signor Michele* (in his memorable report to the Senate of Venice, 1557), "are discovered, my Lady Elizabeth, or some of her people are sure to be mentioned among the persons concerned in them."—*Ellis's Original Letters*, Second Series, vol. ii. Sir James Croft was one of those who, being examined upon the Lady Elizabeth's concern in Wyat's conspiracy, complained that he had been "marvellously

extorted, whether originating with *Wyat* himself, or suggested to him as a means of saving his own life by insidious promises of pardon, could not fail to bring these exalted personages into imminent danger; but we must confess, that if they really were implicated, it appears to us, that the true and real conspirators, were those who have borne the chief evidence against them. We mean the *French* party, and very probably *Gardiner*, though with different views; the former, with a hope of interrupting by any means the match with Spain, the latter with very evil designs against Elizabeth. We shall endeavour to explain this, though quite prepared to acknowledge the little reliance that should be placed on some of the evidence, or at least the great caution that should be observed in admitting it.*

It is very credibly related, that when *Wyat* was proceeding to execution, he demanded to see *Courteney* (the Earl of *Devonshire*), and on being presented to him, fell on his knees, earnestly imploring his pardon, for having endeavoured to save his life by calumniating the Earl. He is said also to have equally cleared the Princess of all concern in the treason that had been committed, but though this was afterwards attested by the Sheriffs

tossed and examined touching her Grace."—*Aikin.* As this is one of the witnesses adduced against her, it may be observed that in the Tower, when examined by the Privy Council with Gardiner at the head, he threw himself at the feet of the Princess, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her Grace, and protesting his innocence of the crime laid to his charge.—*Foxe in Hollinshed.*

* As Lord Burghley has the credit of holding a very confidential intercourse with the Princess Elizabeth during Mary's reign, it is necessary to clear up such points as the present as well as we can, especially since some very extraordinary questions relative to the subject have been asked while this work was in hand. Thus, Mr. Butler in his Book of the Roman Catholic Church, in reply to Mr. Southey's Book of the Church, boldly asks the latter gentleman, "But can you read the evidence produced by Doctor Lingard, of the concurrence of Elizabeth in Wyat's treason and the Earl of Devonshire's conspiracy, without believing her guilt? Can you say that the evidence for it is not stronger than that upon which she (Elizabeth) caused the unfortunate Mary of Scotland to be executed?" These are the questions put to Mr. Southey, we shall proceed to consider Dr. Lingard's boasted evidence for ourselves.

who attended him, and by many others who heard it, Gardiner evinced a strong and very suspicious desire, to blunt the force of this testimony, by positively asserting in the Star Chamber, that Wyat, a short time before his death, had strongly urged the Earl to plead guilty, and throw himself on the mercy of the Queen. We do not mean to deny that the Earl was so far implicated that if he could have been worked up to the purposes of the French party, he knew what they wanted, and the use they would have made of him, but, we fully believe, that instead of giving life to the conspiracy, he hung back, and was actually indisposed to encourage the hopes they wished to excite in him, and we think it very probable that Elizabeth might really know nothing of these practices. For without encouragement from Courteney there was no need to inform her of their plans.* Letters might indeed be written *to* her, and *from* her, so artfully as to excite the strongest suspicions against her, but it seems scarcely possible, that if all the evidence against her is to be believed, she should ever have, with such strong imprecations, as she is known to have used, asserted her innocence and denounced the falsehood of the charge.

We believe that Throckmorton's remark, in a note above, was a most just, and, in fact, the truest explanation of matters; and that the "net," as he alleged, "*juxta adagium*, was not cast only for little fishes, but for great ones." This very person, on his trial, was said, being questioned about the Earl of Devon, to have

* In Hollinshed, iv. 29, Wyat is made to declare, that he was persuaded that by the marriage of Mary with the Prince of Spain, the second person in the realm, and next heir of the Crown, should have been in danger. If he said this, he said only what was most true, and in which he was supported by some of King Henry's own precautions, who had specially subjected the marriages of both his daughters to the opinion and approval of the Council.—*Strype's Memorials*, iii. 132. But of the spirit prevailing at this time against Elizabeth we have a strong proof in the speech of Dr. Story in the House of Commons, in 1559, who did not scruple to declare, that in the executions under Mary, it grieved him to see them labouring about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root; meaning thereby Elizabeth herself, as was well enough understood.—*Strype's Annals.*

answered, that he (the Earl) would mar all; for, in fact, he was very loath and backward to move in the business. And this, it should be noted, is the testimony of an enemy; for *Vaughan*, who thus professed to have questioned him about Courteney, was interested in proving Throckmorton guilty, at least his evidence leant that way. Let us now add to this the evidence of the French ambassador, *Noailles*, the greatest intriguer possibly of them all, and yet *he* complained of Courteney's backwardness and timidity as likely to "mar all;" the very expression used by Vaughan. Throckmorton protested against Vaughan's evidence, which makes the case stronger; for Vaughan had an advantage in proving Throckmorton and the Earl of Devon guilty; and yet he reports that Throckmorton pronounced the Earl innocent, or so averse from the measure, or indifferent towards it, as certainly to be any thing rather than instigator or favourer of it. We have been careful not to take the account immediately from Foxe, as reported in Hollinshed, because there the case of Gardiner's interposition and dark designs are so plainly avouched as to leave no room for doubt; we have rather preferred the accounts of those who saw things in another light, believing, that is, Gardiner to be innocent, Courteney and Elizabeth guilty, and Wyat insincere, or that the reports of his conduct were so contradictory, as to leave things still in doubt. Such is Dr. Lingard's view of the case; but the conclusions he draws seem to be very questionable. We shall transcribe his note as one of the most recent summaries of the particulars of the case, and offer some remarks upon it.

"When prisoners," he says, "to save their own lives accuse others, their depositions are not, separately, more worthy of credit than the contrary assertions of the accused: on both sides there is the same motive for falsehood; but in the present case, the charge against Elizabeth and Courteney is confirmed by several despatches of *Noailles*, written in the months of December and January,

immediately preceding the rebellion."—But these despatches, as far as we can perceive, blame the Earl for his backwardness, if not aversion from the measure, rather than charge him or Elizabeth with being the prime movers or even the encouragers of it. "To his evidence in his statements to his own Sovereign," it is added, "little objection can be made. It has, indeed, been said, that Wyat at his death declared both the prisoners innocent; but a little reflection will shew that nothing can be deduced from the words and conduct of Wyat. First, he visited Courteney, and remained with him half an hour in his cell. If we believe the Sheriff, he asked Courteney pardon for having accused him. If we believe Lord Chandois, who was also present, he exhorted him to confess his offence. It is plain that from such contradictory statements nothing certain can be elicited. Secondly, it was rumoured, that on the scaffold he pronounced both the prisoners innocent. This was reported by Noailles to his Court; but two persons, who had propagated the same story in the city, were put in the pillory for spreading *false* intelligence."—This is true; but we are not told how this intelligence was proved to be false. Gardiner caused them to be apprehended; but there was better evidence of their intelligence being correct than Gardiner's evidence against it; for the Sheriffs who attended Wyat attested the same. Wyat's words are then cited; but *Weston* is said to have interfered, to shew that what he had said before the Council was true. What! truer than a dying man's acknowledgment of his own falsehood?* and what sort of a witness was Weston? —a man so hateful, so corrupt in principles and conduct, so bigoted, so unjust and insolent, as he afterwards proved himself to be in his treatment of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer;—a man whom the Duke of Suffolk, when carried to execution,

* "And as for Wiats dooing they touch me nothing, for at his death, when it was no time to report untrulie, he purged me."—*Throckmorton's Defence in Hollinshed.*

absolutely pushed from the steps of the scaffold, and would, on no account, allow him to ascend with him. This man's evidence, we must say, we should at once reject, even had nothing occurred to contradict it; we should be tempted, indeed, to go further, and to look upon his endeavours to invalidate the dying confession of Wyat as a decisive proof of the veracity of the latter.* Upon a full view of the case, therefore, it is still our belief that Wyat had originally nothing in view but to bring the Queen to a sense of the danger of the Spanish match: that Noailles sought to mix up the interests of Courteney and the Princess Elizabeth with Wyat's conspiracy, to hinder the match with Philip, with no encouragement from the parties immediately implicated, though it furnished Gardiner with a pretext, if he could have done it, of getting rid of the Princess. When he failed of this, for want of sufficient evidence against her, he might, perhaps,

* The following from Throckmorton's Trial is very curious:—"*Southwell.* Wiat hath greevously accused you, and in many things that others have confirmed.—*Throckmorton.* Whatsoever Wiat has said of me in hope of his life, he unsaid it at his death. For since I came into this hall, I heard one saie (but I know him not) that Wiat upon the scaffold did not only purge my Ladie Elizabeth hir Grace, and the Erle of Devonshire, but also all the Gentlemen in the Tower, saieing they were all ignorant of the sturre and commotion; in which number I take myselfe.—*Hase.* Notwithstanding he said all that he had written and confessed to the Council was true.—*Throckmorton.* Naie, Sir, by your patience, Maister Wiat said not so, that was Maister Doctor's addition."—*Hollinshed.*——The account of the Duke of Suffolk's execution, and Weston's interference, in *Foxe's Acts and Monuments*, is so curious, that we shall venture to transcribe it: "On Friday, the 23d of February, 1554, about 9 o'clock in the forenoone, the Lord Harrie Gray Duke of Suffolke, was broughte forth of the Tower of London unto the scaffolde, on the Tower Hill, with a great companie, &c., and in his comming thither there accompanied him Doctor Weston as his ghostly father, notwythstandinge, as it would seeme, against the will of the sayde Duke, for when the Duke went up the scaffolde, the sayde Weston, being on his left hand, pressed to go up wyth him. The Duke wyth his hand put hym down agayne upon the staires; and Weston, takyng hold of the Duke, forced hym down likewise; and as they ascended the seconde time, the Duke againe put him downe." The Duke's speech follows, in which he told the people, the Queen had forgiven him; "Then M. Weston," says Foxe, "declared with a loude voyce, that the Queen's Majestie had forgiven him. With that divers of the standers-by said, meetely good and audible voice, 'Such forgiveness God send thee,' meaning Doctor Weston."

make a merit of interfering in her favour: then, if at all, and not before, he might, possibly, have acknowledged, according to Lingard, that though they had both been privy to the design of the rebels, they had not implicated themselves by any *overt act*, and that there was no sufficient evidence to bring them within the letter of the law. But how so, if what is stated by the same author be to be believed? "The *Council*," it is said, "were in possession of two notes sent by *Wyat* to *Elizabeth*; the first advising her to remove to Dunnington, the second informing her of his victorious entry into Southwark; the three despatches of the French ambassador had been deciphered, and had disclosed the plans of the conspirators in her favour; and a most important letter, or copy of a letter, supposed to have been written by her to the King of France, had, by *some unknown means*, found its way into the hands of the *Queen*. The Duke of Suffolk declared, that the object of the insurrection was the dethronement of Mary and the succession of Elizabeth. William Thomas added, that it was resolved to put the Queen immediately to death. Wyat acknowledged that he had written more than once to the Princess; and on his confrontation with Courteney, charged that nobleman with having first suggested the insurrection, and with being as real a traitor as himself. Croft confessed that he had solicited Elizabeth to retire to Dunnington;* Lord Russel, that he had privately conveyed to her letters

* Wyat seems decidedly to have apprehended that the Spanish match might bring Elizabeth into trouble, and so far may have wished to put her upon her guard; indeed this was his own account of things when condemned.—*See Strype, Hollinshed*, &c. If he or Croft advised her to remove to Dunnington, it is very evident she did not follow that advice; but as though she were anxious to keep clear of all parties, she remained where she was. That in a time of such disturbance she should increase her guards or attendants is not to be wondered, and without harbouring any rebellious or treasonable views. Dr. Lingard seems bent upon giving a different turn to all she did; but what does his great authority *Noailles* say of her danger at this time, and of the quarter from which it was most to be apprehended. Speaking of her illness at Ashridge, whereby she excused herself for some time from obeying the Queen's summons to Court, he calls it "a favourable illness, since it seems likely to save *Mary* from the *crime of putting*

from Wyat; and another prisoner that had been privy to a correspondence between Courteney and Carew after the rising in Devonshire. Though both declared their innocence, Gardiner maintained in the Council that the evidence would justify their imprisonment in the Tower."

The same history then proceeds to state, that when the Emperor from Brussels, and the Imperial faction in the Council, strongly urged the expediency of bringing the Princess to trial and *execution*, she was saved by the firmness of *one*, who has been *often*, but *falsely* described, as thirsting for her blood; meaning Gardiner, who is stated to have saved her and the Earl in the way before related, by acknowledging their guilt as to a full knowledge of, and consent in all the designs of the Conspirators, but still clear of all *overt acts*.

It seems to be upon *this* evidence, and no other, that the Emperor and the Imperial faction, according to the account above, judged the Princess to be worthy of *Trial* and *Execution*. *That is*, upon the strength of two notes from Wyat, advising her to remove her place of residence, and announcing his victorious entrance into Southwark; and of which notes *the Council had got possession*, *not the Princess*;* and therefore her declaration in her letter to Queen Mary, was true: "As for the traitor Wyat, he *might par-*

her sister to death by violence."—Aikin's Elizabeth. There is a curious note to be seen in Rapin, affirming, that while she was in the Tower, Gardiner procured some of the Privy Council to sign a warrant for her execution, which he actually delivered to the Lieutenant; who, thinking it prudent to apply to the Queen to know her pleasure, the latter denied knowing any thing about it, it not having her hand to it. Had she upon this displaced Gardiner, the author observes, she might have been thought innocent of so barbarous a design; but the confidence and trust she reposed in him to the day of his death, seemed too plainly to imply that she would not have been displeased had the warrant taken effect.

* In fact, the Queen wrote to the Princess, to persuade her to come to Court, on the twenty-sixth of January, the very day after Wyat appeared openly in arms at Maidstone and in this letter, she speaks of her projected removal to Dunnington (or Doddington) as a thing known at *Court*, perhaps before the Princess herself, *could have known* any thing about it.

aventeur, writ me a letter: but on my faithe, I never received any from him." Next, on three intercepted despatches of the French Ambassador in cipher, disclosing the plans of the conspirators in *her* favour; but, probably, he himself was the main conspirator here, and the Princess might have known nothing of it, Courteney being backward, and without his concurrence they had no view to Elizabeth. Then comes an important letter, *or copy* of a *letter*, *supposed* to have been written by her to the King of France; which letter, or *copy* of a *letter*, it seems, had by some *unknown means found its way* into the *hands of the Queen:* now mark the Princess's reply to this, in her aforesaid letter to Mary: "And as for the copie of my lettar sent to the French Kinge, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or lettar, by any menes; and to this, my truath, I will stand in to my dethe." Her refusal to enter the Tower at the Traitor's Gate, and her speech on the occasion, which Dr. Lingard does not mention, may surely be regarded as other strong proofs of her innocence.* As for the Duke of Suffolk's evidence, it might be said to save his daughter; but that he should engage in such a conspiracy for Elizabeth against Mary, under the circumstances in which he and his daughter were at the time, seems past belief; and that the Queen's ministers did not believe it is plain, for why, if it were so, should the Lady Jane be made the victim. The Duke has indeed the credit, of acting solely in favour of the Reformation, but if so, his cause was not the same as Wyat's; and why not as well restore his daughter as raise Elizabeth?† But indeed as far as Elizabeth was concerned, the

* See Aikin, p. 144.

† There are two papers in Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. 133. 148, which may deserve to be noticed, the one, a letter from a great Lord about the Court to Lord Shrewsbury, mentioning all the heads of the conspiracy, *Wyat*, *Carew*, and the Duke of *Suffolk;* and of whom he says, "They vaunt in all places, the cause of this insurrection to be the Queen's marriage with the Prince of Spain,"—not a word of Elizabeth or Courteney. The second is the Queen's orders and instructions to her officers in the west parts, after the principal conspirators were in custody.

rest of the evidence is of very small account; except that had the whole evidence adduced against her been entirely true, Gardiner's pretence of saving her, because no *overt act* had been committed, is as little to be credited as any other part of the story, because in the extraordinary and very curious trial of Throckmorton, to be seen in Hollinshed, when that able and skilful advocate of his own cause, would have claimed the benefit of the original act of Edward III. (the additional clauses having been repealed), and which required the proof of some *overt act* as indispensable to conviction, he was overruled by all the Judges, who decided, that "if it were proved that the prisoner was connected with *Wyat*, the *overt acts* of *Wyat* were to be taken as his, and visited accordingly." And though the Jury, moved by Throckmorton's solemn protest against so unwarrantable a principle, that the overt acts of one man, might be charged as overt acts upon another, acquitted him, it was so much to the displeasure of the Queen and her ministers, that they were all immediately committed to prison, and eight of the most honest and most resolute, who would not confess themselves to be in fault, kept a long time in custody and heavily fined.*

Throckmorton himself, indeed, notwithstanding his acquittal, was remanded to the Tower, so little regard had the Queen's ministers, with Gardiner at their head, to any defect of proof respecting *overt acts*.

This paper also particularly mentions Wyat, Carew, and Suffolk, but not so much as a hint is thrown out against Courteney or the Princess; though some had attributed the rising in the west expressly to the former.—*See Burnet*, 1554.

* Aikin.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Further Account of the Princess's Troubles in consequence of Wyat's Insurrection—Gardiner generally reputed her great Enemy, though denied by Catholic Writers—Mary's second Parliament said to have been bought by the Emperor, through Gardiner, to promote the Spanish Match—Marriage Articles agreed to—Attributed to Gardiner, and much to be approved—Philip arrives in England—The Royal Nuptials take place at Winchester.

We cannot bring ourselves to believe, therefore, that the Princess Elizabeth was spared, through any lenity on the part of Gardiner; on the contrary, we incline much to trust to the historians (almost all that we have been able to consult), who represent that prelate to have been her greatest enemy.* We are persuaded, indeed, that

* So much do some writers of our own times differ from their contemporary Dr. Lingard, that in the Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, by Miss Aikin, we find the following notice of Gardiner:—"Gardiner, now Chancellor and Prime Minister, the most inveterate of Elizabeth's enemies, and the most devoted partisan of the Spanish interest, thinking that all was subdued to the wishes of the Court, brought before the new Parliament, a bill for declaring the Princess illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding, but it was indignantly rejected by a great majority." And the testimony of Sir John Harrington to his enmity against the Princess, adduced by the same writer, is remarkably to the purpose:—"Lastly, the plots, he (Gardiner) laid to entrap the Lady Elizabeth, and his terrible hard usage of all her followers, I cannot yet scarce think of with charity, nor write of with patience. My father, for only carrying a letter to the Lady Elizabeth, and professing to wish her well, he kept in the Tower twelve months, and made him spend a thousand pounds, ere he could be free of that trouble. My mother, that then served the Lady Elizabeth, he caused to be sequestered from her as an heretic, insomuch that her own father durst not take her into his house, but she was glad to sojourn with one Mr. Topcliffe: so, as I may say in some sort, this Bishop persecuted me before I was born."—vol. i. 175. Where also may be seen the curious sonnet addressed to the Bishop by Sir John from his prison, in the twelfth month of his unjust detention.

he had constantly his eye upon her, and that nothing could have saved her under the trials she was made at this period to endure, but a circumspection the most extraordinary, proceeding either from her own good sense and judgment, or from the advice of those in whom she most confided. We have not been able exactly to ascertain the nature or the extent of the communications that are supposed to have taken place, between the Princess and Lord Burghley at this particular period; but the circumstance of his being the very first on her accession, to be taken into her service, and advanced to one of the highest and most responsible situations, as a Minister, is sufficient proof that as presumptive heir to the Crown, in such very perilous times, she had derived important assistance from his information, instructions, and advice.

To Wyat's imprudent insurrection (for, whatever might be his motives, such was its character),* Elizabeth might undoubtedly

Burnet's account of the enmity of Gardiner is as follows: "Gardiner was much set against them (*Courteney* and *Elizabeth*), and studied to bear down the declaration that *Wiat* had made of their innocency all he could. But, it was made so openly on the scaffold, that it was not possible to suppress it; *before*, in his examination, *Wiat* had accused them, hoping to have saved himself by so base an action; but he redeemed it all he could at his death. This had broken Gardiner's design, who thought all they did about religion was but half work, unless the Lady *Elizabeth* were destroyed. For he knew, that though she complied in many things, yet her education had been wholly under the Reformed: and which was more to him, who judged all people by their interest, he reckoned that interest must make her declare against the Papacy (since otherwise she was a bastard), if ever she should outlive her sister."

* Hollinshed, in his usual way, applies to it the following passage:—

"Quod potes, id tentes, operis ne pondere pressus,
Succumbat labor, et frustra tentata relinquas."

Of his motives, however, we may form a judgment from the following declaration, which he is said to have put forth at the commencement of his undertaking:—"That because the Queen, relying too much upon the advice of bad Counsellors, had lately done, and did daily endeavour many things prejudicial to the estate of the Realm; that, therefore, to prevent further inconveniences, those Counsellors must be removed, and others substituted who should so manage the estate, as should answer the trust reposed in such men, whose loyalty should

attribute the first beginning of her troubles.—Whether the evidences against her were fabricated, or her situation as heir presumptive, rendered her an object of such suspicion and jealousy, as to prevent her being left at large, she was, at the very breaking out of the sedition, summoned from a bed of sickness to attend the Queen, and after some little delay, committed to the Tower; being sent thither on the 18th of March, Wyat being yet alive.

At the Tower she was kept under great restraint; and nothing overlooked that could excite a suspicion of her carrying on any communication with those without.—A little child, of five years old, who was used to carry her a nosegay, when she walked in the garden (an indulgence long denied her), was absolutely forbidden any more to approach her, and those reproved, who had permitted his access to her. From the officers of the Tower, though some paid her the respectful attention due to her rank, yet others were more severe, nor could she well judge how far she might be, all the time, a victim devoted to destruction. It is positively asserted, that, when Bedingfield appeared with his armed men, to conduct her thence, after three months close imprisonment, she very anxiously inquired, whether the block on which the Lady Jane suffered, were removed or not? She was subjected to interrogatories by Gardiner and others of the Privy Council, and one person, at the least, is said to have been put to the rack, in the hope of eliciting some evidence against her, which might justify to her sister, either her perpetual imprisonment or her death. The Earl of Arundel is reported to have been ashamed of the trouble she received, and

render them more careful of the public, than their own private profit. But above all, they must endeavour that some means must be used to impeach this determined match, by which he plainly foresaw this free Realm would be oppressed with the miseries of a most lamentable servitude; and a floodgate would be opened to let in a perpetual current of superstition. That the effects of their arms would prove very profitable to the Queen (for whom he should ever pray), and to the general good of the Kingdom."—*True Secret History of the Kings and Queens of England*, 1702.

so to have expressed himself to the Princess herself, on his knees: —Her reply to those who were sent to her is very remarkable: "My Lords, you do sift me very narrowly; but I am well assured you shall not do more to me, than God has appointed, and so God forgive you all."

While she was in the Tower, the Mass was forced upon her, or at least, enjoined to be performed before her and her attendants, so rigorously as to compel one of the latter, Mrs. Sands, at great hazard to refuse it, and at the cost also of being removed from any further attendance upon her Royal mistress. Catholic writers allege to this day, that the Princess was easily converted to the Romish faith, but it seems very uncertain how far, at this time, she had absolutely departed from it. That she had imbibed the principles of the Reformists cannot be doubted, and was so far inclined to follow her mother; but her memorable reply concerning the Eucharist, is a pretty plain proof that she wisely declined disputing about it; and, indeed, we shall find that on her accession, and after all that had passed, Lord Burghley himself proposed, that the question concerning the *corporal presence*, should undergo a fresh discussion. This deserves to be attended to, as we shall have reason to shew.

It was on the 19th of May, that the Princess was taken from the Tower, to be removed to Woodstock; the Earl of Devonshire at the same time being transferred to Fotheringay. A sufficient proof, after all that had been passing, that the Government had no adequate excuse for the rigorous measures already pursued against them. For though they were still kept in captivity, it was rather to keep them out of sight, or weary them into some concessions, than with a view to punishment for crimes committed. On her way from the Tower to Woodstock, the Princess was first conveyed to her sister's Court at Richmond Palace, under the care of the Lord Williams of Thame, and Sir Henry Bedingfield.

Even here appearances were so gloomy, that she was apprehensive of being put to death; though of her two keepers, one was as far from severity, and as incapable of consenting to any such foul deeds as were apprehended, as the other was stern, severe, and watchful. At the Palace she received from the Queen an insidious offer of pardon and liberty, if she would consent to marry the Duke of Savoy; but, with a remarkable firmness of mind, considering her situation, she resolved not so to relinquish the prospect of succession to the Crown of England.* On her refusal, no time was lost in having her conveyed to her new prison at Woodstock. On her way thither she received many tokens of respect and affection from the people; and at *Rycot*, the seat of Lord *Williams*, she received such attentions from that worthy Lord, in consideration of her rank and respect for her sufferings, as to excite the jealousy of his brother keeper, Sir Henry Bedingfield, who, after giving notice to the Court of the too kind reception she had found there, received orders to hasten her removal to Woodstock, where she was once more subjected to all the restraints and appendages of a State Prison; a military guard day and night, bars and bolts, and the exclusion of all visitants, with a stern, unaccommodating, and severe keeper.†

* This match was often afterwards proposed to her, and, singularly enough, in such a manner at the latter end of Mary's reign, as to produce a serious disagreement between Mary and Philip, much to the advantage of the Princess, as we shall have occasion to shew.

† Such at least, is the character most commonly ascribed to Sir Henry Bedingfield; but we are very properly reminded, by the author of the Court of Queen Elizabeth, of some circumstances of his behaviour, and of his situation afterwards, which seem to exculpate him from the worst part of these charges. Such as his kneeling to the Princess at Woodstock, when she called him her jailor, on his locking the gate of the garden in which she was walking, and entreating her not to call him so, but to consider him as one of her appointed officers. And it is certain that he was often at Court after her accession to the throne, and that she once visited him on a Progress.

Before we entirely dismiss this part of our subject, in which we have endeavoured to vindicate the Princess and Courteney from the charge of being much, if at all implicated in this con-

In Mary's second Parliament, which began April 2, 1554, and which lies under the imputation of being bought by Gardiner with the Emperor's money; the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain, came regularly under discussion; the Emperor having previously despatched a special embassy to England, with Count Egmont at the head, to consent on his part to such conditions as might be proposed. In this Parliament, Mary's title to the throne, as a *female*, was more fully confirmed, for reasons not clearly understood at the time, nor indeed since. Burnet attributes it (on the authority of some information given to Lord Leicester afterwards in Elizabeth's time) to a scheming man, who had incurred the forfeiture of his life, and hoped to obtain his pardon by persuading the Queen to declare that she succeeded to the Crown by the Common Law, being free of the Statute Law, which only bound *Kings*, and that she might, therefore, not only restore religion, but set up Monasteries again, and give back to the Church the alienated Abbey-lands without restraint.* As this scheme was put into the Queen's hands by one of the Emperor's Ambassadors, Gardiner, it is said, began to suspect that the project being to raise the Queen's power so high, was only the more easily to give the same power to the Spaniard when

spiracy, we cannot help observing that the same course was attempted to have been pursued over again, at a more advanced period of Mary's reign, by a partisan of *Wyat*, and equally with the connivance of France, then on the eve of a war with England. Dudley Ashton, who had on the capture of Wyat escaped to the Continent, was enabled by the Court of France, some time in the year 1556, to send over one *Cleberry*, a condemned person, instructed to personate the Earl of Devonshire, and to disperse papers and proclamations, in which not only the name of Elizabeth was freely introduced, but at Ipswich the people were made to believe that they were married, and to hear them proclaimed as King and Queen. The attempt, however, was so glaringly audacious, that not only the Council wrote to Sir Thomas Pope, July 30, 1556, to allay all apprehensions on the part of the Princess; but Mary herself addressed a letter to her sister, to assure her of her safety.—*Aikin's Elizabeth*, i. 211, 212. The letter of the Council is still to be seen among the Harleian MSS. 537. 25. See also *Nichol's Progresses*, i. 20, 21.

* Reformation, vol. ii. 500, 501.

he should come, and, therefore, he took care not only to dissuade the Queen from paying any attention to it, but, to prepare the Articles so, as to keep the Queen as well as her husband, under the usual restraints. Henry VII. it was observed, had no sooner married the heiress of the house of York, than he set up his own Lancastrian title to the Crown, and many suspicious attempts had been already made to prove Philip to be so regularly descended from John of Gaunt, as to be easily advanced to the same dignity on a title of his own.*

Many bills were read, but not passed in this Parliament also, tending to a more full establishment of the Romish religion, and restoring the Pope's supremacy, but deferred, probably, upon a supposition that they might be more easily carried after the Queen should be married to a Catholic Prince, and the Cardinal Pole should be come into the kingdom, who was still detained in Flanders, probably at the instigation of Gardiner, jealous at all times, as it would appear, of his coming.

To the marriage articles the Parliament appeared to pay great attention, and which it must be acknowledged, seem to have been drawn up with the most careful regard to the security of the country, against the designs and machinations, supposed to be in the view of Charles and Philip; and of which we have in all probability, had a fair specimen in the writings of Sir Edward Hastings cited above; and this would seem indeed to be confirmed, rather than contradicted, by the ready acquiescence of the Emperor and his son, in the articles submitted to them. Since we may be sure that they were such, as, in the event of Philip's obtaining the Crown, they would have found means to evade or abrogate; indeed, the more ready they were to be bound by articles favourable to Mary and her subjects, the more distrustful the English became of their sincerity and good intentions.†

* See Burnet, ii. 503.

† Watson's Philip II.

The *policy* of England in regard to such a union, consisted in the forming balance against France. The marriage of Mary Stuart with the Dauphin being likely to unite France with Scotland; England might look to a counterpoise in the connexion with Spain, and more particularly, perhaps, the Netherlands, commanding so much of the trade of the world.

Gardiner has the credit of framing these Articles, in such a manner as to reconcile the Parliament to the Spanish match, which not being able to prevent he was forward to promote. At the same time, though we do not wish to say it, to detract from his credit as the framer of the Articles, it must easily be seen, that in every check put upon the Spaniard, there was some security to be found for his continuing to keep the government in his own hands. Burnet has not scrupled to say, that "it must be acknowledged, the preserving England out of the hands of the Spaniards at that time, seems to be almost wholly owing to him."

The sum of the Articles was this:—"That Philip should be restrained from advancing any to public offices, who were not natives of England, and subjects of the Queen; that he should admit into his household a certain number of English, whom he should treat with respect, and secure from the insults of foreigners; that he was not to carry the Queen out of England, against her desire, nor any of the children that might be born to them; which children also were to be educated in England, and not suffered to go out of the kingdom, but for reasons and purposes submitted to and approved by the English. That if the Queen should die without issue, he should have no claim in the kingdom, but leave it quite open to her lawful successor; that he should preserve inviolate, the rights, privileges, customs, and immunities of the realm; that he should not be allowed to transport any jewels or goods belonging to the Crown, nor to alienate any of the royal patrimony, and that he should preserve the shipping, artillery,

and stores, and keep in good repair, the castles and fortified places.*

It is evident, that none of these Articles were likely to deter Philip, or his father, from prosecuting the match, since their views appear to have been entirely prospective; not fixed upon any thing present, but constantly directed to a more remote object. Once admitted into the kingdom, in the character of Mary's husband, Philip naturally looked, considering the deplorable venality of the Parliaments at this period, to the acquiring personal influence by gifts and favours to the nobles and gentry; and dissimulation would cost him nothing, for it was already known to be one of the leading features in his character. It is presumed also, that a direct claim to the Crown was contemplated,† through John of Gaunt, as has been already observed.

All the preliminaries, however, being settled, on the 16th of July, 1554, Philip embarked from Corunna for England, and in three days arrived at Southampton, escorted by a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail, English, Flemish, and Spanish; and proceeding to Winchester, with a numerous train of English and Spaniards, met the Queen there on the 24th, and on the next day, being the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, they were married in the Cathedral with great pomp and magnificence. The ceremony was performed by Gardiner, who was the only person permitted to dine at the same table with the King and Queen, when they afterwards dined in public. Immediately before the marriage, Figueroa, a Spaniard of high rank, and one of the Imperial Counsellors, delivered to Gardiner two instruments, pur-

* See more as to the Queen's revenue, and descent of dominions respectively—*Burnet*, ii. 482.

† It was universally said, that the Emperor, in order to get possession of England, would verbally agree to any terms; and the greater advantage there appeared in the conditions which he granted, the more certainly it might be concluded, that he had no serious intentions of observing them.—*Hume.*

porting to be the Emperor's resignation to his son of the kingdoms of Naples and Jerusalem, and the Duchy of Milan, " thinking it beneath the dignity of so great a Queen to marry one who was not a King:" in consequence of this, they were proclaimed King and Queen with all the high titles following,—as Sovereigns of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, Ireland, Defenders of the Faith; Princes of Spain and Sicily; Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; Counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tirol.* • Immense treasures followed Philip from Spain, and he presented Mary with a most costly set of jewels. From Winchester, the Royal pair, at the beginning of August, removed by slow journeys to Windsor, where Philip, who had been invested with the Order of the Garter, the moment he landed at Southampton, was installed Knight; soon after which, they made a splendid entry into London, being received by the City with all manner of expense and solemnity.

* When Charles the Fifth, in 1556, surrendered to Philip his Spanish dominions, having previously, viz. October, 1555, resigned Flanders, his titles ran thus:—Philip, by the grace of God, King of Castile, Arragon, the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Navar, Granado, Toledo, Valentia, Gallicia, Malerea, Sivil, Sendova, Cordova, Mursia, Corsiga, Jaen, Algarve, Algasica, Giberaltarre, the islands of the Canaries, the islands of the Indies and the Ocean Seas; Archduke of Austria; Marquess of Oreston, Errel, Barsillonia, Biscay, Molina; Duke of Burgoign, Brabant, Milan; Lord of Flanders, and Tirole.

The mines of Mexico, Chili, and Potosi, at the period of his accession to the Spanish throne, are stated to have brought him in 25,000,000 of guilders; his fleet was much more numerous than that of any other European power, his troops better disciplined, more used to war and victory, and ably commanded.

CHAP. XLIX.

First acts of Philip, merciful, politic, and popular—Cecil appointed to accompany the Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings to the Emperor's Court at Brussels—Observations upon the character and circumstances of the Mission, as considered by some writers, inconsistent with Sir William's public principles—The Mission probably not confined merely to the bringing over Cardinal Pole—Many persons compelled to depart the Kingdom—Arrival of the Cardinal as Legate.

PHILIP's first act or acts, were, it must be acknowledged, acts of mercy; in procuring liberty to be granted to the Princess Elizabeth, Courteney, and others implicated in Wyat's insurrectionary movements, Sir Robert Dudley (afterwards Lord Leicester), Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, &c.

It was in about three months after the solemnities of the marriage had taken place, that Sir *William Cecil* appears to have been specially appointed to accompany the Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings to Brussels, to bring over Cardinal Pole. As the latter was coming with a Legatine Commission from the Pope, and the very appointment was sufficient to shew, that the restoration of the Pope's power and authority in England, was the main object in view, it has been judged inconsistent with his former concern for the Reformation, and the part he had taken in endeavouring to advance and further it under Edward, that he should have been induced to engage in a commission of such a nature. That he had declined one appointment offered to him, has been already shewn; a post which he had held under the late King, and the duties of which he had been known to discharge, with the utmost credit and reputation. He seems also to have been deprived of another appointment of great honour, the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter, there being to be found in Haynes's Collec-

tion of Papers, the following letter, addressed to him from the Court, in the first year of the Queen's reign :—

"*The Lords of the Council to Sir* WILLIAM CECILL.

"After our hartie commendations, the Quenes Highness pleasur is, that ye shall immediately, uppon the sight hereof, send unto her Highness all suche Seales as remayneth in your custody, belonging to the Ordre of the Garter, sealed either in summe Bagg or otherwyse, as the same may cum most salfely to her Majesty's hands; whereof we pray you fayle not. And so fare ye hartily well. From St. James the 21st of September, 1553.—Ye shall send therewith the Old Register. Your loving Frends,

Ste. *Winton, Cancell.* (Winchester).
Arundell, William Paget,
J. Rochestre, Will. Petre, Sec."*

"To our very loving Freende Sir William Cecill, Knight."

That Sir William's circumstances, with regard to the Court, were much changed by Mary's accession, we may conclude, from his name not occurring in any of the Court or Church Solemnities, while so many others are distinctly named. We speak of the Coronation, making of Knights, preaching at St. Paul's, &c. &c. It has been observed that he could never obtain Mary's confidence. The great question is, Could he wish or desire to obtain it, otherwise than by a quiet submission to her government? The wonder is, how he could with impunity espouse the interests of the Heir Presumptive, in the way he is supposed to have done? Elizabeth appears to have conducted herself well through times most perilous to her, in every point of view, and it would appear, that she had constantly some sound Statesman at hand, to keep her out of difficulties. It cannot be wondered that few memorials remain, of the political intercourse subsisting between Elizabeth and Cecil, during Mary's reign; but that he espoused her interests, without offence to Mary, seems certain.

Indeed, the nomination to attend the Commission to Brussels, was certainly considered as a mark of favour, since his Domestic thus speaks of it. After observing, in a passage already referred to (p. 601), that upon his refusal to be Secretary of State, enemies had been at work to excite suspicions against him in the Queen's breast, particularly on the ground of his "being retained in service and intelligence with the Lady Elizabeth;" nevertheless, he adds, "the Quene still used him very graciously, and forbore either to hear his accusors, or to disgrace himself; for in the second yere of her reigne, he was sent to Bruxells, with the Lord Pagett, to bring in Cardinall Poole."

Had nothing hitherto taken place at *home* towards the restoration of the Romish religion and the Pope's authority, we might well conceive it to have been a most ungrateful task for a friend to the Reformation, to assist in bringing into the kingdom the very man in all Europe, who, personally as well as officially, must have been considered most friendly to those interests. Cecil must have known Mary's object in sending for him to be that of restoring in full the Romish religion; and he might reasonably expect that Philip would be as much bent upon recovering for the Pope his lost authority. So far it may be granted it was a strange commission to be in any manner entrusted to a Protestant, or for a Protestant to act under; but, perhaps, more than all, so confidential a friend and counsellor of the late King as Cecil was known to have been, and one so intimately connected with the heads of the Reformed party during the whole of the last reign. On both sides, therefore, there was unquestionably something extraordinary in the part he was called upon to take in this foreign commission, though it seems to us by no means difficult to assign very good reasons for it, whether we seek to ascertain the motives of the Court in sending him, or his own motives in going.

And, first, as to the motives of the Court. The Emperor himself was then at Brussels, engaged in an arduous contest

with France, originating in the alliance formed in 1551 between Henry II. and Charles's *Protestant* subjects in Germany. One of the articles of the marriage just concluded, and to which Philip (and the Emperor his father, of course, to whom they had been first submitted) had agreed, was, that in consequence of such marriage, England should not be drawn into the war between the Emperor and French King, but that the late alliance with France should be inviolably maintained, with a liberty, however, reserved to Philip, of assisting the Emperor his father from any of his own dominions.

In the course of the very next year we shall find England endeavouring to reconcile these two Princes; and nothing, therefore, can be more probable, than that affairs of State might be a joint object in this commission with those of the Church, and that it was not entirely confined to the bringing over the Cardinal. The Narrative of the Domestic does certainly say, that he was "sent to Bruxells with the Lord Pagett to bring in Cardinal Poole;" but it is expressed rather differently in his own Diary, confirming certainly the main object, but with some mention of the Emperor also: "vi° Novembris, 1554 (ii° Mariæ), cœpi iter cum Domino Paget et Magistro Hastings versus *Cæsarem* pro reducendo Cardinalē."

It should be observed, that on the Queen's accession, there were three English ministers resident at the Imperial Court: the Bishop of Norwich, Sir Philip Hoby, and Sir Richard Morrison. These had been endeavouring to negotiate a peace, but in vain. The Queen, therefore, recalled two of them, but with an understanding, that whenever she might perceive the time would serve better, she would be most ready to send either them or some other for that purpose.* This was on the 5th of August, 1553. Many months, after this, passed, in discussing the affairs of the marriage; repressing Wyat's rebellion; and in endeavouring to reduce the Church to its pristine state, by silencing the Reformed Preachers, replacing the deprived Bishops, and disappointing the hopes and expectations of

* Strype.

those who had been beguiled by a promise supposed to be made by the Queen, that she would not make any alterations in religion. During the whole of this time, Pole had been stayed on the Continent, very much against his own inclinations and expectations.

But when he left Rome he had a Legatine Commission to *Germany* and *France*, as well as *England*, with special directions to do all he could to reconcile the two powers at war, if possibly it might be accomplished. He had conferred with the Emperor on the subject at Brussels; and had even been to France to sound Henry, before the commission was despatched by Mary to bring him on his way to England; so that when *Cecil* went, every thing was ripe for such communications on matters of state as we conceive to have been in view; and who so fit to see into these matters as the very person nominated by the Queen to accompany her two principal envoys? If there could be any doubt of this, we need but refer to the document already noticed, of which we have given a fac simile, in King Edward's Journal, and to the three letters from the celebrated historian Sleidan, addressed, "Magnifico Viro, Domino *Cæcilio*, Equiti, et Serenissimi Regis Angliæ Secretarii;" all touching upon the state of things on the Continent, though briefly, as from one curious observer to another, but particularly noticing the movement of the contending armies, and this in the years 1552, 1553.

It may be thought that the stay of the Commissioners at Brussels must have been too short for the transaction of any business of great importance; for, according to Lord Burghley's own memorandums, they got to Brussels only on the 11th of November, and were at Westminster again on the 23d. "Venimus *Bruxellis*," we arrived at *Brussels*, he says, "xi° Novembris," and afterwards, in his usual short manner, "*redivimus* 24 Novembris, Westmonasterii *cum Cardinali Polo*."

Two days after their arrival, *viz.* November 13, the Cardinal, after taking leave of the Emperor, left Brussels, but only for an Abbey two miles off, whither he had been much used to resort,

and whence he was to pursue his journey by short stages, being weak in health.

We cannot pretend to judge what business was transacted; but as a few days were passed, almost in the continual presence of the Emperor, it would be absurd to suppose that in the then state of Europe, affairs of state were not taken into consideration; or that Cecil might not have been specially nominated to accompany the Commission, as concluded to be, from the very situation he had holden under the late King, and his well known eminence, particularly fitted to discuss with the Emperor or his ministers the general affairs of Europe.

We had taken this view of the subject before we had had an opportunity of examining the original entries in Lord Burghley's private Journal; and we have therefore transcribed them as they stand in other books; but in the original two things are noticeable, which seem to us of some moment after what has been said. The first entry appears to have been, originally, no more than "cœpi iter cum Domino *Paget* et Magistro *Hastings* versus *Cæsarem;*" and afterwards the words "*pro reducendo Cardinalē,*" to have been introduced above,* which seems to us to establish two points of some importance; namely, that the Commission to *Cæsar* (the Emperor) was first in Sir William's thoughts; and, secondly, that he would never have corrected the entry by making the insertion above, if the Commission to *bring back the Cardinal* had had any thing disgraceful in it as it applied to himself. Prevent it he could not; and if state affairs were to be mixed up with the other business of the deputation, it deserves to be considered that the *Protestants* of Germany had possibly every thing at stake in the projected negotiation for peace between the belligerents.

Of the endeavours made by England to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the King of France in the year 1552, a good account is to be seen in Strype's Memorials, taken from the

* See *fac simile.*

despatches of the ambassadors both with the Emperor and with the King; and to shew how much Sir William *Cecil* was implicated in such negotiations, as one of Edward's council, and how particularly acquainted he must have been with all the bearings of the case, the reader may consult a remarkable document still preserved among the Cottonian MSS. *Galba*, b. 12, purporting to be the instructions of the Council to the Ambassadors with the Emperor, dated July 1st, 1553, only six days before the King's death; Sir William's name being one among the following numerous signatures:

"Tho. Cant.	W. Northanpton,	R. Cotton,
Tho. Ely, Canc.	T. Huntingdon,	J. Gates,
Winchester,	Pembroke,	W. Petre,
Northumberland,	Ed. Clynton,	W. Cecyl,
J. Bedford,	G. Cobham,	Joh. Cheke,
H. Suffolk,	R. Ryche,	Ed. North,
Arundel,	T. Cheyne,	Ro. Bowes."
T. Shrewsbury,	Darcy,	

This document may serve to shew the state of things as they were left at the period of Edward's demise. "In this mediation," says Strype, "nothing more was done, nor likely to be done, the Bishop of Norwich and Sir Richard Morison coming home, and the King's death preventing." The King's Ambassadors in France were also ordered home; but it seems, at both the Courts, one person was left; Sir Philip Hoby with the Emperor, and Sir Thomas Chaloner in France; both being, but particularly the latter, the intimate acquaintances of the *Secretary*. Between the death of Edward and Sir William's mission, Cardinal Pole, as we have shewn, had been endeavouring also at both Courts to negotiate a mediation; so that as far as politics were concerned, there could not be a more regular resumption of the negotiations as they were left at Edward's death, when Sir William was Secretary of State and Privy Counsellor. Many of those who had signed the last despatches in Edward's reign were now in utter disgrace; Sir William, therefore,

when joined to Mary's commission, might be regarded as a sort of representative both of the deceased King and the dissolved Council.

But as to his own feelings in regard to such a mission, supposing it to have been simply and exclusively to bring home the Cardinal, reasons are not wanting, to prove to us at least, that it might be almost a grateful task to him, as a zealous Protestant, and a sincere friend to his country; we may add, perhaps, to the Lady Elizabeth.

It is easy to conceive, that in the efforts making to re-establish the ancient Religion in full force, which Cecil individually could have no means of preventing—though there were some fair chances before him, could the Princess Elizabeth be preserved and protected—the affairs of the nation could not well be in worse hands than those of *Gardiner*, as first minister to Mary and Philip.

It was on the 20th of July, 1553, that Mary was established on the throne. Between that and the 6th of November, 1554, it will not be difficult to enumerate the many severities that had been already practised, to reduce things to the state in which they stood at Henry's death, to go back no farther. On the 12th of August, the Queen solemnly declared to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, that it was not her intention to force the consciences of men, but leave them freely to their own recollection and the instruction of godly preachers. She had before intimated, in such strong terms as to imply a *promise*, to her first friends and supporters, the people of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, that she would make *no* alteration in religion; but instead of being forward to redeem this pledge, by taking into her own hands, as far as possible, the appointment of those "godly preachers" she meant to send among them, she provided for the people a course of instruction totally different from what had been in King Edward's days; accompanied at the same time, as might be expected, with a prohibition upon all the Reformed Ministers. The Bishops were written to, positively to prevent any persons, Priest, Deacon, or however otherwise distinguished, attempting to preach or expound

the Scriptures, in any Church, Chapel, or other place, without *special licence* from the Queen's Highness. Thus, as Collier justly observes, "the pulpits were silenced, and the Reformation in a manner stifled by the Regal Supremacy;"* a Supremacy, however, which, except to answer such purposes, Mary was quite ready to render back to the Pope; though she had very solemnly recognised it as assumed by her father,† and which appears to have been the case even with Pole, while Dean of Exeter.‡

Under these changes, the people of Suffolk ventured to remind the Queen of what they held to be a promise made to them, that no alterations in Religion should be encouraged; but their forwardness met with a severe reproof. They were bidden, as only *members* of the body politic, not to presume to dictate to the *head*, and one of those deputed to present their remonstrances, was sentenced to the pillory for three days.

It was on the 13th of August, that Gardiner received the Seals, and he was no sooner Chancellor, than all the Reformed Bishops and Clergy were made to feel the weight of his resentment, and the rod of his displeasure. Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, a time-server, and therefore not much deserving our notice, had already been made to deliver up the Great Seal to Gardiner; *Ridley*, Bishop of London, was sent to the Tower; and *Cox*, Dean of Christ Church, committed to the Marshalsea. *Hooper*, Bishop of Gloucester, and *Coverdale* of Exeter, were brought before the Council, and committed to the Fleet; and *Latimer*, late Bishop of Worcester, appearing before the Lords of the Council, was, for his *seditious demeanor* (as the Council Book words it), sent close prisoner to the Tower.

On the 8th of September, 1553, Archbishop Cranmer, who had kept himself quiet, as long as with any sort of consistency or spirit he could, was at length provoked by false accusations, to draw up a manifesto in defence of the Reformation, which soon exposed him to the vengeance of his adversaries. He was called

* Burnet, ii. part i. 496. † Ibid. vol. i. 378. ‡ Ibid. 401.

before the Council, where he made no hesitation to acknowledge the paper, only observing, that he lamented it should have gone forth in so imperfect a state (*Scory*, Bishop of Chichester, having imprudently and prematurely taken copies of the first draft submitted to him), for that he had intended to publish it in a more ample form, to have put his seal to it, and had it set up in St. Paul's Cathedral, and at the doors of all the other Churches in London. This answer, of course, was held only to aggravate his offence before the Council, and he therefore was also committed to the Tower.

And now the storm that was visibly gathering against all who had been forward in promoting the Reformation, determined very many, notwithstanding the Metropolitan's avowed resolution not to abandon the cause, to withdraw from the kingdom; being most of them, indeed, deprived of their benefices, and dismissed from all Ecclesiastical charges. As *Poinet*, Bishop of Winchester, *Barlow*, of Bath and Wells, *Scory*, of Chichester, *Coverdale*, of Exeter, and *Bale*, of Ossory; *Richard Cox*, Dean of Christ Church and Prebendary of Westminster, *James Haddon*, Dean of Exeter, *Robert Horn*, Dean of Durham, *William Turner*, Dean of Wells, *Thomas Sampson*, Dean of Chichester, *Edmund Cranmer*, Archdeacon of Canterbury, *John Ailmer*, Archdeacon of Stow, *Bullingham*, Archdeacon of Lincoln, *Young*, Preceptor of St. David's; to these may be added, *Grindal*, *King*, *Edwyn Sandys*, who had committed himself, as well as Ridley, by preaching in favour of the Lady Jane at Cambridge by Northumberland's order, *Jewel*, *Reynolds*, *Pilkington*, *Alexander Noel*, *John Knox*, *Anthony Gilby*, *Whittingham*, *Cole*, *Mountayne*, *Beaumont*, *Bentham*, *John Foxe*, &c. Among these exiles, the last was the chief writer of the party; he first took up his abode at Frankfort, but afterwards removed to Basil, to be near a good printing press. But Grindal assisted him, particularly in the Martyrology.*

* Strype's Life of Grindal, 17. Grindal derived from England the accounts he communicated to Foxe, but was so cautious in what he did, as often to admonish Foxe to wait, where the

Of the Laity who retired, there are to be reckoned Katherine, last wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, Baroness Willoughby of Eresby in her own right, and Robert Bertie her husband; Sir Thomas Wroth, Sir Richard Morrison, Sir Anthony Cooke, Sir John Cheke, &c.

It is extremely curious, that at this time some should take refuge in Scotland, and receive shelter there, if not even encouragement, to the furtherance of the Reformation in those parts. But why was this? because Scotland was closely connected with France, and France was jealous of the union of Philip and Mary. *Harlow* and *Willock*, are names that deserve to be recorded upon this occasion, as may be seen in Dr. M'Crie's interesting Life of Knox, i. 171, 172. Among those who retired to foreign parts, may also be reckoned the family of the famous Sir Thomas

authority was at all doubtful, till more satisfactory evidence should reach them. There is a curious letter extant from Grindal to Ridley, giving an account of himself and brother refugees. Part of it is to the following effect:—

"Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partely of our state in these partes. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certayne be at *Tigurye* (Zurich), good students of either University a number; very well entreated of Maister Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole citye. Another number of us remayne at *Argentino* (Strasburgh), and take the commodity of Maister *Martyr's* lessons, who is a very notable father. Maister *Scory*, and certayne other with hym be in *Frysland*, and have an English Church there, but not very frequent. The greatest number is at *Frankford*, where I was at this present by occasion, a very fayre city; the Magistrates favourable to our people, with so many other commodities as exiles can well look for. Here is also a Church; and now (God be thanked) well quieted by the prudency of Maister *Coxe*, and other which met here for that purpose. So that now we trust God hath provided for such as will flye forth of Babylon, a resting place, where they may truly serve hym, and hear the voice of their true Pastor. I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundreth students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God to work dyversely in his, according to his unsercheable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man."—Fuller, in his Church History, enumerates the several persons "of much worship and wealth, who bountifully contributed to the necessities of others," among these, we find, of course, the two relatives of the Secretary, "Sir John Cheeke, and Sir Anthony Cooke (father-in-law to *Cecil*, after *Lord Burgeley*), and famous for his learned daughters." Private and concealed benefactions, the same author tells us, were sent from London through certain merchants, and there derived aid and many hospitalities, from foreign Princes and the Swiss Pastors.

Bodley, founder of the Bodleian Library. He was about twelve years of age, when, according to his own account, his father being noted and known to be an enemy to Popery, was so cruelly threatened, and so narrowly observed by those who maliced his religion, that for the safeguard of himself and his family, particularly his wife, the mother of Sir Thomas, who was wholly affected the same way, he knew no way so secure as to fly into Germany. They first went to Wesel, thence removed to Frankfort, and finally settled at Geneva, where Sir Thomas had opportunities of attending the public lectures of *Chevalerius* in Hebrew, of *Beroaldus* in Greek, and of *Calvin* and *Beza* in Divinity. In 1558 on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, they returned to England, and in the service of that Queen, Sir Thomas distinguished himself in many foreign missions, having had throughout, as he acknowledged on his final retirement from public life, no man more his friend than Lord *Burghley*. But of this we shall have more to say hereafter.

But of those who were driven out of the kingdom at this time, we cannot help dwelling a short time on the fate of the Duchess of Suffolk and her husband Mr. Bertie, of the very ancient, noble, and illustrious families of Ancaster and Abingdon. The Duchess, we have before had occasion to mention, as a friend of Lord *Burghley*, (see p. 316.) and a person obliged to him for services rendered to her during the Protectorate, when she had a strange and burthensome charge committed to her, the daughter of Queen Katherine Parr, by the Lord Seymour. The Queen had died in childbed of this daughter, and her father had since been executed, leaving his unfortunate offspring to the special care of this good Duchess. But the Protector himself, at first, took care of the high-born infant, at his house at Sion, and when she was to be removed to the Duchess's at Grimsthorp in Lincolnshire, appointed her a governess and servants to wait upon her, assigned her a pension, and gave directions that a certain parcel of plate and household stuff should be sent to Grimsthorp for her. But

his own troubles soon after coming on, these things appear to have been neglected, and the whole weight and burden of her maintenance, &c. fell upon the Duchess, who, being not over rich, confidentially communicated the fact to *Cecil* then Master of Requests, imploring his assistance. Through his means, a proper provision was made, to the great relief of the worthy Duchess, nor was the poor infant forgotten, being by Act of Parliament restored in blood, and enabled to have, hold, and enjoy, whatever property might descend or revert to her. But she died soon after. We now come to the fate that awaited the Duchess on Mary's accession.

Having shewn herself very zealous for the Reformation in the preceding reign, both she and her husband fell under the displeasure of Bishop *Gardiner;* who, having sent for Mr. Bertie in the first year of the Queen's reign, amongst other questions touching his religion, asked, "Whether the Lady his wife was now as ready to set up Mass as she had been to pull it down, when in her progress she caused a dog in a rochet to be carried and called by his (Gardiner's) name?" Upon this, Mr. Bertie being advised by his friends that the Bishop meant to call the Duchess his wife to an account for her religion, and foreseeing the danger, he procured the Queen's licence to travel beyond sea, under colour of looking after such debts as were due from the Emperor to the late Duke of Suffolk, his lady's former husband; and having obtained it, passed the seas at Dover in June the same year, leaving her behind, who, in January following, went disguised from her house in Barbican, and passing to Leigh in Essex, privately took shipping, and after much danger at sea, met her husband at Santon in Cleveland; where, after some stay, being like to be called to account for their faith by the Bishop of Arras, they were obliged to haste away on foot, with her daughter, a child, and two servants, to *Wesel*, a Hanse-town in the Duchy of Cleves; where, after going through many hardships, at length they met accidentally with one who knew them, and had formerly been under

obligations to the Duchess, and who, therefore, kindly entertained them till they got a protection from the Magistrates for their stay there. They hired a house, and the Duchess was brought to bed of a son, Oct. 12, 1555, who was christened *Peregrine*, because he was born in a foreign country *(Terra Peregrina)*, a name continued in the family ever since.

Mr. Bertie and the Duchess thinking themselves happily settled at Wesel, intelligence was sent them, that it had been contrived in England to seize them there; upon which they were obliged to fly to *Winheim*, a town in the Palsgrave's dominions, where, having staid till necessaries began to fail them, the King of Poland hearing of their distress kindly invited them into his country. They set out from *Winheim* in 1557; but in their way underwent several great hardships, and were in danger of their lives from the Landgrave's soldiers, who, upon occasion of a quarrel about a spaniel which they had along with them, thrust boar spears into the waggon where the Duchess and her children were; and pursuing her husband into a village had murdered him there, if he had not forsaken his horse, and run up a ladder, which was set to the top of a house, and thereby escaped. After this they passed on quietly to Poland, where they were courteously entertained by the King, and very honourably placed in the Earldom of *Crozan* in *Sanogelia;* in which place they continued in great quietness and honour till the death of Queen Mary, and then returned into England.* But to return to what was passing at home.

* Whole length portraits of the Duchess and Mr. Bertie, are to be seen at *Wytham* near Oxford, the seat of the *Earl* of *Abingdon*, who possesses a curious old ballad, written in Queen Elizabeth's reign, entitled, "The most rare and excellent History of the Dutchess of Suffolk, and her husband, Richard Bertie's calamities, to the tune of Queen Dido." I have to acknowledge the kindness of his Lordship, not only for a sight of the ballad, but for being permitted lately to take a copy of it—but it is too long to introduce here. The story is rather differently told, but we may fairly, perhaps, conclude with *Fuller*, that, according to all the accounts extant, "their real sufferings *out-romanced* the fictions of many errant adventurers."

CHAP. L.

Confusion in the Universities—Married Clergy dispossessed of their Livings—Proceedings at Oxford against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer—Disgraceful Conduct of their Opponents—Specimens of their absurd quibbles in argument—Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, condemned as heretics.

In the Universities much confusion took place; visitors being appointed by Gardiner, who, besides the power and authority he possessed in his own person, as Chancellor of Cambridge and Visitor of many Colleges in Oxford, were specially directed to look narrowly into matters, and who soon took care to have the Mass set up, Nonconformists severely punished, and many Heads and Fellows of Colleges rudely thrust out. Holgate, Archbishop of York, was committed to the Tower at this time, but he seems to have been a man of no good character, and therefore the less to be pitied. In October, the Parliament decreed the Queen to be legitimate, by formally abrogating the sentence of divorce between her father, King Henry, and Queen Katherine; and great blame was at the same time thrown upon Cranmer, then in prison, for his concern in the business, though it is certain, that Gardiner had been as forward as himself in it, and in a printed book had called the marriage "*unlawful* and *incestuous*." Abundance of acts, favourable to the Reformation, were, as we have before shewn, repealed in the most summary manner, and penalties denounced against any who should disturb those "godly preachers," whom the Queen was about to send forth, to invalidate all that had been done in her brother's reign. In November, 1553, Archbishop Cranmer himself, had been arraigned, pronounced guilty of treason, and his attainder in the same session confirmed in Parliament. The extraordinary circumstance is, that he was

not put from his see. To account for this, it has been supposed, that Gardiner, perceiving the Queen intended it for Cardinal Pole, did what he could to keep Cranmer in it, in despair of obtaining it himself. Burnet, who in one part of his work, assigns this as a reason, conjectures, elsewhere, that other motives were not wanting to defer the deprivation of the Archbishop, which may be seen in their place (vol. ii. 463), but need not be insisted upon here.

We have already spoken of the rapid changes that took place in restoring the Popish and degrading the Protestant Bishops, and for nothing more than the heinous crime of *marriage;* and this, notwithstanding all the discoveries that had been made, of the abominable vices of the Romish priesthood, monks and friars, which after every deduction for party malice, religious differences, and exaggeration, leaves a long catalogue of crimes chargeable upon the unscriptural and unnatural system of clerical celibacy. We shall not soil our pages with the disgusting accounts which have appeared, and been verified beyond the power of contradiction, nay even acknowledged by Romanists themselves, as indicative of a dismal necessity of reformation amongst the Clergy.

Besides Bishops and other dignitaries already mentioned, great numbers of the inferior Clergy also, without any regular form or process of trial, were dispossessed of their livings, suspended or degraded, for having married, under the indulgences of the late reign, to the immense amount, as some have said, of twelve thousand, but this seems to be a great exaggeration, though countenanced by Archbishop Parker, after some authority on which he thought he might rely. A distinction, however, seems to have been made between the regular and secular Clergy; between those who were originally bound by vows, and those who were not held to be under any such implied engagement. There is nothing, however, more curious than the defence set up by the Clergy, who had by their conduct rendered themselves obnoxious, particularly by Archdeacon Cranmer, the Primate's brother. " Se nihil habere

dicendum;" they had *nothing* in fact to say for themselves (being clearly condemned by the *ecclesiastical law*, and the *judgments* of the *holy fathers*), but that *by the law of* GOD, they thought they had lawfully married their wives, and could not, therefore, with a safe conscience forsake and abandon them. *Then*, says Strype (notwithstanding *this apology*, that is), sentence of suspension from all priestly functions, sequestration, deprivation, and a positive prohibition, any longer to cohabit with their wives, was pronounced against them; they were forbidden any longer to abide with their women, as the expression is, but to divorce or punish them; some little time being allowed them to recant, or else comply with the injunction;* every thing, in short, bore an aspect exceedingly alarming, to such as had by any means rendered themselves obnoxious to Gardiner, and his ferocious coadjutor, Boner. † As to the latter, according to Burnet, he conducted himself like a man scarcely in his right senses; on his visitation in the summer of 1554, giving way so far to his unruly passions, as even to strike the clergy who gave any offence to him, by the slightest symptoms of backwardness to bring back the services to the old form, re-establish the ceremonies and usages of the Romish ritual, and restore the churches to their former appearance.‡ Feckenham, seeking to

* See, on the treatment of the married Clergy, *Strype's Cranmer*, b. iii. ch. viii. In the Form of the Restitution of a married Priest, *Memorials*, No. lxxv, Robert Vevian, Clerk, is made not only to renounce his wife and children, but to promise and solemnly protest, that he will never return to the said *Agnes Staunton* (to whom he had been *lawfully* married), either as a wife or a concubine, but to keep himself sole, pure, and chaste, from all carnal affections, &c. *especially* from *her*, and all other women, according to the laws and constitutions of the Catholic Church, and as his order requireth.

† As we have found occasion to censure Boner for his low wit and scurrilous abuse of his adversaries, it seems but fair that we should give a specimen of the use of the same sort of language on the other side. There was nothing the Popish restored Prelates appear to have been more offended with, particularly Boner, than the substitution of passages of Scripture in the Churches, in room of images, relics, &c. which Bale thus ridicules: "God required, *Thou shalt write them*, saith he, *upon the posts of thine house*, &c. Now comes Parson Peacockstail, wily Winchester, and Dr. Fig-after, puffed up like a bladder, and panting like a porklet; commanding them to be wiped out of the churches, as things not pertaining to the same."—A

excuse him for striking Sir Thomas Josselin, by pleading his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, which had so altered him as he could not rule his passions, "So it seems," said Sir Thomas, "for now he is come out of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam."

It was during Mary's second Parliament, but before her marriage, and therefore before the mission to Brussels, that the disgraceful scene at Oxford took place, during which Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the latter at the time being fourscore years of age, were wantonly and cruelly exposed to the mockery of a public disputation on Transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass, as preparatory no doubt to what befel them afterwards.

It has been already observed, that some slur had been cast on the Convocation* mentioned above, for allowing the former disputations on these subjects to take place while the ablest of the Reformed party were in prison, particularly Ridley and Cranmer; the former of whom had been the person to open the eyes of the worthy Primate upon this much litigated subject, having himself been previously converted by the celebrated work of Bertram, a Monk of the ninth century. To remove this stigma, which had been cast on the Convocation, at the session to which Weston the Prolocutor had so abruptly put an end, in the manner we have described, it was proposed that Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer should be sent to Oxford, to dispute with some of the most subtle logicians to be found in either University, before the same Weston

very curious incident is related of the jealousy these restored Prelates manifested, of the opening of the Scriptures to the people. Among the pageants exhibited before Philip and Mary, on their triumphant entry into London after their marriage, there was a representation made of the *Nine Worthies*, one of whom was Henry VIII. holding a book in his hand, inscribed *Verbum Dei*, which Gardiner considering to be a reflection on the restored Popish religion, "which it seems," says Strype, "was very jealous of the Bible," he sent for the painter, and having severely chidden him, bade him immediately expunge the book, and put in its place a pair of gloves. According to Foxe, he also insisted that the book should have been put in the Queen's hand, because *she* had reformed the Church and religion.

as Prolocutor, and in fact, before the University at large; and they were removed accordingly.

As we feel it to be conducive to a right understanding of the part Lord Burghley took, in assisting to bring Cardinal Pole into the kingdom, knowing how adverse to the Reformation all his principles and sentiments must have been, to consider the deplorable state of the nation, as exemplified in the harsh proceedings against the Reformed Clergy, previous to his Mission; we shall proceed, briefly to relate some of the leading circumstances of this most extraordinary exhibition at Oxford, for it seems to be, we are sorry to say, a portion of English history still subject to misrepresentation.

The three prisoners, after their arrival at the place appointed for the extraordinary trial, to which they were to be subjected, were allowed but two days for preparation, during which, they were kept in separate and ill-accommodated prisons, denied the use of their own books and papers, and compelled to appear separately in the schools, on distinct days.

The propositions fixed upon for discussion, were intended by the Romish party, to establish these three points:—First, That after Consecration of the Elements by the Priest, in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is actually present, under the species of bread and wine, the natural body of Christ, as born of the Virgin, and his natural blood. Secondly, That after Consecration, neither the substance of bread and wine remain, nor any other substance, but that of Christ, God and Man. Thirdly, That in the Mass, there is a lively propitiatory sacrifice, offered up by the Church, for the sins, as well of the living as the dead.*

* In Latin, as follows:—I. In Sacramento Altaris virtute verbi divini, a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter, sub speciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Mariæ; item naturalis ejus sanguis. II. Post Consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Christi, Dei et Hominis. III. In Missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium pro peccatis tam vivorum, quam mortuorum, propitiabile.

These were sent down to both Universities, to be previously well weighed and considered, that, if admitted to contain true doctrine, they might be properly defended; and thus, as has been observed, the seven members of the University of Cambridge, selected for the occasion, were deputed, "not so much to dispute upon points professedly orthodox, and agreeable to the fathers, and general councils, and the word of God, as to defend those truths in their names, and reduce the patrons of false and corrupt doctrines unto a sound mind." Indeed, in the public instrument, nominating and appointing them, the opposers of those three doctrines, namely, the Real Presence, Transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the Mass, are designated as no other than "*nonnullos perditionis et iniquitatis filios*," as confirmed heretics by their simple denial of them.* It could not be difficult to anticipate the issue of such a disputation. The business was to be managed by a chosen number, representing the Lower House of Convocation, and others joined with them, by special commission, as the Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Professors and Doctors of the University. The questions were to be proposed, as truths decidedly indisputable, to which the prisoners were to be required to assent;

* The whole passage is as follows:—Intelligentes itaque tam facti notorietate, quam famæ publicæ relatione, esse nonnullos perditionis et iniquitatis filios, seditiosos errorum innovatores, et ecclesiæ Christi hostes, qui hujusmodi sacram, Catholicam et orthodoxam doctrinam, ac ecclesiæ unitatem modis omnibus perturbare, dilacerare, infestare, affligere, et evertere satagunt, et conantur, quorum præcipui authores et anti signani nominatim sunt, D. *Thomas Cranmerus*, nuper Cantuar, Archiepiscopus, *Nicolaus Ridlæius*, nuper Roffensis, et *Hugo Latimerus*, jam olim Wigorn, Episcopi——nostrarum partium esse duximus, non modo Veritatem Catholicam prædictam verbo et scriptis conprobare, ac mundo palam facere, verum etiam eandem nedum contra eosdem *principales adversarios*, sed et contra omnes ecclesiæ hostes et veritatis Christi oppugnatores, pro virili nostra, manifesto Dei verbo, sanctorumque Patrum testimoniis, defendere, tueri, et propugnare."—In another paper, addressed by the University of Cambridge, to the Vice Chancellor, &c. of Oxford, they profess to lament, that those three Members of their own University, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, whom they had formerly regarded, as "Christi Ecclesiæ filios obedientes," should have since become by common report, "falsæ et corruptæ doctrinæ contumaces patronos."—*See Strype's Cranmer*, Appendix, lxxvii. lxxviii. date April, 1554.

but upon their refusal, they were to give their reasons, state their arguments, and be opposed by any of the persons selected as above, to defend the doctrines thus brought into dispute. The Commissioners altogether amounted to three and thirty.

On the first day, Cranmer conducted himself, amidst repeated insults, with such gravity, mildness, and moderation, as not only to extort praise and commendation from the Doctors, but to move many to tears, when they reflected on his reverse of fortune, on the different conduct of his rude opponents, and the very trying and degrading situation in which he was placed. He was once, during the day, very roughly called "that impudent and unlearned man," while he was defending one of his own works, extant to this day, and of which it would be difficult to say, whether it is most to be admired, for the learning it displays, or the extreme plainness and simplicity of its chaste and admirable style.

Ridley came next to the schools, where he argued strongly against Smith and many others, charging them with absurdities, which reasonable persons could scarcely have attempted to defend; but still with so little success, that Weston the Prolocutor, who, during all Edward's reign, had, as old Latimer, before he died, reminded him, been content to feed his parishioners with the very doctrine that he now called heresy, pronounced the truth to be entirely on the side of the *Papists*, calling upon the assembly to attest their triumph, by a general acclamation, that "Truth had gained the victory," over what he was pleased to call, the "obstinacy, the vain-glory, and *inconstancy*" of Ridley; for the latter had not pretended to deny, that he had formerly held a different opinion, but had discovered his error, by searching more narrowly the Holy Scriptures.

The aged Latimer was the last that appeared before them, "with his hat in his hand, a kerchief on his head, and a night-cap or two, covered by a larger cap with flaps to button under the chin, an old thread-bare Bristow freez-gown, girded to his body

with a penny leather girdle, at which hanged by a string of leather his Testament; his spectacles without hanging about his neck."* He pleaded inability at fourscore years of age, to charge his memory sufficiently to dispute with younger men, particularly in Latin, to which of late years he had been little used; but affirmed, that he was quite ready and prepared to deliver his own opinions upon the subjects submitted to him, and leave them to pass such judgment upon them as they pleased. That his faith he knew to be founded on the word of God, and, therefore, too firmly rooted to be any more shaken. Upon this, great shouts were raised, and many trying to speak at the same time, such noise and disorder ensued, as necessarily put an end to the meeting. But Latimer was as good as his word; he delivered to the Delegates a formal protestation against the three articles, which so well sets forth, in his own peculiar style, the trying circumstances in which he was placed by the severity of his persecutors, as justly to deserve an attentive perusal.†

To exemplify the jargon, for it has been rightly so called, with which the Popish party, after the manner of the schoolmen, *occasionally* defended their propositions (for generally speaking, in citing the Fathers, there was no want of learning or ingenuity on either side, and most of them were eminent dialecticians), on Cranmer's asking to be informed, in what manner they held our Saviour's body to be present in the Sacrament, whether this presence had quantity, quality, form, figure, and such like properties of a human body; Weston the Prolocutor, seeing some of his party rather embarrassed to give an answer, called out, it is "Corpus quantum sed non per modum quanti;" that is, our Saviour's body in the Eucharist, has quantity, but not after the manner of quantity; or in other words, that it is

* Burnet.

† See Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. part ii. No. xxxiv. Nos. xxxv. and xxxvi. are from the same hand.

Engraved by T. Bragg

The Right Hon.ble

ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY,

From the original Painting by Zucchero.

In the possession of

The most Noble The Marquis of Salisbury.

London Published by Saunders & Otley, Conduit Str.t April, 1828.

quantity, without any of the properties of quantity.—And these were the kind of answers and decisions, which, upon any insuperable difficulty, were, in the face of the learned and Scriptural arguments of the Protestant Bishops, to be pronounced true and indisputable by acclamation. A specimen of the same sort of logic, had been displayed in the year 1551, in a disputation at Sir William Cecil's own house against the celebrated Dean Feckenham, who attended the unhappy Lady Jane Grey to the scaffold, and who was one of the Commissioners upon this very occasion. The following is the account to be found in Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke:—

"Feckenham.—The body of Christ is in more places at once, *tanquam in loco;* he is in heaven *as in a place.* In the Sacrament, although he hath quantity, quality, and other proprieties of a true body, yet he is not in the Sacrament, *secundum modum quanti*, or as the Schoolmen speak, he is not there *quantitative* or *localiter.*"—To which Sir John Cheke, one of the disputants, replied, "These are monsters of words which cannot be comprehended by human understanding." A few more words upon this subject, and we shall have done. Of Weston's logic against Cranmer we have given a specimen; we shall now exhibit him as a Biblical critic against Latimer. Having demanded from the latter a proof from Scripture, that women ought to receive the Communion as well as men, Latimer very properly cited St. Paul, "Probet seipsum HOMO, et sic de pane edat."—"Cujus generis *Homo?*" added the venerable disputant, "doth not this word *Homo* signify in both kinds as well woman as man?"—Weston, a little gravelled, was helped by the Popish doctors present to this defence, that the *Greek* word was ανηρ, which signifieth *man* alone, in the masculine gender; but unfortunately for the credit of their joint criticism, the Greek word is not ανηρ, but ανθρωπος, an epicene as well as Homo, and common to both sexes: nor are we aware of any various read-

ing discovered to this day; in fact, Weston was very ignorant of Greek, being known to have interpreted the term ανθρωπομορφιται, into *devourers of men!*

Notwithstanding the quirks and quibbles, strained logic, and false criticism, by which the arguments of the three prisoners were sought to be overruled, they were in conclusion required to subscribe the propositions, as though they had been quite foiled, and upon their refusing so to do, condemned as heretics.

CHAP. LI.

Further remarks on the appointment of Sir William to bring home Cardinal Pole—Obstacles thrown in the way of the Cardinal's return, probably by Gardiner—Character of the Cardinal, by Mason, Latimer, Burnet, Collier, &c.—Cecil probably included in the Commission for other purposes, as a Statesman, versed in the affairs of Europe generally, from his previous situation as Secretary of State to King Edward VI.

SUCH were some of the appalling transactions which had occurred during the first sixteen months of Mary's reign. These things may be said to have passed under the eyes of *Cecil*, before he was "sent to Bruxelles," as his Domestic writes, "with the Lord Pagett, to bring in Cardinall Poole."

We have endeavoured to shew, that it is probable, he was joined to this Commission with a view to civil affairs only; but as he became afterwards intimate with the Cardinal, to the surprise (not to say offence) of many who knew how zealous he was in general for the advancement of the Reformation, we shall feel ourselves obliged to go more largely into this portion of our subject than might otherwise have been necessary. The Cardinal, besides his strong attachment to the Romish faith, lies under a stigma which will probably never be removed from the minds and recollection of all true Englishmen, that of having endeavoured to excite foreigners to invade his native land. This also we shall have to consider in the course of our investigation. The simple question before us at present we conceive to be, whether *Cecil* could have any motives for not declining to be one to bring over the Cardinal; for we are to believe that he had before declined a proffered appointment of great dignity and importance, on the ground of his religion; and we know that the seals of the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter had been taken from him. We may

conclude, therefore, that with regard to the Secretaryship, he was an avowed Protestant, and with regard to the post he lost, not conformist enough to retain under Mary a station of such distinction in the Court. It is necessary to say these things, because that he did in some manner conform, we shall not be able in the face of existing documents to deny, while we feel in our own minds abundantly satisfied, that during this very trying reign, he never abandoned the prospect of another revolution in favour of Protestantism.

Pole, we know, had, very soon after Mary's accession, been despatched by the Pope with a Legatine Commission to England. That he was on many accounts impatient to revisit his native country, but received many checks on his journey, principally and ostensibly on the part of the Emperor and Mary herself. The great difficulty is to ascertain what share Gardiner had in these several stoppages and interruptions, and what might be his precise motives for hindering his return. For that he did interfere there can be no doubt, and his own reasons, as stated to the Emperor, were plausible enough; first, that Pole might be hurrying matters on too fast with regard to the Papal Supremacy; and, secondly, that he might be an impediment to the Emperor's views with regard to the Queen's marriage with his son.

But he has generally been supposed to have had very urgent private motives for keeping the Cardinal out of the kingdom; and yet these, as set forth by different authors, have something contradictory in them: for while some have alleged that he was apprehensive the Queen would make him Archbishop of Canterbury, which he wished to secure to himself on Cranmer's removal, and so kept him away; others have supposed he wished him to marry the Queen, to put an end to all such pretensions. It is known at the same time, that he suggested to the Emperor the probability of his interfering, if he did come, with the marriage of Philip with the Queen, and yet the celebrated intriguing minister

of France, *Noailles*, represents him in his despatches to be *against* the *Imperial party* at Court, and in favour of the marriage between Courteney and the Queen.

Be these things as they may, it is very certain that he carried matters with a high hand against all the friends of the Reformation, when *Cecil* was sent to bring back Cardinal Pole. We have given sufficient instances of the severity of his proceedings in this way, and of the deplorable prospect there was of things becoming worse rather than better under his control;—bad enough they had already been, but that they might become worse, was a fair conjecture, as subsequent events concurred to prove. Pole was now become exceedingly impatient to return; he wrote to Philip upon the subject; and it appeared to *Mason*, who was resident at Brussels at the time, that if he were suffered to return to Italy, as he seemed disposed to do, it might be attended with bad consequences to England. It must have been very certain, that if he did so return, Gardiner would be rid of a rival and competitor, of whose approach he had constantly evinced a sort of apprehension. This would only tend to increase his power, to the further danger and dismay of the Reformed party. To resist the Queen and Philip and Gardiner, in the restitution of the Romish religion, was become a matter of impossibility. Many of the Queen's Council, besides Gardiner, were bent upon severe measures; and Boner was proceeding like a man bereft of all feeling, if not of all sense. The thing was doing, and to all appearance would be accomplished; and, perhaps, the only thing that might occur to Lord Burghley, would be, which would be the better instrument of the two, in accomplishing the Queen's purposes, the revengeful Prelate or the polished Cardinal;* we say polished, because this

* The following passage appears in the *Biographie Universelle*, Art. *Cecil.* "Il connoissoit l'esprit de moderation du Cardinal Pole, et consentit en consequence à aller, avec deux autres deputés l'inviter à rentrer en Angleterre, et revint avec lui en 1554. Esperant que ce prelat pourrait balancer le credit du fougueux Gardiner."

seems to be a feature in Pole's character denied by none; he had at least the manners of a gentleman, and that always bespeaks some suavity of disposition. We can scarcely doubt of this, when we read the letter which Mason, the Queen's Ambassador at the Imperial Court, wrote from Brussels to Mary, scarcely a month before the mission of Cecil, to express his concern that Pole's journey was so impeded. We shall transcribe a part of it here, as particularly applicable to our purpose.

"Cardinal Poole having been sent to these quarters for two purposes, th'one for the meaning of a cyvill peas between the French King and the Emperor; and the other for the helping to conclude a spirituall peas, as he termeth yt, in the realme of England; perceyving neither of them both to come to such a pass as his good mynde doth desyre, dothe begynne, as me semeth, to be owte of comfort: and being in manner clerely in dispayre of th'one, yf he receive not shortlye some likeliodde of the other, being wery of so much tyme spent wythout frute, begynneth in that case to talk of his return to Italy. If he return without the seing of his countrey, lyke as he shall retourne a sorrowful man, so shall the realme have lost the fruition of such a one, as for his wysdome, joined with learning, virtue, and godlynes, all the world seeketh and adoureth; in whome it is to be thought, that God hath chosen a speciall place of habitation. Such is his conversation, adorned with infinite godly qualities, above the ordinarye sort of men; and whosoever within the realme lyketh him worst, I wold he might have with him the talke of one half howre: it were a right stony harte, that in a small tyme he should not soften. If it be his fortune to depart, without shewing the experience hereof in the realme, his going away shall be in myne opinion, like the storye of the Gospell, of such as dwelt in *regione Gergesenorum*, who uppon a fond feare, denyed Christ offering himself unto them, '*ut discederet a finibus illorum.*'"

We shall not venture to pledge ourselves farther for the truth of

these expressions, than Burnet does, who thinks they were honestly intended, and that the Ambassador really possessed a very high opinion of the Cardinal. We may add, that he was not a man much likely to be deceived, having been, as well as Lord Burghley himself, Secretary of State and Master of Requests under Edward VI. He was, under Mary, Chancellor of Oxford, which he gave up to Pole, but was actually re-appointed under Elizabeth, anno 1559; we may conclude, therefore, that Cecil and he were well acquainted, which may have been another reason for the mission to Brussels, *Mason's* letter bearing date October 6, and Cecil being at Brussels so soon after as November 13.*

We shall add another account of him addressed to the Parliament, in a book entitled "*De Instauratione Reip. Anglorum, proque reditu reverendissimi et Illust. D. Regnaldi Poli:*"—"If," says the author, "ye shall therefore, O ye Patriots, call home this man, ye shall receive nobility and piety, together with learning; moreover, ye shall not hereby call in a foreigner, but your own countryman, but an Englishman, fitted as well to your customs, as manner of life; and who, according to the highly commendable custom of the English, shineth more in liberality than covetousness, and allureth rather by humanity than severity: no ignoble person, who for a dignity obtained shall grow proud, but one eminent for the nearness of his family to the royal dignity, a sober affecter of a more splendid fortune, and a noble despiser of a more severe one."

We have certainly produced already sufficient to shew what was the opinion prevailing at the time, of Pole's accomplishments, refinement of manners, and suavity of disposition;† which, com-

* See an account of Sir John Mason in Lodge's Illustrations of English History, i. 277.

† "Had Mr. Phillips indulged his veneration for Reginald Pole, by a panegyrick on his noble birth, meek disposition, and polite accomplishments, though his praise had risen to a strain which sobriety of thought could not always approve, yet, I suppose, none would have disturbed him in scattering with a full hand, the richest flowers of his rhetorick."—*Glocester Ridley's Review of Phillips*, 218.

paratively with the characters of *Gardiner*, *Boner*, &c. must have been all of importance in the eye of any friend to the Reformed party. But we may still produce another character of him, to be found in a sermon, preached by old Latimer before Edward VI. "I never remember that man," says he, speaking of *Pole*, "but I remember him with a heavy heart: a witty man, a learned man, a man of a noble house, so in favour, that if he had tarried in the realm, and would have conformed himself to the King's proceedings, I heard say, and I believe it verily, he had been Bishop of York at this day. And he would have done much good in that part of the realm; for those quarters have always had need of learned men, and a preaching prelate."

It is necessary to clear these matters up, if we can, because the readiness evinced by *Cecil*, to join this Commission, has been judged by some to invalidate the account given by his Domestic, of his refusal to accept the post of Secretary of State under Mary. It has been thought, that in this case of Pole, he must "have yielded a good deal upon the point [of Protestantism], without which he neither *could* nor *would* have made one of a deputation sent to conduct to England, Cardinal Pole, the Papal Legate."* This is easily said, and easily believed, if we do not examine farther than the mere surface of things. Of two evils it is always wisest to choose the least, if both cannot be avoided: and in this instance, Paget and Hastings were the chief commissioners, quite competent to conduct the Cardinal into England, if that had been all;† so that they might have gone without *Cecil*, if he

* Aikin's Elizabeth.

† The account given of this matter, in the Memoirs of William *Cecil*, Lord Burghley, &c. is as follows:—"The Queen was very desirous that Cardinal Pole should come over into England, as the Pope's Legate; and the Pope accordingly sent him with that character; but the Emperor having his *son's* match with the Queen much at heart, procured a stop to be put to his Eminency's journey, till it was finished. This delay was furthered by the practices of Gardiner and his creatures, who took much pains to represent Pole as a weak man, and unfit to manage state affairs. There were, however, among Queen Mary's Council, not a *few* who

had declined to accompany them, or if matters relating to the Church had been the whole object of the embassy. We have already expressed our suspicion, that Cecil was sent as a Statesman, to confer with the Emperor or his minister, or perhaps only with the Queen's own minister, Sir John Mason, on the state of the war, then going on between Germany and France. And this seems to be as nearly as possible demonstrated by the fact of his having again crossed the sea, with the Cardinal, in May, 1555, as we find it in his Journal, "*Ego trajeci mare et perveni Caletum, cum R. Cardinale Polo.*" At this time, Gardiner himself was of the company,* Lord Arundel and Paget, and on the 3rd of June they passed on from Calais to some village or house near *Mark;* "neare unto which," Stowe tells us, "they treated with the

desired to see *more moderate* measures taken than were then in use; with *these Sir William* (Cecil) associated himself, and at last they so far prevailed, that Lord Paget, Mr. Hastings, and Sir William Cecil, were sent to bring over the Cardinal.—Thus, though his religion excluded Sir William from office, yet he lived not only upon good terms with the ministry, but in great confidence with them; yet not in such confidence as that for their sakes he would betray either his conscience or his country."—p. 22, 23.

* Having observed that Sir William was probably employed merely as a Statesman both in his embassy to Brussels and to Mark, Gardiner himself seems to have supplied us with a striking corroboration of the fact, having at this very time, declared, that he was "doubtful whether the *Legate's* abilities (as a negotiator) were answerable to such an undertaking, *unless he was assisted by persons more expert than himself.*"—*See Phillips' Life of Pole, and Ridley's Review*, 284.

This meeting at *Mare* is given as an instance, how embassies are to be conducted composed of many Ambassadors, by *Wiquefort;* and, as there is something curious in his account, we shall transcribe it. Mary, he writes, having been persuaded (*obligé* is the expression), by Cardinal de la Pole to negotiate for a peace between Charles and Henry, "Elle avoit fait faire une maison de Charpenterie in Marc, à deux ou trois lieües de Calais, où estoient trois apartemens separés, pour les Ambassadeurs de l'Empereur, et pour ceux de France, et le troisieme pour le Cardinal. Ce bastiment avoit ses commodités pour le jour; mais sur le soir tous les Ambassadeurs se retiroient chez eux. Ceux de l'Empereur à Gravelines, les François à Ardres, et les Anglois à Calais. Au milieu de cette maison de bois il y avoit une grande tente, ou tous les Ambassadeurs se pouvoient rendre de leurs appartements par une galerie couvert.—Les Ambassadeurs de l'Empereur et de France ne se virent qu'une seule fois, pour se faire civilité, et tout la negotiation se fit par l'entremise des Anglois."—*L'Ambassadeur*, tom. i. 784.

Emperour's and French King's commissioners for a peace to be had betweene the said princes, Cardinal Poole being president there." On the 26th of June he appears to have returned again from this expedition, and here again Stowe's account agrees with Cecil's Diary, the historian relating, that "about the midst of June, Cardinal Poole returned again into England without any agreement made."

This seems to shew, as plainly as anything can, that Cecil was employed with Pole, Gardiner, &c. only upon state affairs, as far at least as these two commissions were concerned; not but that the state affairs of the Continent, at that period, included those of religion, and the Protestants of Germany and France, at least, may be accounted a chief party concerned.—So that even as a *Protestant*, *Cecil* might very properly have acted as a Commissioner; while it is not unreasonable to suppose that Pole's character, rank, and importance, may have appeared to *Cecil*, likely to give new weight to the negotiations; it being one of the remarks of the author of the book already spoken of, as presented to the Parliament, "*De Instauratione Reip. Anglorum*, &c." that nothing would please the *Italians*, *Germans*, *French*, and *Scotch* more, than that England should be so rash as to refuse to admit Pole; possibly, indeed, this may have been the very thing Cecil had judgment enough to foresee, for, indeed, his whole life seems to have been passed in guarding against political errors and mistakes, of which foreign nations might be expected to take advantage against England.

CHAP. LII.

The Return of the Cardinal very generally desired, according to the testimony of Noailles, the French Ambassador—Probable occasion of this—Gardiner, the reputed enemy of the Princess Elizabeth—Cecil, her great friend and counsellor—Cecil's bad opinion of Gardiner to be collected from a Letter of the Court during the Protectorate, to the English Minister at Paris—Compliance on the part of the Protestants not essential to their safety during Mary's reign—Many exceptions to the general persecution of heretics—Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Ralph Sadler, &c.—Opinions of Melancthon, Lethington, Knox, &c. as to occasional conformity.

But at all events, it would appear that *Cecil* would not have been singular, as a zealous Protestant, if he had wished for the return of Pole; for the French Ambassador at Mary's Court, the celebrated *Noailles*, expressed his surprise to the King his Master, to find, that Protestants as well as Catholics, wished for Pole's arrival: "*y est il plus demandé que je n'eusse jamais pensé, le desirans maintenant tant les Protestants que Catholiques.*" This, it is true, was previous to the Spanish match, to which Pole was judged to be an enemy; but there is still another reason why they might wish for him, and upon which we have not yet touched; he had actually conducted himself on the Continent so moderately, and with so little asperity towards the Reformists, as to incur the suspicion at Rome, of being inclined to Lutheranism. Gardiner himself, even, according to Rapin, had made this one of the reasons why Pole should not be recalled; namely, that he was not so much an *enemy to the Protestants* as might be *wished*, and that religion, in the present conjuncture, required to be conducted by other maxims than those of that Cardinal.

Pole, in his zeal to serve Katherine of Arragon, and his cousin, the Princess Mary, had certainly greatly abused and slandered the

unfortunate mother of the Princess Elizabeth; but *Gardiner* was a *secret*, if not an *open* enemy of the Princess herself, whom *Cecil* was, for wise and good reasons, anxious to preserve. Both the Princess and *Cecil* could do no better, than, avoiding any positive and disgraceful surrender of principles, to let things pass without any *offensive*, as it could not fail to be, *ineffectual* opposition.

Hitherto, Gardiner had certainly acted in such a manner as to betray to observant eyes his great jealousy of the Cardinal; and since all that had passed against the Protestants in the course of the last sixteen months, had been in a great measure, and with no small reason, attributed to the vengeance and extreme severity of Gardiner and Boner, backed by the Queen and Council, and now, probably, by Philip also, it must have been a question, whether some better agent or instrument of *retaliation* (so to speak), might not be found in the Cardinal than in Gardiner, the restoration of Popery, for a time, under existing circumstances, appearing at all events inevitable. We have a remarkable proof of *Cecil's* bad opinion of Gardiner, in a letter sent from the Court to the English minister at Paris in 1547, the first year of Edward's reign, to counteract the tragical accounts Gardiner had given to foreigners of the usage he met with in England. The paper is signed by the Protector *Somerset*, *Cranmer*, the Lords *Rich*, *Wiltshire*, *Warwick*, *Bedford*, *Northampton*, and *Clinton*, Sir *William Petre*, and *Cecil;* in which, in vindication of the proceedings against Gardiner, they affirm that "he had showed not only a wilful pride, but a cankered heart, guilty of open and shameful lies; by which impudent falsehood he showed himself to be most unworthy to be a Bishop, whatsoever strangers may think of him; for religion, he is as far from any piety or fashion of a good Bishop as a player of a Bishop in a comedy is from a goodBishop indeed."* We may easily suppose that *Cecil* must have had his eye much fixed on the proceedings of such a man, brought into great power, and it might be something to secure

* Burnet's Reformation, vol. iii. part i. 329.

in Pole, a man of at least much milder manners. Pole was no match for Gardiner, but he might do some good at all events. We know what they thought of each other, and it may require to be recorded here. Gardiner it seems thought Pole a *weak* man, that might have some speculative knowledge of abstract ideas, but understood not the world, nor the genius of the English nation. Pole thought Gardiner a *false* man, that made conscience of nothing, and was better at intrigues and dissimulation than the government of the Church.* Both, probably, were right; but Pole must have been the most manageable of the two, and might be taught what he did not know; and it is remarkable, that in the breves sent by the Pope to Pole, and containing his instructions, there is little of severity to be found, rather, indeed, the contrary. And, indeed, no sooner was the Cardinal arrived in London, than he and Gardiner appeared to stand at the head of two several factions; *Pole* being for the *mildest*, and *Gardiner* for the *severest* measures. Pole was for reforming the *Clergy*, to whose ignorance and scandalous lives he was disposed to attribute the late schism; Gardiner was for nothing so much as the extirpating the heretics. The Queen, approving of both, assigned to the Cardinal the reformation of the Clergy, and to Gardiner the punishment of heresy.

We are obliged to be the more particular as to the conduct and character of the Cardinal, because it stands recorded, that Sir William Cecil not only attended the Commission that was deputed to fetch him over, but after his arrival associated with him upon friendly and familiar terms. Thus, under the year 1554, we find *Burnet* stating that "Secretary Cecil (so he calls him), who in matters of religion complied with the present time, was observed to have more of his favour than any Englishman had;" and *Strype*, who is not very favourable to the Cardinal, gives him credit for his discernment in selecting such a companion. Speaking of the Cardinal's return to the Continent for the purpose of negotiating a

* Burnet, vol. iii. part i. 470. Oxford Edit.

peace, if he could have done it, he observes that he was "accompanied, among others, with Sir William *Cecil*, whom he seemed to delight in for his wisdom, policy, learning, and good society."*

If this association seem strange to us at this time, we ought in all justice to consider what might be the real foundation and ground of it. Burnet lessens the strangeness of the association by his general and rather loose remark, "that in matters of religion *Cecil* complied with the present time;" while the assertion itself, if true

* The same author, it must be confessed, in his Life of Archbishop Whitgift, speaks of the Cardinal as returning to England perfectly *Italianized*, and sadly set against the Protestants as adverse to Church *Unity*. And Fuller says of him, "The longer he lived in England, the less he had of an Englishman, daily more and more *Italianizing* himself." Burnet's account of him also is as follows:—"He came over into England much changed from that freedom of conversation he had formerly practised; he was in reserves to all people, spoke little, and had put on an Italian temper as well as behaviour: he brought over two Italians, *Priuli* and *Ormaneto*, who were his only confidants. He was a man of a generous and good disposition, but knew how jealous the Court of Rome would be of him if he *seemed to favour heretics*; therefore he expressed great detestation of them. Nor did he converse much with any that had been of that party, but the late Secretary *Cecil;* who, though he lived for the most part privately at his house near Stamford, where he afterwards built a most sumptuous house, and was known to favour the Reformation still in his heart, yet in many things he complied with the time, and came to have more of his confidence than any Englishman." The very next sentence, however, is, "The Cardinal professed himself an enemy to extreme proceedings: he said pastors ought to have bowels even to their straying sheep: bishops were fathers, and ought to look on those that erred as their sick children, and not for that to kill them," &c.

In the Life of the Cardinal, contained in the British Plutarch, it is alleged that Pole was exceedingly offended at the reception he met with on his arrival, from the populace: "In passing through the city no kind of respect was shewn him, and his blessing the people as he passed was openly laughed at. This, probably, soured his temper, which, it is stated, was naturally mild and amiable. It has likewise been asserted, that he advised moderate measures with respect to the Protestants; but one of the first acts, indubitably, of his Legatine authority was, to grant commissions for the prosecution of heretics; and he publicly expressed his detestation of the Reformed, refusing to *converse* with *any* who had been of that party." The latter fact we know to be untrue, having many instances to produce to the contrary. We are quite aware that it is scarcely possible, without some loss of credit, to speak well either of Henry VIII. or Cardinal Pole; but a writer, whose business it has been to search deeply into the records of the sixteenth century, cannot but know what embarrassing contradictions are to be found there, and how many instances are to be met with of comparative merit, where it would be almost vain to look for any one instance of positive and unsullied virtue.

to any great extent, is calculated to affect Lord Burghley's consistency, and no doubt has done so in the estimation of many cursory readers of history.

To comply, does not always mean to make concessions. In foreign countries, a man, to this day, would be thought both rash and rude, not to comply with some customs, much more with some religious ceremonies, though it would be wrong to conclude, that in such compliance, he had decidedly abandoned any essential principles of his own belief.—We must know that this occurs every day, and though we are aware that it is objectionable in many points of view, it may be much more tolerable and excusable under some circumstances than under others. If the compliance be absolutely required as a test of any correspondent concessions, there can be no doubt that it might be base to comply, but where the compliance is only outward, and principles are not held to be compromised by it, it may fall into the class of indifferents. As these were indisputably times of *martyrdom*, we may be sure, compliance was *exacted* of *some* as a *positive evidence* of *concession;* and in these cases we must acknowledge resistance could not but be most honourable and noble, and that less indeed would have been unpardonable. But there is no actual proof of this, as far as we know, in regard to *Cecil;* and we have very great reason to believe, that very *trifling* outward compliances, were, under certain circumstances, sufficient to secure any layman from molestation, during this otherwise troublesome reign; and that even some favour at Court, among the Courtiers, was no positive indication of any unworthy compliances.—We may go farther; and add, that under particular circumstances, Protestantism incurred no danger.—We have indeed one very remarkable instance of this; and at this precise time.

Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State under Edward VI. as Sir William Cecil himself had been, and his actual successor in the office of Master of Requests, and who, besides, had sat in judg-

ment upon both Gardiner and Boner, lived quite as unmolested under Mary, as Cecil did. But by what means? even by a *special indulgence of the Pope;* and in the following most remarkable manner, as it is told in his Life.

"In the year 1555, one William *Smythwick*, of the diocese of Bath, Esquire, had obtained a very large *indulgence* from *Rome;* for which, no question, the said Gentleman was very liberal, which caused that Court to shew itself so liberal again. It was, that he, and any *five* of his friends, whom he should nominate (excepting regulars), such as were married, and their children of both sexes, should enjoy many extraordinary indulgences upon his petition to the Pope, who then was *Paul IV.* which Bull, ran for indulgence to Smythwick, and his five friends and their children, as was petitioned, 'from all sentences of excommunication,' &c. in fact, from all guilt against the Church of Rome, in whatsoever manner incurred." One of the *five* chosen friends of Smythwick, was Sir *Thomas Smith;* and surely we may infer, that under the wing of *Cardinal Pole*, Sir William *Cecil* might escape without any actual concessions, or any base compliance.

But even Gardiner and Boner, we are told, actually favoured Sir Thomas Smith, in consideration of his exemplary virtue and learning. And why might not Sir William *Cecil*, on the very same grounds, receive some indulgence, especially when it is considered, that he had never been personally opposed to either Gardiner or Boner, in the way that Sir Thomas Smith, when Secretary of State, had been;* and we have seen, that Gardiner as well as Pole, were in the commission which Sir William attended, on his second visit to the Continent.†

* Smith indeed had been a controversial opponent of Gardiner, in the memorable question and dispute concerning the right pronunciation of the Greek vowels, &c. as noticed at the beginning of these Memoirs.

† To shew that it was not very difficult for Protestants to procure, or rather *secure* the protection of Catholics, we have a curious story told by Fuller;—after giving *Gardiner* credit for sparing his own diocese, "preying fox-like furthest from his own den, flying always at stout

We have mentioned the case of Smythwick, under whose Bull of indulgence Sir Thomas Smith took shelter. If we may believe *Fuller* and *Lloyd*, Sir *Ralph Sadler's* was rather a stronger case. This eminent statesman, even served under Mary in a military capacity, being at the same time a Protestant, but one that was sheltered by a Papal Bull; for when, in the time of Henry VIII. he attended Cromwell to Rome, he had a pardon granted him for the sins of his whole family for *three generations;* which happened to terminate in his descendant, Ralph Sadler, Esq. who died just before *Lloyd* published his book. That Pole came into England sufficiently provided with such indulgences, we may conclude, from the tenor of his first commission to the Bishops to reconcile all in their dioceses to the Church of Rome. His power of absolution was to extend to all who had ever fallen into heresy, and become subject to punishment, let their offences be what they might; nothing seemed to be excluded from forgiveness, upon compliance, and external compliance seems to have been as much as was required, from the wording of the instrument.

Of Sir William Cecil's conformity, to a certain extent, there can be no doubt. At Wimbledon (which he held by lease under a grant from Edward VI.), he certainly seems to have lived in an outward conformity to the Church establishment under Mary; he had in his household a Priest, and a paper is still in existence in the State Paper Office, from which it certainly appears that he confessed, and probably attended at the Mass. Of this his enemies, in after-times appear to have been willing to take advantage, but that he meant to give any to such adversaries we can scarcely suppose, when the paper bears his own

or high game, the Lady *Elizabeth* particularly," he acknowledges himself grateful to him, " for saving his great-grandmother, whose husband rented Farnham Castle—for the good cordials she provided him when at his palace, he not only connived at her heresie, as he termed it, but protected her during his life from the fury of others."

indorsement, and is probably in the very place in which he left it.

The paper is thus headed:—(Mr. Lemon, of the State Paper Office, the promoter of all historical researches, however laborious to himself, pronounces it to be in the hand-writing of William Haddon, Sir William Cecil's steward.)

"The names of them that dweleth in the pariche of Wimbletoun, that was confessed and resaved the sacrament of the altre."

"My master, Sir Wilyem Cecill, and my Lady Myldread his wyffe." Then follow the other names:—Thomas Cecill, their eldest son, standing next.

Lord Burghley's indorsement calls it, "The Wimbledon Easter-book, 1556."

To a certain extent then, it seems clear that he complied with the times, or, we should rather perhaps say, conformed to the laws, which he could not then alter. To what extent he did so, we cannot exactly ascertain, but not so far, we may reasonably conclude, as to recover any of his places under Government, and which, indeed, in one instance, he has the credit of having declined on conscientious motives. But we must further consider, that in those days, many very sincere Protestants seem to have agreed upon the wisdom and expediency of waiting for opportunities, rather than openly and to no purpose, flying in the face of the laws. We shall find examples of this on the Continent, during the *Interim;* many of the German Protestants scrupled not, while this law was in force, to submit to the Popish Ceremonies, as things to them indifferent; those who would not do so, called them, it is true, in reproach, *Adiaphorists;* but among these, it should be remembered, that eminent Reformist *Melancthon*, was one, and that he appears to have gone greater lengths, than any that have been imputed to Lord Burghley. We have, indeed, a strong proof that the latter wished to get

clear of the Mass by argument rather than force, to the very last, since we shall find, that after the death of Queen Mary, he was particularly instrumental in having the case submitted afresh to a regular *disputation* between the opposite parties, previous to its abrogation by Elizabeth; and even then the Communion Office was altered, that as little umbrage as possible might be given to those who still held the doctrine of the real presence in the Romish sense of those terms. The reader may see in Mosheim, the high commendation bestowed on the good King of Sweden, Gustavus Vasa, for similar conduct, at the commencement, and during the progress of the Reformation in his kingdom.

Are we seeking to defend, or excuse *prevarication?* Certainly not; we are merely endeavouring to account for certain appearances of it in Lord Burghley's particular case, and because we do not know, nor probably ever shall know, how very slight a conformity in certain cases, and with regard to *certain persons*, at that time, was judged sufficient for the purposes of security.

There was a curious case of conscience upon these points, absolutely submitted to the decision of Ridley before he died; his answer is to be seen in Strype's Memorials, (vol. iii. part i. 416.) but it must be confessed, there is a good deal of obscurity in it. In Scotland, however, *Lethington* and *Knox* seem once to have formally discussed the point, and to have come to a conclusion, that under certain circumstances, a sort of submission is allowable.—Knox had argued, that the *people of God* were bound to put down idolatry, and root out idolaters, without reserve or exception. When *Lethington* stated that *Calvin* and some others of the foreign Reformists, had counselled their followers to be quiet and submissive, even under persecution; Knox very truly and wisely observed, that this referred to Christians so dispersed as to have no other resource, but only to sob to God for deliverance. That such, indeed, he continues, "should hazard any farther than these godly men will them, I could not hastily

be of counsel. But my argument has another ground; for I speak of a people—unto whom God has given *sufficient force*, not only to *resist*, but to *suppress* all kind of *open idolatry*; and such a people, I again affirm, are bound to keep their land clear and unpolluted."

Now, it would be easy to shew, that *Cecil* and other Protestants, were, at this time, but a severed and dispersed people, as to all *power* of putting down the Romish idolatry. The only question remaining, therefore, is, whether they were to run the hazard of more than a secret and quiet wish for timely deliverance; Naaman-like bowing to Rimmon, though with no idolatrous intention?—a case, actually, at this very time, cited by the German Protestants, when they deliberately allowed the Elector of Saxony to attend the Emperor to Mass.*

* Jurieu's Council of Trent, p. 32.

CHAP. LIII.

Sir William interested, during the whole of Mary's reign, for the Princess Elizabeth, as heir presumptive, independent of all other considerations—Probability of the Reformation being revived, as long as Mary had no Children—Many of the Reformed party, besides Cecil, stayed at home, at any risk, while others fled—Cecil's continuance on the spot, probably of great use to the Refugees, and the cause of the Reformation—Account of Archbishop Parker during Mary's reign—Great pains taken by Mary to have a Parliament returned favourable to her views—The Cardinal arrives —Submission of the Lords and Commons.

But it certainly deserves to be considered, that, to all appearance, Cecil had, during the whole of Mary's reign, another interest besides his own to attend to. We shall be easily understood to mean that of the Princess Elizabeth. As long as Mary continued childless, things were not utterly ruined. The chance of another change must constantly have been before his eyes; he must have known and felt, that upon any fresh revolution, it would be as easy for a new Sovereign, and a future Parliament, to undo whatever Mary might do, to repeal her acts as easily as she had repealed Edward's, or Edward had abrogated Henry's, and in fact that the grand revolution upon the subject of religion was not terminated, but still in action. We shall have occasion to shew that his continuance upon the spot was serviceable to those who fled; and, at all events, while the Princess Elizabeth resisted all proposals of foreign marriage, and looked to her reversionary claim to the Crown, she was not to be abandoned. Her conformity, the Catholics at this day, call conversion; but the Mass was forced upon her at the Tower, and at all events, neither Elizabeth nor *Cecil* were so far removed from the abuses of the Romish Church, as not to know, that, in fact, their forefathers, and even their very fathers, had worshipped

according to those forms. Those of the Laity who fled, had certainly not so much reason for doing so as the Clergy, and even of the latter, some remained, who may be said to have weathered the storm. Archbishop Parker is a memorable instance; and in his old parchment roll, containing his journal of memorable things happening to him, from the year of his birth, to the year wherein he was made Archbishop, we have a curious account of the state of his mind, and condition of his living at this time. After registering under the dates of April 2d, and May 21st of the year 1554, the loss of his prebendal stall at Ely, his rectory of Landbeche, his deanery of Lincoln, and prebendal stall of Coningham in the same church, he gives this very interesting account of himself.

" Postea privatus vixi, ita coram Deo lætus in conscientiâ meâ; adeoque nec pudefactus, nec dejectus; ut dulcissimum otium literarium, ad quod Dei bona providentia me revocavit, multo majores et solidiores voluptates mihi pepererit, quam negotiosum illud et periculosum vivendi genus unquam placuit. Quid postea obventurum sit nescio; sed Deo, cui curæ est de omnibus, qui olim revelabit occulta cordium, meipsum totum, piamque et pudicissimam uxorem meam, cum duobus charissimis filiolis meis, commendo. Eundemque Deum optimum maximum precor, ut ita in posterum infractis animis portemus probrum Christi, quo semper meminerimus hic non esse nobis civitatem manentem, sed inquiramus futuram, gratia et misericordia Domini mei Jesu Christi, cui cum Patre, et Spiritu Sancto sit omnis honor et imperium. Amen. 16 Oct. Ann. Dmi. 1554."* There are entries to the

* " After my deprivation, I lived so joyful before God in my conscience, and so neither ashamed nor dejected, that the most sweet leisure for study, to which the good providence of God recalled me, created me much greater and more solid pleasures, than that former busy and dangerous kind of living ever pleased me. What will hereafter happen to me I know not; but to God, who takes care of all, and who will one day reveal the hidden things of men's hearts, I commend myself wholly, and my godly and most chaste wife, with my two most dear little sons; and I beseech the same most good and great God, that we may so, for the time to come, with unshaken minds bear the reproach of Christ, that we may always remember that we have here no abiding city, but may seek one to come, by the grace and

same effect under the years 1555, 1556, 1557, the last being as follows:—"Et adhuc lætus, sorte meâ contentus testimonio conscientiæ meæ in Domino confisus, et fretus verbo ejus vivo."*

We may see by this, that those who bore their deprivations quietly might live unmolested;† though it would be difficult to say, even in the worthy Archbishop's case, how he could avoid some outward conformity. Cecil, it is true, did not live in obscurity; *his* sacrifices were not great. He was in possession of the rectory of Wimbledon, where he seems to have retained a large household, nearly thirty in all; he held his house also in Canon Row, and divers estates, by inheritance, grant, or purchase, of which a very curious account, in his own hand-writing, is still to be seen in what is called his Household Book. Had these indulgences been purchased at the price of any very disgraceful concessions, any *public* and *positive recantation* or *renunciation* of *principles*, we should assuredly have heard enough of it from his Romish adversaries; we conceive it to be entirely owing to his prudence, in not interfering; in an outward obedience to the laws existing, which we have reason to know, was a ruling principle with him;‡ and possibly he might also be much beholden to Pole's protection.§ To whom it is now necessary to return.

mercy of my Lord Jesus Christ. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and empire. AMEN. 26th Oct. A. D. 1554."—*Strype.*

* "And yet I am joyful, contented with my lot, trusting in the testimony of my conscience in the Lord, and relying upon his living word."—*Strype.*

† This was not entirely the case with Parker; at one time he was looked for to be taken into custody, but escaped by night, getting a fall in his flight from which he never recovered.

‡ One of the most amiable Popish Prelates, Tonstal, whom Hume, as well as others, praises for his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence, is thus spoken of by the historian just mentioned:—"He had opposed by his vote and authority all innovations in religion, but as soon as they were enacted, he had always submitted, and had conformed to every theological system which had been established. His known probity had made this compliance be ascribed not to an interested or time-serving spirit, but to a sense of duty, which led him to think that all private opinion ought to be sacrificed to the great concerns of public peace and tranquillity."

§ The *protection* afforded to those eminent persons we have mentioned, may help to account for a remark in the work of Miss Aikin on the Court of Elizabeth. After observing that about

Mary had been exceedingly careful, before the arrival of the Cardinal, to prepare a Parliament that should be entirely favourable to the restoration of the ancient forms and Papal authority; much had been done, but much more remained to be done. She sent, therefore, her private letters to the Sheriffs, "to deal with the people," as Strype expresses it, "for electing such representatives as might do her work." She was very explicit as to her purposes, particularly as to the rooting out of heresies and restoring the Romish ritual and customs. The people, therefore, were to be exhorted to "choose knights, citizens, and burgesses, to repair to Parliament, to be of their inhabitants, as the old laws require, and of the wise, grave, and *Catholic* sort, such as indeed mean the true honour of God, with the prosperity of the commonwealth;" but it was after all not left to the mere choice of the people, for some, we are told, were elected by force and threats, and their opponents rudely prevented voting. Many were sent up upon false returns, and those who came to the House, and were judged unfit, were forcibly thrust out.* Care was taken to make it understood, that it was not her purpose generally to interfere with property, in order to quiet the minds of those who had obtained Abbey-lands; and in the writ of summons she suppressed her title of "Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England."

The entry of the Cardinal into London, though not attended with the popular acclamations he expected, as some write, was with all the pageantry usual upon the reception of a Pope's Legate *de latere*, and bespoke so far the strange infatuation of the people, but particularly of the two Houses of Parliament, who would have

two hundred and eighty persons had perished under Mary, by the hands of the executioner; she goes on to say, "But to the *disgrace* of the *learned*, the *rich*, and the *noble*, these martyrs, with the exception of a few distinguished ecclesiastics, were almost all from the middling or lower, some from the very lowest classes of society." To account for this, without so indiscriminate a charge of *disgrace*, we refer to the foregoing cases of *Catholic protection*, and to the fact, that *talents* were in *requisition*, notwithstanding the Protestantism of such as possessed them.

* Strype's Memorials, iii. 245, 6.

abjectly sued for pardon, had not his Eminence prevented them by granting absolution for themselves and the whole nation, without being sued to for it; a benefit, or blessing as the Queen called it, which, to mark their subserviency, they were content to receive on their knees. A special embassy, moreover, consisting of the Lord Montacute, Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, was despatched to Rome to give thanks to the Pope for pardon of the schism, and tender fresh submission on the part of the King, Queen, and people in return; and to shew the plenary power of the See of Rome, his Holiness condescended to erect Ireland into a kingdom, though it had been amply done before in favour of Henry VIII. by the proper authorities and estates of that country. Nor did the Parliament at all regard the enormous and exorbitant expences attending the mission of the Cardinal, but allowed a long list of charges for the Legate's accommodation, to be submitted to them by the Queen, and to which they were brought as readily to assent as to all the other proposals from the Court.*

In the Cardinal's first address to the Parliament in the presence of the King and Queen, he was careful most solemnly to declare that he had "no prejudicial instructions to any person, that his commission was not to pull down, but to build; to reconcile, not to censure; to invite, but without compulsion. My business," said he, "is not to proceed by way of retrospection, or to question

* It was calculated, that as he entertained one hundred and thirty in family, besides thirty more abroad (foreigners), 1000 crowns monthly would but suffice for food for his said servants; besides which there would be the charge of the equipage of forty horses and mules for his Eminence's ordinary attendance; the ordinary wages of his old family, which came monthly to seventy-five crowns; to which would be added twenty-five crowns more for the livery and clothes of his chamberlains, chaplains, and officers; and that there would be immediate need of 2000 crowns for the renewing of his plate, and for the supply of his chapel, his table, and his larder, &c. &c.: three hundred crowns for linen and napery, for the tables and chambers six hundred crowns more, and a great deal besides.—*See Strype's Memorials*, iii. 247. But the original should be examined, No. xix. Catalogue, entituled, "*Status familiæ Cardinalis Poli, et sumptus necessarii, sicut describabantur, cum regnum ingressurus erat.*" Strype seems to have made some mistake as to the first clause.

things already settled; as for what is passed it shall be all overlooked and forgotten."

If, by the enemies of the great man whose life we are writing, much stress should be laid on his compliances during Mary's short reign, what strange ideas must be entertained of the former connivance and compliance of many, who now hailed with such joy the revival of the Pope's authority, and re-establishment in full of the Romish religion. It would be impossible, we think, to calculate the amount of the perjury that must have been committed by those, who, under the late reign, had been actually encouraged as well as allowed by the Popish Clergy to cast off the Pope's supremacy, and swear obedience to the King as Head of the Church, and who were now, through the very same channel, urged to set up again the authority of the Pope, and swear obedience to the See of Rome. A contemporary writer gives the following account of the transactions in this way, "during the last twenty years," and of what he calls the "dissembling quality of the priests in this Queen's days."

"What land or people doth not know that the whole Popish clergy of this realm, have not only lived perjured, as they themselves confes, and compelled al the people, many against their conscience, to confes the same these twentie years last past, and above; but also have compelled al them that in these years have been admitted priests to perjure themselves in like manner; yea, and in every law-day, the keepers of the same were sworn to cal for al the young men of their hundred, even as they came to the years of their age, appointed to swear the same oath, never to receive the Bishop of Rome, nor no other potentate or power on earth, to be head of the people of England, under God, but only the King's Majesty and his successors for ever. Now if this oath be unlawful, as the clergie now say,—al the whole people have cause justly to bear wrath towards the wickedness of that clergie, not only for their own perjurie, but also for theirs.—The souls that are dead in this perjurie may curse them all.

"But to heal this their wickedness, their sacrament of penance, and the proper pardon, doth them great service, for they have authority to minister that sacrament to the people, and themselves also; and God then must needs forgive them al: but if any take not their penance they must be damned, as some of the Clergy saith. And this I know, that the most part of the priests so handle themselves, that with one part of the people they still falsely dissemble; for, if one come to them, shewing that his conscience is not satisfied in the present way of religion, the priest will tel him, 'You say the truth; my conscience is as yours is, but we must bear for a time:' yea, and wil say, that he himself looked for another change. When another of a contrary opinion comes to the priests, and talks about religion, they will say to him, 'Yea, we have been deceived; but thanks be to God that ye kept your conscience clean all this while; for even so was mine; but I durst not do any otherwise, but trusted that this time would come, as is now, thanks be to God.'"—Nay, and sometimes in the same town, as this author writes, they would minister the service two ways to the people to please both; insomuclf that the Bishops and Priests grew for this cause, as well as for their cruelty, into great dislike with the people.

Strype copied this from a MS. treatise of those very days, and we have therefore transcribed it from him, not to shift the blame of dissimulation from the Protestants to the Catholics, without reserve, but to shew that in all likelihood, and amidst the many severities that did take place under Mary, where the victim was marked out for slaughter, as in the case of the episcopal martyrs particularly, *Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper*, &c., and many of the gospel ministry,—yet the Romanists themselves had a way of managing matters otherwise if they chose it; so that the Protestantism of many was winked at, softened down by the Priests themselves, or actually taken under the protection of those who were armed with sufficient indulgences and dispensations from the

Pope. We have cited the case of Sir Thomas Smith as being under the special protection of a Catholic gentleman so provided; he lost, indeed, two appointments, which he should not have ever had perhaps, the Provostship of Eton, and Deanery of Carlisle; but his life was spared, and he obtained an annuity for his subsistence. He himself, regarding his own safety and security, in the midst of such severities exercised upon others, as so signal a deliverance, that he is supposed to have made it an occasion of changing his crest, from an eagle, to a salamander, living in the midst of flames.

But, perhaps, there is no case more remarkable, or which may tend more to explain the very circumstances and situation of Sir William Cecil at this time, than that of the celebrated *Roger Ascham*, whom we have before had frequent occasion to mention. Notwithstanding his known attachment to Protestantism, his exertions that way at Cambridge, where Gardiner was Chancellor, and the post he held at Court, in Edward's reign, as the Tutor of the Princess Elizabeth, the Prince himself, and, in some respects, of the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey; his great proficiency in writing Latin, happening to point him out to Mary, as a person of whose talents she stood in need, she hesitated not to make him her Latin Secretary; and in the year 1555, being still in the Queen's employment, he was even allowed to resume his lessons with Elizabeth, under whose reign afterwards he occupied the same post.*

* Dr. Johnson, in his Life of *Ascham*, says, "How *Ascham*, who was a known Protestant, could preserve the favour of *Gardiner*, and hold a place of honour and profit in Queen *Mary's* Court, it must be very natural to inquire. *Cheke*, as is well known, was compelled to a recantation; and why *Ascham* was spared, cannot now be discovered."—"Nothing is more vain," he adds, "than at a distant time, to examine the motives of discrimination and partiality; for the inquirer having considered interest and policy, is obliged at last, to omit more frequent and more active motives of human conduct, caprice, accidents, and private affections."—"At that time, if some were punished, many were forborne; and of many, why should not *Ascham* happen to be one? He seems to have been calm and prudent, and content with that peace which he was suffered to enjoy; a mode of behaviour that seldom fails to produce security."—"He was certainly, according to his own opinion, not much in danger—*Gardiner* allowed him to hold

This may, at least serve to prove, that the offer of Secretaryship to Lord Burghley on the Queen's accession, had nothing so extraordinary in it; she would have employed him, if he would have accepted of the appointment;* in fact, she knew how to make use of the talents of her subjects, where she found them to be such as she wanted, and without any symptoms of jealousy. Sir Ralph Sadler, as we have before intimated, was intrusted with a military command or commission, and addressed as one of her most "trustie and well beloved." The editor of his Letters, indeed, concludes from this, that "Sir Ralph's zeal for the reformation of religion, had probably been a little cooled by the death of Edward, since we find that Queen Mary thought him worthy of some countenance." But we see no reason to draw this conclusion; the Queen, in her commission, gives him no credit, beyond that of a loyal subject; "fidelity towards her person, good zeal to the common quiet, and a ready good will to serve her as his Sovereign." This letter was addressed to him on the 9th of May, 1554, while he was living in retirement. And the same commission was renewed in nearly the same terms after her marriage with Philip.

Dr. Walter Haddon is another instance of a very sound Protestant, living in security under Mary, without any undue compromise of principles. It is true, he had complimented her on her accession, in a copy of verses; but in that very poem he gives her advice, very befitting a good Protestant to give—

his Fellowship, though not resident, and he only resigned it to marry. He was distinguished by the notice of Cardinal Poole, a man of great candour, learning, and gentleness of manners, and particularly eminent for his skill in Latin, who thought highly of Ascham's style: of which it is no inconsiderable proof, that when Poole was desirous of communicating a speech made by himself, as Legate in Parliament, to the Pope, he employed Ascham to translate it."—"He is said to have not only been protected by the Officers of State, but favoured and countenanced by the Queen herself."

* The Emperor, thinking she might be too weak to withstand Northumberland and his party, had at first advised her to offer to continue all the Crown Officers in their places.

and with no obscure desire that she should tread in her *brother's* steps:

> "Fratris ut es regni, sic sis pietatis et hæres,
> Justitiam serva, demissis parce, superbos
> Contere, virtuti sit honor, doctrina colatur."

Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, being at Cambridge, when Pole's decree of a visitation to search for *heretics*, was about to take place, intended to fly beyond sea, but was stayed by the secret connivance of Perne, the Vice-Chancellor, at that time a Conformist.* Even Sir Thomas Pope, appointed to reside with the Princess Elizabeth, an appointment of singular and peculiar confidence on the part of Mary, had by no means rendered himself a favourite at Court, by any furious zeal for the Romish faith. He had been an active assistant of Cromwell in the destruction of Monasteries, he held possession of many rich parcels of Abbey-lands, and even at Hatfield, though strictly enjoined to have Mass performed in the family of the Princess, he connived at her retaining about her person many servants who were earnest Protestants.

Lastly, among the persons, who, being zealous Protestants in Edward's reign, were suffered to remain unmolested under Mary, we may also mention Richard Taverner, of Norbiton Hall in Surry, who, having obtained a licence from Edward, to preach in any place in his Majesty's dominions, did actually preach, under that licence, before the University of Oxford; being at the time, High Sheriff of the County, with his sword by his side, and a gold chain about his neck.—Fuller† has given us a curious specimen of his Sermon, beginning thus: "Arriving at the Mount of St. Maries, in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biskits, baked in the oven of Charity, carefully conserved for the chickens of the Church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet swallows of Salvation."‡

* See Strype's Whitgift, vol. i. 11, 12. † From a pamphlet by Sir John Cheke.
‡ Lyson's Environs of London, vol. i. 176.

CHAP. LIV.

During this reign, Sir William apparently very attentive to his own private concerns—Many Letters extant in proof of it—Very particular in his private accounts, and domestic arrangements of all descriptions—A great encourager of Botany, in the introduction of New Plants, &c.—Difficult to ascertain the peculiar nature of the communication which undoubtedly took place at this time between him and the Princess Elizabeth.

For this period of the Life of Lord Burghley, there is, as might be expected, some deficiency of materials. He seems, however, to have attended very much to the management of his estates, and superintendence of his numerous household. There are in the British Museum, many letters extant from the manager of his affairs at Burghley, Sir John Abraham;* with very minute accounts of his farming concerns, even as to the employment of common labourers; and in his household book, the entries are quite extraordinary;† and can be no otherwise regarded, than as

* Sir John's letters, according to the customs of the times, have generally a sentence of Latin at the top, as "Deus misereat nostri et benedicat nobis," &c. &c.

† At Hatfield House are still remaining a number of quarterly settlements and bills, which visibly underwent his minute inspection: being, by marginal notes in his own hand, arranged, as relating to the household, apparel, servants' wages, rents, &c. and many of them having a direction to his Steward or Bailiff to pay them, thus:— "Pay it,

W. Cecill."

These bills and accounts are mostly of the years 1555, 1556, 1557,—and among them is rather a curious *Memorial* (as it is indorsed by Lord Burghley himself), of "things to be done," before his quitting his then place of residence; probably Burghley. It relates, chiefly, to the felling and sale of his woods, letting of farms, collection of rents, &c. One of his memoranda is, "to send from London *red roses*" to plant in the garden. The date of this memorial is October 26, 1558, only twenty-three days before the accession of Elizabeth, and his entrance upon his most laborious administration of forty years. It is probable that he paid great attention to his garden, not merely because it is recorded of him, that "his greatest disport was to ride in his garden walks upon his little mule;" which applies to a later period of his life, but because we

a proof, that when not publicly employed, his turn was to be quite as busy and attentive, to all the minutiæ of his private and domestic concerns:—as to the individuals in his service; the diet of the family; all the supplies of the most common articles of life, as wheat, rye, malt, barley, oats, beans, pease, beer, beef, veales muttons (lxxix), lambs, pork, bacon, brawn, lyng, salt-fish, herrings white and red, stock-fish, salmon, sprats, frying oil, vinegar, salt white and bay, oatmeal, sope, candles, white pease, grocery, wine, apparel,* household stuff, wages, liveries, work, husbandry, stable wood, coals, hay, &c.—fees or payments in kind, to the miller, brewer, butcher, &c.—with measures of various articles. On Fridays and Saturdays the family seem to have abstained from meat; the regularly appointed diet on those days, being generally fish and eggs. The wages appear to have amounted to a considerable sum; the cloth for liveries was of a blue colour (a colour still preserved in the liveries of his noble descendants, the Marquesses of Exeter and Salisbury, as well as in the dress of the Warden and poor Members of Lord Burghley's Hospital, at Stamford, of which we shall have to speak hereafter). He seems

have a most important evidence to produce of his being a main encourager of botanical pursuits for *national* purposes; in the importation of foreign seeds and plants, that "curious persons," as it is stated, "might have various opportunities and occasions of enlarging their experience in the fertility of *this* land," *i. e.* England, their native country. "None of those," the record states, "who solicited the said importations, were more laudably assiduous, or more happily gratified, than the great Lord Burghley." By these means, our vegetable productions first began to be greatly multiplied, "many rare plants became natives of our soil, which are of sovereign virtue in physic; many roots, greens, and pulse, increased the variety of our food; and many trees, no less diversified our groves and gardens." We shall have more to say of this hereafter; at present, in order to display the continual attention paid by this great man to national improvements; we shall only add, that *Gerard*, the herbalist, and the celebrated Dr. Bulleyn, were among those especially patronized by Lord Burghley, in the importation, cultivation, and naturalization, as far as it could be carried, of exotics.

* Under the article apparel, is an account of money disbursed for the buying of certain apparel of my Lady Ann, of Cleves. The arrangement of the different heads and articles of account, is much after the manner of the household books of Queen Elizabeth's Cofferer, Thomas Parry, of which specimens are to be seen in *Nichol's Progresses*, and other books.

at this time to have been particularly expected to visit his friends. We find among the papers in the Museum, a curious letter from Sir Philip Hoby during this unemployed period of his life, inviting him to his house at Bisham, in the county of Bucks; which as illustrative of the manners of the day we shall insert. It runs thus:—"After my grateful commendations. I have been often told of your coming to Bisham, which I have oftener looked for, and that also to have been before this time. What should hinder you I know not, but well am I assured, that I have not heard any make such promises, and perform so few. Peradventure my Lady hindereth you, who you will find cannot ride, whereto I will provide this remedy, to send her my coach, because she shall have the less travail thither, and you no excuse to make. —Let me know by this bearer, when I shall look for you at Bisham that my coach may come for her, for otherwise if you come not there will be a greater matter than you yet know of.—Make my commendations to my Lady I pray you, and 'till I see you at Bisham I bid you both farewell. Yours ever assuredly,

"July 1, 1556." P. Hoby."

In Lord Salisbury's Collection of Papers, there is an invitation from Lord Cobham of a later date, viz. Aug. 27, 1557, noticing the Queen's illness. The purport of it is as follows:—

"After very hearty commendations (gentle Mr. Cecill), with like thanks for your gentleness in visiting me, and when I thought to have tarried in London 'till Monday, intending then to have seen my Lady's Grace, I understand since from thence that her Grace is in such wise diseased, that she keepeth her chamber; I have therefore thought good to defer my going thither 'till I hear of her Grace's amendment, and am minded to-morrow to repair home again, expecting your coming and my Lady's unto my house with my cousin your sister, praying you most heartily to perform the promise you have made, and send me word what time you will come, and I shall accordingly give order that my barge shall

attend for you at your house in London, and my wife's litter at Crayford. This, with my hearty commendations to my Lady, I bid you heartily farewell, from London the xxvijth of Aug. 1557.

Your assured friend, COBHAM."

As to the particular intercourse and communications which took place between Lord Burghley and the Princess Elizabeth, during this trying period of the lives of both, we are able to say but little. It seems quite certain, that in the very perplexing and delicate situation in which she was placed, she had often the benefit of his counsels, and many letters probably must have passed between them, which may be now lost to the world through a very necessary caution on both sides; for there must have been a constant hazard of exciting jealousies, though prudence seems to have dictated to both, a respectful acquiescence in whatever could not be avoided, free from all intrigues,* or indiscreet shews of impatience. As long as the Queen bore no children, it was impossible not to look to the chances of another very important change. What effect the extraordinary and almost ridiculous reports of the Queen's pregnancy in 1554, 1555, had upon the mind of Elizabeth we cannot pretend to say. In Lord Burghley's Diary, we find the following entry under the former year:—"28 Novebris. declaratum est publicis ovationibus Regina gravida ec."

And in August, 1555. "copertu est regina no gessisse uteru, sed spe potius fuisse deceptas mulierculas que ille alit psuasebat."

But no further notice is taken of events that could not well fail to have very seriously occupied their thoughts and attention.†

* We have given our reasons at length for believing, that the Princess was clear of the imputations cast on her during Wyat's disturbances. Even Noailles' charges against her are often but surmises, "et a ce que j'entends," &c.

† Nothing, perhaps, could be more absurd than the supposed pregnancy of Mary.—It seems to have began with a fancied miracle—or at least the moment of the child's quickening was assigned to the delivery of the Cardinal Legate's first speech to the Parliament, when her Majesty persuaded herself that she felt the child leap within her, upon which the *Te Deum*

If Gardiner were not decidedly hostile to the Princess, as most writers represent, it is impossible to suppose he could do otherwise than keep a strict eye upon her; Pole had been the enemy of her mother, and, perhaps, the author of one of the foulest calumnies ever invented, to sully her reputation. So that upon the general aspect of things, her situation was an alarming one with regard to both; nevertheless, we have reason to know, that Pole treated her with great respect, and continued probably to do so to the end of his life. We have rather a remarkable evidence remaining of the deference he paid her within the precincts of the court. One of her servants, having brought before the magistrates a *low* man to be punished for speaking contumeliously of his royal mistress, to enhance the offence, and shew how differently she was treated by

was ordered to be sung in all the churches in London, and Boner caused prayers to be put up that the child might be a male, well-favoured, vigorous, and intelligent. All the prayers prepared for the occasion may be seen in Foxe. Dr. Lingard corrects Burnet as to the time of this event, which is referred by the former not to the delivery of the Cardinal's first speech, but to the moment of his arrival, according to the Queen's own message to the Legate himself. "Che nella *giunta* de sua S. R. s'havea sentito muover la creatura nel ventre." This happened in November; in May following, the Bishop of Norwich wrote to the Earl of Sussex, that the Queen had a son, and *Te Deum* was sung in his Cathedral. On the 29th of the same month, letters were written to the Lord Treasurer, to have money in readiness, for the messengers to be despatched on her joyful delivery. In June, one even preached upon the birth of a Prince, describing all the lineaments of his face, &c.; but in August, 1555, as Lord Burghley's memorandum states, the bubble burst, and the Queen continued childless. Through an accidental mistake, indeed, we cannot help observing a child has been found for her, where we might least have expected to find it. In the Guide to Burghley House, a picture, in the black bedchamber, by *Massini*, is stated to be the portrait of *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, the daughter of *Philip* II. of Spain, by *Mary*, the daughter of Henry VIII. of England, and sister of Philip III.! Having noticed this mistake, we must add, that through the very obliging attentions of the Marquess of *Exeter*, the mistake itself has not only been fully explained, but we have learned who this lady really was.—She was undoubtedly a daughter of Philip II. and sister of Philip III. of Spain. But her *mother* was the *third* wife of Philip, a Princess of France, daughter of Henry II., in fact the unfortunate Princess Isabella (or *Elizabeth*, for she is as often called the one as the other), once betrothed to our Edward VI. as before noticed, and supposed to have been so to Don *Carlos*, Philip's eldest son, and to have become the fatal object of his attachment; whose dismal story, after employing the pens of deceased dramatists, has lately been made the subject of a Tragedy in five acts, by Lord John Russell, in the preface to which the most credible historical circumstances of the case are particularized.

the greatest personages in the land, "I saw yesterday in the Court," said the servant, "that my Lord Cardinal Pole, meeting her in the chamber of presence, kneeled down on his knee, and kissed her hand; and I saw also, that King Philip meeting her made her such obeisance that his knee touched the ground." As Lord Burghley was notoriously in communication both with the Cardinal and the Princess, it might appear, that he was in some degree instrumental in securing to her the distinctions due to her rank in the state, from those great personages, the King and the Cardinal, which could not fail to place her above the machinations of Gardiner, when perhaps nothing else could; and it is by no means improbable, that to his resolution and determination not to abandon the country, at so critical a moment, as well as to his great prudence in so conducting himself as not to commit her interests, as heir presumptive, she stood indebted, for the ease and security in which, notwithstanding some interruptions, she passed her time, preserved her state, and avoided an honourable banishment, by foreign marriage, from the country over which she was destined to rule, and under circumstances *apparently* as adverse to her interests as any thing well could be. Lord Burghley, by remaining about the Court, though not officially attached to it, and in communication with the Cardinal and others, may be said to have been properly on his post, of observation and care, preparatory to the reign of his last most extraordinary mistress, whom he never quitted.

While we know but too well, how much that was decidedly bad, actually occurred during this short reign, we cannot say, how much evil may have been *prevented*, by the more moderate though weaker party, for the Cardinal has, at all events, the credit with many writers, of being defeated in his purposes, and overruled in his projected measures of lenity and mildness. Hume decidedly says this;—he praises the latter often for his virtue, humanity, and candour; distinctly states, that after being made Archbishop in Cranmer's place, he found his authority much too weak, to contend against Mary and her council, supported and encouraged by

Paul IV) with whom he was no favourite; and who, at the advanced age of *eighty* years, bore himself as haughtily, and denounced Kings and Queens as peremptorily, as Hildebrand himself. And speaking of Pole's death, at the very close of this reign, he observes, "The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him be universally beloved; insomuch, that in a nation where the most furious persecution was carried on, and where the most violent religious factions prevailed, entire justice, even by most of the Reformers, has been done to his merit."

Though in this citation we have a little anticipated, since Gardiner was dead before Pole became Archbishop, yet the character of his great competitor, as long as he did live, is of importance to the better understanding, as we think, of the conduct of Lord Burghley, who stands blamed in some histories, for his intimacy with the Cardinal. It is of importance besides to shew, that while Lord B. might be serving the Princess, by procuring for her due attentions on the part of the Cardinal, he could do more in the way of saving his friends from persecution, the Council being too potent, for either himself or the Cardinal.

It is remarkable, but has been already noticed, that among the objections advanced by Gardiner, to prevent the entrance of the Cardinal into England, one was, that he was likely to be too friendly to the Protestants. We have seen what Hume says of him, referring to the opinions of the Reformers. The following passage from the *Dictionnaire Historique* is decidedly and very remarkably to the same purpose. Speaking of the Cardinal, the character given of him is this:—"*Ennemi des violences dans les Affaires de Religion, il n'employa jamais que la patience et la douceur;—tous les Auteurs, même les Protestans, donnent de grands eloges à son esprit, à son sçavoir, à sa prudence, à sa moderation, à son desinteressement et à sa charité.*"—Even in the satirical lines of Gabriel Harvey, which Strype quotes from the *Musarum Lacrymæ*, Pole seems to fare somewhat better than either Gardiner, Boner, Philip or Mary.

" *In prætio Polus est,* dominatur *callida Vulpes,*
Mulciber Imperio potitur: (Mulciber alter
Ignivomus Bonerus erat) cuncta occupat ignis,
Solum elementum ignis, sceptrum gestante *Maria.*"

But, indeed, he had at one period of his life, manifested not only a disposition to adopt some of the Reformed doctrines, but to associate with and harbour several eminent persons, notoriously inclined to Protestantism, in his palace at Viterbo; and of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Such then, probably, was the *general private* character of this celebrated Cardinal, with whom Lord Burghley seems to have been upon terms of intimacy to the day of his death; incurring, however, thereby some suspicion of compromising his religious principles, more than he ought to have done.

If, in times of such peculiar difficulty to the nation, and of danger to the Reformed religion, he took the best part he could take without totally abandoning the cause in which he was known to be so much interested, it is, perhaps, as much as we should attempt to say in his defence; but we much question, whether, if it could be distinctly ascertained, it would not be found, that he was throughout acting in favour of the Protestant party, and of the Princess Elizabeth, at no small hazard to himself, being at the same time exposed to the jealousy of the Queen, of Philip, of Gardiner, and of all the more rigid Catholics or secret advisers in the Council; for, among the latter, it would be difficult to say who were the worst. In the passage we have cited from Hume, it is stated, that after Pole became Archbishop, he found himself too weak to stand against Mary and her *Council,* Gardiner being then dead. There is a remarkable passage in Foxe's famous letter to the Parliament, against reviving the Act of the Six Articles, in which he evidently alludes to some who were worse than either the Queen or Gardiner. " Porro habetis ad hoc *Reginam,* ut nobilissimam, ita ad sana et salubria quæque obsequacem Principem. Habetis et *Cancellarium,* ut doctrina

præstabilem, ita *naturæ* non *improbum* si *quorum absint concilia.* Verum ut inter animantium genera, quædam noxia, alia ad hominis usum, creata existunt: rursus sunt, quæ in hoc tantum dicas nata, ut reliquis molestiam et perniciem moliantur: sic in humanis rebus nulla resp. nec vitæ genus est, quod suas non habet vomicas, et κακοβουλους." The time-serving Marquess of Winchester stands to this day charged by Catholic writers, as being much more responsible for the severities of this reign than Gardiner.* But if Pole were one of the κακοβουλοι alluded to, it is very strange that so many writers should have acquitted him of any such rancorous severity, nay, particularly admired him for the opposite qualities;† and, as we know, that Elizabeth, immediately on coming to the Crown, evinced no small respect to his memory, by allowing his body to be honourably interred among the Archbishops of Canterbury, "in consideration," as it has been observed, "of the illustrious birth, the learning, the *moderation*, the *blameless* manners of the man;" we may well conceive that Lord Burghley was doing good rather than harm, to the great cause, by associating himself so closely, as he is reported to have done, with such a Papist at such a time, however much appearances might be to the contrary. There is indeed a very curious letter extant, written by the Cardinal to the Princess, only three days before Mary died, and but sixteen hours more before his own death, in which he prays God long to prosper her, to his honour, her own comfort, and the wealth of the realm.‡ Collier's character of Pole is perhaps too highly drawn, but yet it must be supposed

* See Lingard.

† The Editor of the British Plutarch, concludes from the instructions he issued against heretics, that he was, in reality, at the bottom of all the sanguinary proceedings of Gardiner and Boner, though he made those prelates the instruments of his cruelty and revenge; and yet concludes the same article, with this short character given of him by Granger, "He was much esteemed for the integrity of his life, the elegance of his learning, and the politeness of his manners; he was not indeed without a tincture of bigotry, but he generally disapproved of the cruelties exercised in Mary's reign." We are aware that there is a note of admiration after the word disapproved, to mark the surprise of the learned Editor, but Granger is but one out of many who have said as much.

‡ See *Collier*, ii. *Collection of Records*, No. lxxv.

he was not without some authority for what he alleges. We grant, indeed, that he sometimes suffered his own disposition to be overruled; but this seems to have been the case with others; particularly Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, who having shed some blood as a sort of earnest of his zeal in the Popish cause, justly offended the Protestants for doing so much, yet scarcely pleased the Papists, because he did no more.*

We are far from meaning to defend the Cardinal in all points; we have no occasion to do it; we think he was a very weak man in his conduct at times, particularly in regard to Henry VIII. whom he fancied he could scold or frighten into a recantation of all his transgressions against the see of Rome, Katherine of Arragon, and more particularly, perhaps, the *Princess Mary;* for we are much inclined to agree with the learned Reviewer of Phillips's Life of the Cardinal, that the prospects he had been led to indulge of marrying the Princess one time or other, and thereby perhaps mounting the throne, supply the best key to unravel the extravagancies of his behaviour in regard to Henry; for extravagancies they certainly were, and such as are not likely to be forgiven. But it is our firm belief that he was possessed of many amiable qualities, of which Lord Burghley knew how to take advantage, possibly by putting the Princess Elizabeth† as well as himself under his immediate and particular protection, against the ferocious proceedings of the other enemies to Protestantism, in the Queen's Council, and on the throne.

* Fuller.

† The preservation of the Princess Elizabeth appears to have been such an object with the Reformists in general, as to justify some sacrifices of feeling, if not of principle, on the part of those who remained at home to stem the torrent of the Marian persecution. The famous Swiss Reformer *Gualter*, in the dedication of his work on the Minor Prophets, to Bishop *Parkhurst*, a refugee in Mary's time, reminds him, that when he sojourned at Tigure (Zurich) the Lady Elizabeth was ever in his mouth; her faith, her *wisdom*, her *magnanimous spirit;* praying that God would guard and protect her person for the good of his people. In which he adds, all pious persons at that time partook. "*Orabant idem tecum pii omnes.*" Bishop *Ridley* is said to have prayed, to the last, for the conservation of the Princess Elizabeth.

CHAP. LV.

The Cardinal's conduct and character farther investigated—Unable to procure any restitution of Church property—Persecution of Heretics—Allowed to proceed unrestrained by Parliament—Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford.

THINGS have certainly been laid to the charge of Pole, which bespeak a sadly persecuting spirit; such as the orders he is said to have given for the scandalous disinterment of the bodies of those eminent Reformers, *Bucer* and *Fagius*, though no man could be more severe upon Henry for disturbing Becket's bones than himself; for the penances enjoined in the case of Sir John *Cheke* (of whom we shall have to speak presently); and for all that is contained in the long Latin letter of the Italian, preserved by *Strype;* but none of these relate to transactions in which he stood alone, and we have already observed, that in all such cases, his own milder counsels were commonly over-ruled.* Fuller, indeed, expressly remarks upon his conduct in regard to the remains of

* His attempts to reform the Clergy were as much in the way of being over-ruled, as his endeavours to moderate the proceedings against heretics. Being appointed in the year 1555, to preside over the Convocation, the Queen ordered him to decree what Canons he thought fit; he accordingly composed a book, entitled, Reformatio Angliæ ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis, &c. in which he designed to correct the crying evil of non-residence, but the rich clergy and dignitaries were of another mind; wherefore, says Strype, they made this proposition; "Decretum perpetuæ residentiæ juxta Canonum sanctiones optant pii; sed multa sunt quæ hodie impediunt, quo minus suum effectum juxta bonorum virorum vota consequatur."

Some remedies indeed were proposed, but the list of reasons for non-residence was sufficient to set at defiance most of those remedies.—See *Strype's Cranmer*, b. iii. ch. xvii. Appendix, No. lxxxviii. and the King's and Queen's Letters Patent to indemnify Pole for holding a Synod and decreeing Canons.—*Collier*, vol. ii. *Collection of Records*, No. lxxiv. Pole intended, we are told, to revive the Constitutions of Otho and Othobonus, his predecessors in the see of Canterbury, during the xiiith century.—*Ridley's Review of Phillips*. Burnet's remark upon the canons of Pole is very curious.—"By all these it may appear, how well tempered this Cardinal was; he never set on the Clergy to persecute heretics, but to reform themselves, &c."

Bucer and *Fagius*, that when, to wipe off the aspersion of Lutheranism, he grew severe, he expressed it rather in wronging the dead, (whose bones he burned) than hurting the living. It is evident that Pole had not sufficient power to procure the Pope's authority to be re-admitted by any means upon the footing it stood before. For whatever attempts were previously made to collect a House of Commons, favourable to the restoration of the Catholic Religion, and the Papal Supremacy, it soon became evident, that the power of the Pope was too much shaken, to be ever again restored in all its plenitude. The plunder of the Church had accomplished so much in favour of Protestantism, that none were found ready to surrender into the hands of the Pope again, their new acquisitions, which must have been the case, had they submitted to restore things to their original state. To this day, in regard to all Protestant countries, the possessions thus obtained from the Church, that is, from the Bishops, &c. as well as those still in their hands, are regarded at Rome, as regular fiefs of the Pope. That the Cardinal, in this instance also, occasionally used strong words, to *induce* them to make restitution, and threatened them with the fate of Belshazzar if they did not, was quite according to his common mode of endeavouring to frighten persons out of the errors into which he judged them to have fallen.

The Queen, indeed, sought to encourage a restoration of the alienated Church-lands, by her own example, in giving back what had been surrendered to the Crown, particularly the first fruits and tenths, but when it was submitted to Parliament, to be made a general act, that assembly was prepared to take a new part in what was going forward; she might, it was alleged, give back as much as she chose of what had fallen to the Crown; she might found fresh Monasteries, Chantries, &c. as she chose, but in regard to such alienations generally, of Church and Abbey-lands, they had, it was alleged, acquired quite a *new* character. As long as they were strictly speaking Church property,

the Parliament had nothing to do with them, but, since they had fallen into other hands, and become thereby Lay property, they were to be considered as being very regularly within the sphere of Parliamentary protection, and, therefore, were not any more to be meddled with, or re-demanded. The Cardinal found this to be so decidedly the feeling of the nation, that he was obliged to procure his powers to be enlarged by Julius III. that he might fall into the agreement entered into between the Parliament and the possessors of Church-lands, that the latter should be secured from all such demands upon their newly acquired property. In fact, the very same course was pursuing in Germany. At the Diet of Augsburgh, held by Ferdinand, it was agreed and determined, September 25, 1555, that the Popish Ecclesiastics should have no spiritual jurisdiction in such states as received the Confession of Augsburgh; and that such as had seized the benefices or revenues of the Church, previously to the treaty of Passau, should retain possession of them, and be liable to no prosecution in the Imperial Chamber on that account.*

Paul IV. had not hesitated to publish a Bull, condemning and revoking, in general terms, all surrender of Church property to secular uses, but Pole was obliged to interpose to procure an exception with regard to England. In fact, the Bishops themselves, and Clergy generally in Convocation, actually addressed the King and Queen to intercede with the Legate, to leave undisturbed in the hands of the Laity, the goods and property they had received from the Church, certain that they would not be relinquished without great disturbance and trouble to the nation. The address is still extant,† and there is one thing very noticeable in it, namely, that these Popish Prelates and Clergy decline calling these Lay Impropriators, or Holders of Church property, *Possessors* of the land, but use a term pretty plainly indicating a design of resuming

* Sleidan. F. Paul. Robertson's Charles V. &c. &c. ch. v. 1555.

† Strype's Memorials, iii. Part ii. No. xxi.

what had thus been alienated; should they ever recover the power so to do. They are called, *Detainers* of the lands and goods, &c. *Detentioribus* is the expression. The Cardinal himself, indeed, in his dispensation, is not quite so curious, using the term *Possessores* without the least scruple. His dispensation bears date December 24, 1554, and may be considered as a sort of concession or bargain on the part of the Pope, the Parliament having, in the very beginning of that month, sent a post to Rome, acquainting the Pope plainly that neither the Lords nor Commons would grant any thing in his behalf, until he would confirm to them their grants and purchases of Abbey-lands and Chantries, not that he bore this very easily; on the contrary, he issued a fresh edict for the restitution of Church-lands, which, however, was set at nought, and the plunder in truth continued.

Mary endeavoured to erect new Convents and Monasteries, regardless of all opposition; declaring to her Council, that she preferred the salvation of her soul, to ten such kingdoms as England. The Parliament which had shewn itself so determined in refusing to sanction the restitution of Church-lands, was much too easy in other respects; leaving to the Court the full benefit (if it might be called so), of all the laws passed against heretics, so that the persecution going forward, numbers were burned, fined, and imprisoned. Of the former, the following are stated to have been brought to the stake in the compass of three years, making in all 277.—Five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. In many foreign countries, particularly in Flanders and France, the numbers that perished in the cause of the Reformation, were almost beyond calculation; in the former country alone they have been computed at fifty thousand, but England had her share. The executions were not only numerous, but in many instances beyond description terrible.

Many, as has been before shewn, foreseeing that they might be obnoxious to the storm gathering around them, fled from their country in time; but their reception abroad was not in all instances, such as they had anticipated. Differences of opinions on the subject of the Eucharist, exposed many to the taunts and mockery of the Lutherans; who, suspecting them to be more inclined to the Zuinglian tenets than their own, denounced them as heretics, false prophets, *Suermeros*, and *Sacramentipendas*, terms of opprobrium and ridicule. The mild and benign Melancthon exerted himself to procure them better treatment at *Strasburgh*; however, at *Frankfort*, *Embden*, *Doesburge*, *Basil*, *Zurich*, *Arrow*, and *Geneva*, they were received with much kindness, and had due liberty allowed them to practise and pursue their own mode of worship. At Frankfort it must be confessed, great contentions prevailed for a time on points of discipline. In Switzerland they had the means of communicating upon most friendly terms with *Bullinger*, *Calvin*, and *Beza*, with whose assistance, the refugees in those parts, undertook and completed a new Version of the Scriptures, still known by the name of the Geneva Bible.

"The year 1555," says Strype; "was a bloody year, and many honest people, both of the Clergy and Laity, were burned alive in all parts, because they believed not transubstantiation; insomuch that a tender heart cannot but shrink at the very remembrance thereof." The Queen, it is very credibly reported, had, during her supposed pregnancy, indulged a strange notion, that she could not have a safe delivery, if any heretics then in prison were suffered to escape.*

And this, indeed, was the year when Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer, were brought to the stake at Oxford, no remonstrances or representations being able to save their lives. Though condemned by the Prolocutor Weston, soon after their public disputations before spoken of, it was judged necessary, on the restoration

* Strype's Cranmer.

of the Pope's authority, to try them by a new commission. One was issued by Cardinal *Pole* for Ridley and Latimer, but a special and more particular commission was sent from Rome for the trial of Cranmer, which was given to Cardinal *Puteo*.

The two former, Ridley and Latimer, suffered first and together. Having in their way to the place of execution, opposite Balliol College, to pass under the archway of the prison Bocardo, where Cranmer was confined, it is recorded that they looked up, hoping to have seen him, and bidden him farewel, but Cranmer being (purposely as Burnet intimates) employed in dispute with a Spanish friar at the time, missed the opportunity, and only saw them after they had passed, when he fell on his knees, and invoked the Almighty to strengthen them under their sufferings.

So many accounts are extant of these dreadful transactions, that it would be going out of our way to dwell largely upon them. One thing we shall notice, as perhaps the most extraordinary instance of party spirit and religious bigotry that ever was recorded. It seems the friends of these holy martyrs (for so they certainly were) to shorten their pains at the stake, had supplied them with bags of gunpowder to hang round their necks; which one who saw, *Dorman*, an Oxford man, that had written certain books in favour of Popery, exclaimed against, as *unbecoming martyrs*, in these cruel and unfeeling terms:—

"A kind of practice among Christ's martyrs never I trow heard of, the sooner to despatch themselves, as with mine own eyes I saw Ridley and Latimer burned." And in the margin of his book he wrote, "This agreeth not with the martyrdom of Polycarp."* He was answered by Noel [See *Strype's Memorials*, 1555].

* The continuator of Hollinshed, it must be confessed, has something but too like it in his account of the execution of John Shert, the Papist, 1582, ridiculing his *pretended* boldness, as he terms it, in refusing the Queen's mercy, and yet by catching at the halter which was to hang him, shewing how *loth* he was and unwilling to die.

It is curious, as we have before had occasion to observe, to read letters of those times still in existence, and mentioning in so short and summary a manner events which have so much, and

One might wonder he had no such remark ready for Ridley's humane remembrance of poor old Latimer, at such a moment anxious to know, when the bags were offered to himself, if they had the same to assuage the pains of his fellow-sufferer.

What passed afterwards in regard to Cranmer, exhibits so strange a picture of the state of things after the renewal of the Pope's authority, for the short space of time during which it was permitted to continue under Mary, that we think it worth remarking upon, in order the better to appreciate the steps taken in the next reign, by the particular care and prudent management of Lord Burghley, again to shake off, and that for ever, the galling and degrading yoke of Papal Supremacy.

so long since, engaged and occupied the attention of the world: "I can at this time assertane your Lordship of no newes but that Mr. Rydleie and Mr. Latymer be brent at Oxford."—*Lodge's Illustrations*, i. 206.

CHAP. LVI.

More formalities judged to be requisite for the degradation and execution of a Metropolitan, than with regard to other Bishops—Gardiner dies—Cranmer's cause cited to Rome, pronounced contumacy, though utterly impossible that he could have obeyed the summons—Observations upon this—Cranmer's account sent to the Queen of the disappointments he suffered in the course of these proceedings.

We have already shewn that *Ridley* and *Latimer* were tried and condemned a second time, under a commission from Pole as Legate. It was directed to White, Brooks, and Holiman, Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol; but *Cranmer* was to be tried with much more formality, and by a joint commission from the Pope and the Queen. It seems to have been an ancient privilege, that no final sentence could be passed on a Metropolitan without authority from the Pope. This process was assigned to Cardinal Puteo; and Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, who had been Gardiner's chaplain, was to officiate as his sub-delegate, with Martin and Story, Doctors of Civil Law, the Queen's Commissioners. Gardiner died almost immediately after the burning of Ridley and Latimer, for whose deaths he is said to have manifested an unbecoming impatience; but he is judged to have been a main cause of Cranmer's execution being delayed; for being no friend to Cardinal Pole, and knowing, which was quite true, that the latter at this time stood ill with the Court of Rome, he hoped, by a little delay, he might procure him to be removed, and that himself might thereby become, Cardinal, Legate, and Metropolitan; for the See had only been sequestered in Pole's hands, or, at least, was only held to be so till Cranmer was canonically *degraded*, other-

wise, indeed, it might have been judged to be void by his attainder two years before, and the Pope, of his own authority, had deposed and excommunicated him, and actually given the vacant See to Pole. Still, perhaps, Gardiner might have hopes till the forms of degradation had been gone through; but there is a great deal of obscurity upon this point. Rapin and Burnet both agree in thinking that Cranmer was continued in his See after his attainder, in order to go through the forms of degradation. Some think the Queen continued him in the See in order to avoid a vacancy till Pole's arrival, and others that Gardiner prevented his being put out because he knew it to be designed for Pole; if the latter were the case, and the preserving him for canonical degradation were the avowed pretence, then Gardiner's hopes might be revived upon Pole's falling into disgrace at Rome, and he might be tempted again to delay matters till Pole's disgrace terminated in a removal. But death put an end to all his expectations and intrigues, and only left Cranmer to undergo the miseries of a protracted imprisonment and a most circuitous sentence, as we shall proceed to shew.

Brooks, the sub-delegate of Cardinal Puteo, and the Queen's two Commissioners, Martin* and Story, came down to Oxford in September, a month before Ridley and Latimer suffered, and on the 12th of that month, 1555, seven days before the *condemnation* of Latimer and Ridley, opened their Commission in St. Mary's Church, the Archbishop being brought from prison to appear before them, which he did, "habited in a fair black gown, and his hood of Doctor of Divinity on both shoulders."

To the *Queen's* Commissioners, as representing the supreme authority of the nation, he gave due honour; but to Brooks, as the Pope's representative, he would give none; keeping on his cap, and protesting against his authority,—lamenting openly that the King and Queen's Majesties should by their Proctors there become his

* Martin, who became a Master in Chancery, complied again under Elizabeth, and took his oath a second time against the Pope's authority.—*Strype's Cranmer*, i. 533.

accusers, and in their own realm and country, before a foreign power and jurisdiction. Ridley had proceeded much in the same manner, declaring at the time the Commission from Cardinal Pole was read, that he was willing to pay high respect to the Cardinal personally, as he was of the Royal Family, and because he esteemed him much for his learning and virtue; but as the Pope's Legate, he would pay no reverence to him, nor would uncover himself before any that acted by authority from him.

The charges brought against Cranmer were (*not* for treason, as has been shewn before, he had been pardoned of that, that he might be reserved for the flames, as Burnet says, but) for *perjury, incontinency, adultery*, and *heresy:* for perjury, in breaking his oath to the Pope; for incontinency and adultery, in having contracted matrimony, the marriage of priests being accounted adultery in the Church of Rome; and for heresy, in having denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. The nature and complexion of these heavy sounding charges must, of course, be measured and appreciated by the standard of the Reformation; the real question being, how far oaths, bonds, and obligations, were any longer binding upon the conscience against a contrary conviction, and to which set of doctrines and opinions the term heresy might be applied? exactly as when charged with "the infamy of schism," by moving the King and subjects of the realm to recede from the Romish church, and renounce the authority of the Pope, he acknowledged the justice of the *charges*, but denied the *schism*.

Witnesses being sworn to make good the charges, with the liberty granted him of making exceptions, he said, with much firmness and resolution, that "he would admit none of them all, being perjured men; having sworn against the Pope, and now received and defended him, and that therefore they were not in Christian religion."* Some, indeed, were known, in King Edward's

* If these men were not perjured, the Archbishop himself could not be liable to the charge; but in fact, the cases were very different, from the total want of consistency in the former.

days, most solemnly to have recanted. The Archbishop, however, made answer to all the charges and depositions against him, though what they exactly were does not appear. He was remanded to *prison*, and *then* cited by the Commission to appear at *Rome* within eighty days, which he undertook to do if the King and Queen would send him; but that was not the object. No such permission being obtained, he was kept in close durance, despatches being sent to Rome to give account of the progress of the Commission.

The Pope, without farther inquiry as to his power of obeying the citation, sent his letters executory to the King and Queen, and to the Bishops of London and Ely, previously to degrade and deprive him; and from that remote seat of power, and by his re-established authority over the subjects of England, by a decree as absurd as it was cruel, declared him to be, at the end of the eighty days, guilty of contumacy, for *wilfully* absenting himself from Rome when summoned to go thither, though it must have been known that he was all the while detained a prisoner at Oxford. Indeed, the Pope did not wait till the expiration of the eighty days, his letters to the King and Queen being sent from Rome within twenty days after the citation. "He took no care to appear," is, in fact, the precise charge; "*comparere non curaret;*" which, as Strype says, was notoriously false, since he consented to go, if the King and Queen would send him thither; he could go no otherwise, being their prisoner. But the whole sentence is too curious to be omitted, considering it to be passed against that very man who had been a main instrument in endeavouring to deliver this great nation from Popish tyranny, and who became the most illustrious victim of that miserable infatuation, which, for a few years only, as it proved, gave renewed power to the Bishop of Rome, and interrupted the course of a Reformation in Church and State, which it was the glory of Elizabeth and her celebrated minister, Lord Burghley, before the century was closed, to consummate and complete.

In this strange process, it was judged requisite, in order to convict the Archbishop of contumacy, to state, though as Collier observes, nothing could be more manifestly untrue, that the proceedings against him at Rome, had been carried through all the legal forms; that articles had been duly exhibited, evidence produced, and his defence heard and examined.

Whatever there might be of the mere forms of courts in all this, certain it is, that in Cranmer's particular case, it was nothing less than the most unfeeling mockery. He denied the jurisdiction, and offered to plead against it *at Rome*, if they would only give substance to their own forms, by allowing him to obey the citation. But the form alone was judged sufficient. The letters commissarial to this effect, therefore, set forth, that the King and Queen's Proctors, Peter Rouilius, Anthony Massa de Gelasio, and Alexander Palentarius, the Proctor of the Pope's treasury, had sued that contumacy might be definitively pronounced against the said Thomas Cranmer, being cited and not appearing; therefore, "he, Pope Paul IV, sitting in the throne of justice, and having before his eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth the world in righteousness, did make this definitive sentence, pronouncing and decreeing the said Thomas Cranmer, to be found guilty of the crimes of heresy, and other excesses, to be wholly unmindful of the health of his soul, to go against the rules and ecclesiastical doctrines of the holy Fathers, and against the Apostolical traditions of the Roman Church, and sacred Councils, and the rites of the Christian religion hitherto read in the Church; especially against the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord, and holy orders; by thinking and teaching otherwise than the holy mother Church preacheth and observeth; and by denying the primacy and authority of the Apostolic See; and against the processions, which every year on *Corpus-Christi* day, were wont to be celebrated by the Pope's predecessors." Mention also is made of

his "bringing in again the heresy of Berengarius, of his believing the false and heretical doctrines of Wickliff and Luther, those Arch-heretics. Printing of books of that nature, and publishing them, and defending those doctrines in public disputations, and that before his sub-delegate, and persisting herein with obstinacy. Therefore, the Pope excommunicated him, and deprived him of his Archbishopric, and all other places and privileges whatsoever, and adjudged him to be delivered over to the Secular Court, and all his goods to be confiscate. And the Pope absolved all persons from any oath of fidelity given to Cranmer, and imposed perpetual silence upon him; and moreover, upon the instance of the above-said Proctors, commanded the Bishops of London (Boner) and Ely to degrade him, and so to deliver him over to the Secular Court." This was dated Dec. 14, 1555.

Such were the consequences of the nation's being brought again under subjection to the See of Rome. Citation thither without a possibility of compliance; a sentence of contumacy for not doing what it was morally and physically impossible to do; a form of trial in Courts many hundreds of miles distant; articles exhibited, evidence produced, and sentence passed, the accused being all the while in close prison in a remote country, incapable of all personal defence or remonstrance, and denying the authority of the tribunal to which his cause had been submitted. When the unhappy Primate heard all these false and absurd allegations brought to bear against him, he could no longer refrain, but in the integrity of his heart, exclaimed, "God must needs punish this open and shameless lying."

But there was no evading the punishment denounced; the Bishops of London and Ely proceeded to carry into execution the sentence of degradation. In doing which, Boner is said to have conducted himself most cruelly and rudely; but Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, who had known the Archbishop well in former times, and been in no small degree obliged to him, could not refrain from

tears, shewing such repugnance to the task imposed upon him,* that Cranmer himself was fain to comfort and encourage him. "So they appareled the Archbishop," says Strype, "in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbishop, but so as in mockery; every thing being of canvas and old clouts; and the crosier was put into his hand, and then he was, piece by piece, stripped of all again." When they began to take away his pall, he asked, "Which of them had a pall, to take away *his* pall?" They then answered, acknowledging they were his inferiors as Bishops; but as they were the Pope's delegates,† they might take away his pall. While they were thus spoiling him of his garments, he told them that "it needed not: for that he had done with this gear long ago." While this was doing, Boner insultingly made a triumphant speech against the poor Archbishop; but when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and would not deliver it: but pulled out an appeal out of his left sleeve, under his wrist, and said, "I appeal to the next general Council; and herein I have comprehended my cause, and the form of it, which I desire may be admitted." The Commissioners were at first unwilling to take

* Bishop Thirlby was under such obligations to Cranmer, that Morice, the faithful and intelligent secretary of the Archbishop, writes, "If this Bishop did not, to his uttermost endeavour, practise to save the Archbishop's life, he not only did him much wrong, but also abused his singular benevolence with over-much ingratitude;" a passage certainly, as *Strype* observes, implying some suspicion to the contrary. He was a temporizer, complying both with Edward's proceedings, and afterwards with Mary's.

† Boner's assumption, upon being in this instance above Cranmer, as the Pope's delegate, induces us to transcribe the oath he had voluntarily subscribed in King Henry's time; it may stand for a comment upon the charge of perjury advanced against Cranmer.

"Ye shall *never* consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power, within this realm, or any other of his Majesty's dominions, but that ye shall *resist* the same, at *all times*, to the uttermost of your power; and that *from henceforth* ye shall accept, repute, and take the King's Majesty to be the only Supreme Head in earth, of the Church of England, &c. So help you God, and all Saints, and the Holy Evangelists." Thus subscribed, "In Fidem præmissorum ego EDM. BONER, Elect. et Confirmat. *Londoniens.* huic præsenti chartæ subscripsi."—*Strype's Cranmer*, i. 124.

his appeal from him; but Thirlby at last received it of him, saying, if it might be admitted, it should.

After this interruption they proceeded to degrade him, taking off the rest of his habits, and then put on him a poor yeoman beadle's gown, threadbare, and a townsman's cap; and Boner took that opportunity of telling him, "He was no Lord any more;" an expression upon which he seemed to *pride* himself.—And so he was sent to prison again.

From thence he wrote to the Queen, to account for his different conduct and carriage, towards her Commissioners and the Delegates of the Pope; and to express his surprise and concern, that the King and Queen, by suffering him to be cited to Rome, should have seemed to consent to be regarded only as subjects within their own realm, so as to sue for justice against an Englishman, at a stranger's hands, in a strange land. That he could no longer submit to the Pope, whom he had forsworn, or admit his usurped authority over Kings and Queens, as exercising their temporal power, only under him, being convinced that the *Imperial* Crown of England was subject to none but God alone.

He further instanced the strange inconsistency, in allowing the Pope to suspend or over-rule, at his will, the imperial laws of England, which all the Kings at their coronations, all justices, and all public officers, bound themselves by oath to defend.

He supposed, he said, that these things were not fully opened in the Parliament House, when the Pope's authority was received again: for if they were, he could not believe that the King and Queen, the Nobles and Commons, would again receive a foreign authority, so hurtful and prejudicial to the Crown, and to the laws and state of the realm.

He next proceeded to shew in how many instances, the Pope's authority went to subvert the laws of God as well as man. He professed to have no personal enmity to the Pope, but only a just regard, as it was his most bounden duty, for the crown, liberty,

laws, and customs of this realm of England. He did not pretend to say that the Pope was the true Antichrist, but that from a contemplation of the strange exercise of his authority in things spiritual and temporal, he could not but say, that until the time came that such a person might be found, men might easily conjecture where to find Antichrist. He complained of being kept from company of learned men, from books, from counsel, and from pen and ink, saving to write to her Majesty at that time; and as to his appearance at Rome, if she would give him leave, he would appear there, and he trusted God would put in his mouth to defend his truth there as well as here.

The Queen assigned to the Cardinal the task of answering Cranmer. His reply is still extant, and may be seen at length in Strype,* as he found it amongst Foxe's manuscripts. Some parts of it are very absurd, and some very unjust; and almost the only thing in it, that does any credit either to his head or his heart, is the following passage, in which we hope he spake true, and though some have judged otherwise, we are disposed to think he might do so; he tells him, that "the condemnation that was lately passed on him (Cranmer) was so horrible to him to hear, that he testified to him before God, and upon the salvation of his soul, that he would rather choose to be the means of bringing him to repentance, than to receive the greatest benefit that could be given him under heaven in this world." He certainly intimates, that unless he did repent, "he was under the vengeance of God, a member of Satan, and damned." But it seems to have been Pole's manner entirely, to use the strongest expressions he possibly could use, where his real wish was to work repentance and produce a change. He has told us himself, that this was the design and intent of his violent letters to Henry; he thoroughly wished to bend his mind to his purposes, and not offend him irrevocably, as proved to be the case. He wished, and very naturally might, to alarm him

* Life of Cranmer, Appendix, No. lxxxix.

into some compunction of spirits, for what he had done against the Romish Religion, Queen Katherine, and the interests of the Princess Mary, but as we may have more to say of this hereafter, we shall pass on to the last days and end of Cranmer; for though the story has been often told, some of the circumstances are held to be not clear of doubt to this day. Nor can we divest ourselves of the feeling, that with respect as well to the transactions, in which he is known, for many years, to have borne so conspicuous a part, as to the persons with whom he may be said generally to have acted, a life of Lord Burghley is little different from a proper history of the Reformation.

We have still, however, a few words to say upon the Cardinal's letter.—In this letter Pole dwells largely on Cranmer's protest before he took his oath to the Pope on becoming Archbishop; insisting upon its having been done privately, when it was notoriously otherwise, as has lately been admirably shewn by Mr. Todd.* But what protest could exceed the contradictory oaths of the Popish Bishops before the Reformation, and of which Hall has given us an excellent account. After asserting in the Papal oath, every possible submission to the Pope, so as to resist to the utmost of their power, "any counsell, treatie, or act imagined against him, and to give hym knowledge thereof;" the oath to the King began, "I John, Bishop of A. utterly renounce and clerely forsake all suche clauses, woordes, sentences and grauntes which I have or shall have here after of the Pope's Holiness, of and for the Bishopric of A. that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter maie bee hurtfull or prejudicial to your highnesse, your heirs, successors, dignitie, privilege, or estate royal," &c. &c. We might surely be puzzled to think what part such Bishops would take when Henry was excommunicated by Paul III.—Well might any Sove-

* Could any thing be more explicit than the following terms of the protest:—"*Coram vobis* authenticâ personâ et *testibus fide dignis*, hic presentibus, Ego, *Thomas* in *Cant.* Archi-episcopum electus dico, allego, et in his Scriptis, *palam, publicè* et expresse potestor?"

reign call such prelates only his half-subjects, as Henry is said to have done; but since Cranmer's protest is still insisted upon by Catholic writers, as a shameful instance of *Protestant* prevarication, for so they certainly mean to insinuate, it may not be amiss to consider what was passing in the world at the same time elsewhere. It is upon record, not only that Francis I. had a dispensation from the Pope to *violate* his *oath* taken to Charles V. on his release from imprisonment in Spain, but that when he ratified the treaty of Cambray, he took *a solemn protest*, though with the *utmost secrecy*, against several articles in the treaty; and one of the Crown lawyers, by his special command, entered a protest to the same purpose, and with the *like secrecy*, when the ratification of the treaty was registered in the Parliament of Paris. Dr. Robertson's reflection upon this, in his History of Charles V. is as follows:—"Francis seems to have thought, that, by employing an artifice unworthy of a King, destructive of public faith, and of the mutual confidence on which all transactions between nations are founded, he was released from any obligation to perform the most solemn promises, or to adhere to the most sacred engagements." In these transactions there could be nothing of Protestantism.—Catholicism must of necessity take the credit of these solemn and secret protests, against a treaty ratified with all due forms, and with every outward pledge of fidelity. The son of Francis, Henry II., affords another example of its being entirely a Popish trick, preliminary to evasion, upon the famous maxim of *Escobar* the *Jesuit*, that promises do not bind a man, who has no *intention**

* Gardiner himself, in his book *De Obedientiâ*, has a *salvo* of the same kind, of which he made use in his own defence, asserting that "an engagement against right is by no means binding"—the question remaining open as to the right. Thus while Henry lived, Gardiner swore to support the King's Supremacy, as an undoubted, or at least an indisputable right; and under Mary *he swore as freely* to support the Pope's Supremacy as a still more indisputable right. Had he lived to Elizabeth's reign, the same subterfuge might have availed him: his engagement to Mary might then have appeared as much an engagement against right, as his engagement to Henry to supersede the Pope's claims.

to be bound by them. Charles V. and Henry II. being opposed to each other in the religious wars of Germany (Henry, a bigoted Romanist, taking part with Charles's Protestant subjects against him), came to an unexpected truce or suspension of arms, December 15, 1555. The Pope being displeased, because he was alarmed at any symptom of harmony between these two potentates, sent the Cardinal Caraffa with full powers to absolve Henry from his oath. Henry received absolution in form, seeking to surprise the Emperor, thereby adding to perjury and falsehood, the crime of treachery, and all upon the Pope's authority.*

It was no mark of wisdom therefore in Pole, to charge Cranmer, at the point of death, as a *Protestant Martyr*, with such a deed of prevarication, since it was notoriously *a Popish system of deceit*, in practice on the Continent at the very same moment, not to insist again on the contradictory oaths of the English Popish prelates. The charge against Cranmer, however, has been found capable of *revival*. While we were, as we thought, very honestly engaged in vindicating him from the reproaches of *Cardinal Pole*, in the sixteenth century, a *living* author, whom every body must wish to respect and esteem, for many rare talents and personal accomplishments (we mean Mr. Charles Butler), has renewed the charge, and (being himself a Catholic) endeavoured to load the memory of Cranmer with this great crime, as though Romanism stood quite clear from the charge of prevarication. Surely he must have forgotten that such a book exists as the *Lettres Provinciales* of *Paschal*; but the book *does* exist, and any body may read it, who wishes to know the real extent of Popish *Jesuitism*. But to return to Cranmer.

* See Watson's Philip II.

CHAP. LVII.

Cranmer's recantations—Circumstances that probably misled him—His behaviour at the last—Testimony of a spectator of his sufferings—Boner's false accounts of his dying confession.

It is but too well known, that Cranmer, before he died, set his hand to certain papers, the contents of which expressed no less than a formal recantation of all he had uttered, expressed, or acted, against the Catholic religion, and the Pope's supremacy. It is no sufficient excuse, for so great a fall, to say he was beguiled into it; he should have totally rejected the blandishments of his adversaries, for it seems to have been to them that he yielded. Most writers have agreed that he was overcome by art: Judas-like, his enemies betrayed him with a kiss. *Strype's* account, who seldom or never says too much or too little, thus relates the circumstances:—

"Having brought the Archbishop into his degradation and appeal, wherein he shewed so much Christian courage, wisdom, and fortitude, I must now represent him as making a great trip and a sad fall, and mention one of the greatest blemishes of his life. For now the Popish party, thinking what a piece of glory it would be to gain this great man to their church, used all means, all arts, as well as arguments, to bring him to recant. They set the Doctors of the University upon him; he was entertained at the Dean of Christ Church his lodging.* [The very Dean, it may be observed, who had caused the body of Peter Martyr's wife to be dug up and cast upon his dunghill.] There they treated him

* Marshal.—*Strype's Cranmer*, i. 535.

with good fare. They got him to play at bowls with them; they let him have his pleasure in taking the air. Sometimes they accosted him with arguments and disputations; sometimes by flatteries, promisings, and threatenings. They told him the noblemen bare him good will: that his return would be highly acceptable to King and Queen; that he should enjoy his former dignity in the Church; or, if it liked him better, he should lead a quiet life in more privacy; and that it was but setting his name in two words in a piece of paper. They told him the Queen was resolved to have Cranmer a Catholic, or no Cranmer at all: that he was still lusty and strong, and might live many a year and more, if he would not willingly cut off his life by the terrible death of burning."

In some histories this is not to be found, and the Catholic party still seem inclined to attribute the whole proceeding to an abject fear of death, which came suddenly upon him on seeing *Ridley* and *Latimer* carried to execution, and a determination to save his own life if he could, by every act of dissimulation he could put in practice; and it would certainly appear that he did not dissemble once or twice, but, as far as subscribing his name went, many times; and had his life been spared, which the Catholic writers will not allow that he had received encouragement to expect, the Popish party no doubt would have had a great triumph, and the character of Cranmer would have been gone for ever. But he lived just long enough after to do all that he could do to atone to his own party for his error; not to justify or excuse, for he could not, the false recantation he had suffered to go abroad, but bitterly and *ex imo pectoris*, in the face of the Catholics themselves, to blame and condemn himself for the great weakness he had shewn, pledging himself to verify and confirm this *last* act of his life at the *stake*, and in the face of all people, by first submitting to the fury of the flames awaiting him, *the hand* which had been the more immediate instrument of his disgrace.

It is difficult to proceed a step in the history of the transactions

of the sixteenth century, without being perplexed by the latent bias every writer appears to entertain for his own opinions, which, if it do not lead him absolutely or wilfully to falsify, tempts him to question the most probable or even best authenticated facts, to place them in a false light, or by curtailments and omissions, to represent them imperfectly.

Dr. Lingard, a living historian of the Romish church, often already cited, is disposed to question the fact of Cranmer's having been seduced to make his recantations by any artful behaviour, promises, or encouragements of the Catholic party; because, in his last speech he declared, that the whole proceeded from a wish to save his life if it might be. But this can amount to no contradiction of the facts alleged by *Strype*, *Collier*, and *Foxe;* for what could be more likely to excite an extravagant wish to save his life, than the blandishments of his former adversaries, and some agreeable relaxations after the confinement of a doleful and miserable imprisonment? The story, besides, enters too far into particulars to be altogether false, mentioning the names of the very persons who were employed to argue with him and tempt him with offers.

The Archbishop appears to stand charged by the same writer with a design of carrying on his dissimulation, in hopes of a pardon, to the *very last moment;* to have prepared *two* instruments to carry with him even to the stake, the one repeating his former recantations by which he hoped to live, the other a disavowal of them in case he should inevitably be brought to the stake. But as no culprit under the fear of death relinquishes all hope of pardon till the chance be visibly and manifestly at an end, it would be very difficult to prove that that chance was entirely over, when Cranmer pronounced his disavowal of his several recantations.

Again, to read Dr. Lingard's account, which is true in the main, it would seem as if the Archbishop had lost all self-possession as

his hour approached, and was in a state of the most abject fear and depression of spirits at the thoughts of death. During the sermon at St. Mary's* before he suffered (preached *there* because of the rain), "Cranmer," he says, "stood on a platform opposite the pulpit, appearing," as a *spectator* writes, "the very image of sorrow; his face was bathed with tears; his eyes were sometimes raised to heaven, sometimes fixed through *shame* on the earth."

The account of this very spectator is now before us, and it certainly confirms what Dr. Lingard has written concerning the sorrowful aspect and many tears of the unhappy and degraded Archbishop. Nor shall we attempt to deny the "*shame*," with which his eyes are said occasionally to have been fixed on the earth; for shame he may have felt, and probably did feel, for what he had been induced (if *not seduced)* to do. But when we put the several circumstances of his last day together, Cranmer must, we think, be allowed after all to have fallen with dignity; not so depressed, that is, or abjectly forlorn, as to have lost all fortitude and resolution.

The *Catholic* spectator, who *saw.* his *sufferings*, also *heard* his last *words*, and has recorded them admirably; and they bespeak, we shall venture to say, all the gravity and collection of a mind perfectly composed, with all the fortitude of a true and determined martyr. A part of his speech, with the account of the effect it produced, and the whole process of execution, as it comes from an adversary in the faith, and belongs so much to the history of the times in which Lord Burghley lived, and relates besides to one, with whom he had, during a particular period of his life, so much and such important communication, we shall here tran-

* Preached by Dr. Cole, sometime Warden of New College. He had in Henry's time acknowledged the King's Supremacy, and in Edward's reign, outwardly embraced and preached the Reformation; but in Mary's time he became again, as he was originally, a zealous Catholic, being Vicar-general of the Spiritualities under Pole, when Archbishop of Canterbury; for his learning he was highly esteemed both by Protestants and Catholics.

scribe; more particularly as "the profligate Boner" (for so let me call him, says *Strype)*, "to serve an end, prostituted his faith and credit, by publishing afterwards, not what he spake indeed, as notoriously known to hundreds of witnesses present, but what the Papists had prepared for him to *have spoken*, and had the assurance to pretend he *did* speak."—See Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. ch. xxx. Where are to be found also, not only his several recantations, dictated to him by the Papists, but his real speech, and Boner's forged one, in parallel columns.

And it should be recollected, that what he spake in contradiction of his unhappy recantations, he delivered not at the very place of execution, opposite Balliol College, but at some distance, in St. Mary's Church, where the sermon was delivered on account of the rain. And there is one curious expression in it, which would seem to shew, that all hope of life was not quite abandoned, and that his last recantation was not absolutely the effect of perfect desperation—"For, if I *may come to the fire.*" We would not lay any particular stress on this, except to shew, that had he consented to deliver what the Papists had put into his hands, and which they expected him to deliver, as is plain from the surprise and confusion that ensued, and the interruption he met with, it would seem, that he was not *quite certain* of the issue. And indeed many persons have been brought nearer to their end, before a pardon was announced.

The course of the proceeding, however, seems to have been this: he read openly all that he could conscientiously read of the recantation prepared by the Papists, but instead of one declaration required of him, substituted the following:—

"And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I did or said in my life: and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here now I renounce and refuse as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my

heart, and writ for fear of death, if it might be: and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with my own hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue: and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished: for if I may come to the fire it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrines. And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my Book against the Bishop of Winchester; the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the Papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to shew her face."*

There was a passage in his address, preceding this, which should not be omitted, as it is scarcely possible to doubt that he was sincere in this last act of his melancholy but memorable life.

"And for so much as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life passed, and my life to come; either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, in joy; or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in hell. And I see before mine eyes presently, either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up. I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without colour or dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past."

His last words then, are allowed to have embraced chiefly

* The following is what Bishop Boner falsely asserted in print that he *did* say:—"And now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that ever I did: and that is, the setting aside untrue books and writings, contrary to the truth of God's word; which now I renounce and condemn, and refuse them utterly as erroneous, and for none of mine. But you must know also what books they were, that you may beware of them, or else my conscience is not discharged; for they be the books which I wrote against the Sacrament of the altar sith the death of King Henry VIII. But whatsoever I wrote then, now is a time and place to say truth. Wherefore, renouncing all those books, and whatsoever in them is contained, I say and believe, that our Saviour Christ Jesu, is really and substantially contained in the blessed Sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine."

these points:—Love to God, love to the king, and love to the neighbour. "In which talk," the letter we are transcribing goes on to state, "he held men very suspense, which all depended upon the conclusion: where he so far deceived all men's expectations, that at the hearing thereat, they were much amazed; and let him go on awhile, 'till my Lord Williams bade him play the Christian man, and remember himself. To whom he answered, that he so did; for now he spake the truth.

"Then he was carried away, and a great number that did run to see him so wickedly go to death, ran after him, exhorting him while time was to remember himself; and one Friar John, a godly and well learned man, all the way travelled with him to reduce. But it would not be—what they said in particular I cannot tell, but the effect appeared in the end: for at the stake he professed that he died in all such opinions as he had taught, and oft repented him of his recantation.

"Coming to the stake, with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood upright in his shirt; and a Bachelor of Divinity, named Elye, of Brazen-nose College, laboured to convert him to his former recantation, with the two Spanish Friars. But when the Friars saw his constancy, they said in Latin one to another, Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh him, for the Devil is in him. But the Bachelor in Divinity was more earnest with him, unto whom he answered, that as concerning his recantation, he repented it right sore, because he knew it was against the truth; with other words more.—Whereupon, the Lord Williams cried, Make short, make short.

"Then the Bishop took certain of his friends by the hand; but the Bachelor of Divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that so did, and said he was sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet, again he required him to agree to his former recantation. And the Bishop answered (shewing

his hand), This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer first punishment.

"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, *This hand has offended.* As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while.

"His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error and subversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any Father of ancient time; but seeing, that not the death, but the cause and quarrel thereof, commendeth the sufferer, I cannot but much dispraise his obstinate stubbornness and sturdiness in dying, and specially in so evil a cause. Surely his death much grieved every man; but not after one sort. Some pitied to see his body so tormented with the fire raging upon the silly carcass, that counted not of the folly. Others that passed not much of the body, lamented to see him spill his soul, wretchedly without redemption, to be plagued for ever. His friends sorrowed for love; his enemies for pity; strangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we are bound one to another.

"Thus I have enforced myself, for your sake, to discourse this heavy narration, contrary to my mind; and being more than half weary, I make a short end, wishing you a quieter life, with less honour; and easier death, with more praise. The 23d of March,

Yours, J. A."

This certainly is a letter not to be much curtailed, and it being the testimony of an adversary, is the more valuable and the more to be trusted, especially as it does not fail to express things as they would naturally appear to a Papist. His fortitude, obsti-

nacy; his martyrdom a wanton suicidal destruction of soul and body.

The disavowal, however, of his several extraordinary recantations, seems decidedly to have been thus verified and confirmed at the stake, by one of the most remarkable acts of deliberate resolution and recollection recorded in history. The fact itself being authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute; and since it plainly evinces his great courage, patience, and firmness, at the very last awful moment, it may help to shew, on what account, principally, his countenance at St. Mary's, before he had thus expressed his mind, was so sorrowful, and the dolor of his heart so great, as to vent itself in tears, as described by the same writer. It was then, we may believe, he suffered for the weakness he had shewn in his recantations.

CHAP. LVIII.

Pole supposed to have instigated and accelerated the execution of Cranmer—Not probable from a correct view of circumstances—Persecution very general and prevalent—Difficult to say who were most responsible for the atrocities committed—Comparisons the only means of ascertaining the truth.

STRYPE is very much disposed to attribute his execution, after what the Queen herself appears to have esteemed to be a regular conversion, to the particular *instigation* of Pole,* since Gardiner was dead; but it should be recollected that Pole had no such motive for hurrying on his death, as some seem to have supposed; but particularly from the circumstance of his having been consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury the very day after Cranmer's execution. Since he not only had enjoyed all the profits, honours, and privileges of the Archbishopric by sequestration and the Queen's grant, but the Pope had given him the *See* on Cranmer's *degradation*, three months before the burning of that Prelate, viz. December 14; and if he did not actually take possession of it, so soon as he might, it would seem to bespeak rather a kindly forbearance, while there was any hope of Cranmer's conversion, than

* Mr. Wharton's observations upon this, to be seen at the end of Strype's Cranmer (Oxford edit. 1812), are as follow:—[I would not have remitted you to so obscure an author as *Anthony Horner*, if yourself had not mentioned him in your preface. He hath offered some reasons (in his specimen, p. 144), not altogether contemptible, to clear Cardinal Pole from this imputation. I am so charitable as to be willing, at least, to assent to his reasons; yourself can better judge of the validity of them.—]

Surely the Papists generally, did not mean to restore Cranmer to his honours, their triumph was complete in having obtained his recantation—and perhaps, for fear of a retraction of that very recantation, his death only became the more certain. It is the remark of the Reviewer of Phillips, "They were desirous not to save him, but to seduce him into a recantation." They could not have expected him to have become a very zealous Catholic, and would scarcely therefore have allowed him to fill so important a station as that of Metropolitan; in fact, without Pole's assistance, we should think his very recantation might have hurried him to the stake.

any inordinate haste to have him removed after conversion.—He did not even take Priest's orders till Cranmer was executed,* though he might have done it, and filled the See, so as to preclude Cranmer's return to it, had he been so covetous of his place, as some would represent. The writ for Cranmer's execution was issued on the 24th of February, and he was not burned till the 21st of March, and in the interval he *recanted.* This then was the time for Pole to have made himself secure, having every thing as much in his power, both by the Pope's Bull, and actual possession of Lambeth, before Cranmer's death as after; in fact, his delay seems rather unaccountable, if he were so covetous of the place, as his hurrying on Cranmer's death at last would imply: and indeed, if we consider that he stood not well with the Pope, who, upon delay, might revoke his appointment, it would scarcely be possible to attribute his proceedings to any other cause than delicacy towards his unhappy predecessor; which would not be discordant with other traits in his character. The most startling evidence to the contrary appears to be that of Archbishop Parker, who immediately succeeding him and being intimate with Lord Burghley, does certainly accuse him, both of a feigned sanctity and a thirst for blood; and, indeed, expressly of having instigated the Queen to burn Cranmer.—Burnet, indeed, acknowledges there were such reports on foot, but he answers for no more than reports, though blamed by Phillips in no very moderate terms, for advancing such a charge, without the least grounds, or alleging any authority for it. Burnet's expression is, "*It was thought* that he hastened the execution of Cranmer;" and adds, "which is the only personal blemish I find laid on him." Dr. Glocester Ridley, fancied he knew Pole better than Burnet, and therefore professes himself disposed to give credit to the charge; observing, that "Pole, who feared Paul IV., and that he might refuse him the Archbishopric

* This is rather a curious circumstance, since it had been supposed, that he would not go beyond Deacon's orders, in hopes of marrying Mary and ascending the Throne.

and recal him to Rome, *might* hasten the vacancy, while his interest with the King and Queen, and theirs with the Pope, were able to secure this point." But these very considerations should rather have led the Cardinal to *hasten* his own priestly ordination, and take *full* possession of the See, on Cranmer's *degradation*, as we have shewn; having power to do so, with the consent of the King, Queen, and *Pope*. The latter, in his Bull of Dec. 11, 1555, having actually collated Pole to the Archbishopric, and as solemnly excommunicated and deposed Cranmer. We therefore are inclined to admit with Collier, that Cranmer's life could be no hindrance to Pole's advancement to the See of Canterbury, unless restored to it upon *repentance* and *recantation*, which Pole, by filling the See upon the Pope's collation to it, might have prevented, even had his life been spared.—The omission or delay of these things at so critical a moment, appear to us Pole's best vindication, and almost convince us that the charge could not be true. Burnet thinks Gardiner involved Pole in the quarrel with the Pope, by giving ill characters of him, and so exposing him to the anger of the Pontiff, as to render it impossible for Pole openly to hinder the prosecution of heretics.—He thinks Gardiner not only endeavoured, by prolonging the life of Cranmer, to keep Pole out of the Archbishopric, but to become Legate and Cardinal himself.

We are ourselves inclined to think that Dr. Lingard has taken a very just view of the Cardinal's conduct; and that the severity with which Cranmer was treated, proceeded from some of the Queen's Council, who are not so often mentioned in the history of these events as they deserve; particularly that time-serving Courtier, that bending willow, as he called himself, the *Marquess* of *Winchester*. Knox seems to have known the character of this man, and even the Romanists make him responsible for the persecution, which has been generally attributed to Gardiner and Boner. We cannot acquit the latter, for they were assuredly bad enough, though they should be shewn to be not absolutely the very worst

agents and advisers of the Crown. It seems quite certain that Gardiner at one time retired from the charge of punishing heretics, delivering the hateful task over to Boner; but even Boner himself, as well as others of the Bishops, was reprimanded by the King and Queen in *Council*, instigated, as it is said, by the Marquess of Winchester, for a *slackness* of *zeal* and *diligence* in proceeding against heretics. Still we must say, that this amounts to very little in excuse of either, because the former* must have known to whom he was resigning the heavy charge of persecution;—and what must we think of that religion, which could induce any to regard the exertions of Boner, as too slack or too merciful?

It is very certain, that any slackness, or backwardness, at this time, to proceed against heretics (that is, the Protestants), was regarded at Rome, and by the most bigoted Papists, as an imputation on the orthodoxy of many persons. Pole himself being very particularly one of those; and it is much to be lamented, that to evade such imputations, several actually seem to have become persecutors in their own defence, much beyond the suggestions of their own will and inclinations. There can be very little doubt, as we shall have further occasion to shew, that the Cardinal had, by his lenity, incurred a pretty general suspicion that he had a leaning towards Protestantism.†

* Upon Bradford's second examination before the Council, Gardiner observed to him, that it had been objected to him (Gardiner) that he had been too gentle oftentimes.—To this Bradford replied, "I pray, my Lord, you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel a little of it, for hitherto I never felt it."

† Osiander writes, that many, "Multos, qui hunc Cardinalem familiarius noverant, judicasse, eum nec ignoravisse, neque in corde suo improbavisse Evangelicam doctrinam, sed eo vehementius persecutum, ut Lutheranismi suspicionem a se quam longissimè removeret." This is certainly not to the credit of the Cardinal, and other writers have testified the same; but it was according to the tenor of the behaviour of others, more eminent than the Cardinal, as might easily be shewn, and indeed will be shewn by ourselves hereafter. *Fuller* asserts, that several of the very Commissioners appointed to superintend the punishment of heretics, were privately very courteous to the Martyrs, but publicly and in conjunction with others, as cruel as the rest.

It is, however, quite indisputable, that much persecution did take place, and that the people were highly offended at it; but who were decidedly most to blame, as individuals, it is not necessary for us to go much out of our way to determine. That Philip was afraid that *he* should be made too responsible for what was passing in this way, is very evident from the celebrated Sermon preached before the Court by *his Confessor*, *Alphonso de Castro*, in favour of *toleration*, and pointedly condemnatory of the harsh proceedings which had taken place:—a Sermon, which is said to have produced a *five weeks* respite, which was thought a great matter at the time. Unfortunately, the choice of the Preacher almost betrayed the secret; and we are the more inclined to notice the circumstance, because it has been only very lately attempted to fix the crime of intolerance on Cranmer, more particularly from his chapters *de Hæresibus*, and *de Judiciis contra Hæreses*, &c. in his *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum;* whereas, it was this very Friar, *Alphonso de Castro*, who preached so earnestly in favour of *toleration* before Philip, and gained credit by doing so, who had, not many years before, printed and published a work in Spain, expressly upon the punishment of heretics, in which he lays it down as a *settled* rule of *justice* that every heretic should be *put to death;* and though it should be a matter of indifference by what kind of death they die, yet he pronounces it to be a most certain truth, that by whatever death heretics are made to die, it must be for the good of the Church. The title of the book was as follows: "*De Justâ Hæreticorum Punitione—Libri tres—Salmonticæ*, 1547 —ut confirmaret *justas* esse *omnes illas pœnas* quibus in jure *civili atque canonico hæretici* addicuntur." And the passage we have referred to above, runs thus: "*Ostendimus jam satis aperte justum esse ut hæreticus occidatur; quo autem genere mortis, sit occidendus, parum ad rem facit; nam quocunque modo occidatur, semper consuliter Ecclesiæ.*" Considering how near to Mary the Royal master of this Canonist was placed, it seems very unfair that either Cranmer or

Protestantism should be made to answer for the persecutions of this reign, yet we know not what other interpretation to put upon the following passage in Dr. Lingard's History, especially after the censure past upon Cranmer just before, for his severe law against heretics. "The foulest blot on the character of this Queen (Mary) is her long and cruel persecution of the Reformers. It is, however, but fair to recollect, what I have already noticed, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrines was inculcated as a duty by *every religious* party. Mary only practised what THEY taught." We may surely ask, Did her brother Edward teach her such things? The Papists blame Cranmer for over-ruling his merciful propensities. But Mary had *refused* her humane brother's lessons and instructions in a very remarkable manner; and yet Dr. Lingard, *after* the *example* set her by her amiable brother and predecessor, and which he himself records as a charge *against Cranmer*, does not hesitate to draw the following conclusion: "It was her misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries."

On Cranmer's death, Pole seems to have had a hard task imposed upon him, for the condition of his province and diocese appears to have been extremely bad, as may be seen by the returns made to him on the visitations of his Vicar-general and namesake, Dr. David Pole;* a good summary of which is to be found in the xxxviith chapter of Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, under the year 1556. Many churches in his patronage appear to have been dreadfully neglected. The presentments for immoral conduct are very numerous; and it would be absurd to attempt to

* Phillips makes a curious mistake with regard to this Reverend person, in calling him the natural brother of the Cardinal; he was probably a relation. But as he was elevated by Pole's means to the See of Peterborough, it stands as an odd charge against the Cardinal, by his great admirer, who actually commends Pole for his care of the Church, in not admitting any into holy orders but such as were born in lawful wedlock. It fell to the lot of Dr. Glocester Ridley to clear this matter up, in *vindication* of the Cardinal, following Strype in his corrections of Burnet, p. 286.

deny, that the cases are, most of them, of a nature to expose the fallacy or bad tendency of the system the Papists were so particularly anxious to restore under this reign, we mean the celibacy of the Clergy. Under the year 1553, indeed, Strype, in the chapter of his great work, wherein he has to relate the circumstances of the deprivation of the married priests (that is, those who had married under the express permission of Edward's laws), and the substitution of the Romish Clergy in their place, adds, from documents but too authentic and indisputable, a sad account of the unclean lives of the latter. While so *offensive* were the *lawful marriages* of Edward's Protestant Clergy esteemed to be, in the eyes of Mary's Council, that some of the sentences passed on them would scarcely be credible, were they not so registered as to admit of no contradiction. Thus, in a return made to the Bishop of Lincoln, on a visitation of his diocese in 1556, a Vicar of Spaldwick was presented for carrying in his arms a child, which he had born to him in *wedlock* in the time of the *schism* (as they called it), to the *scandal* of others, and which he was enjoined *to carry no more*, and to make a recantation in the Church.

It is scarcely possible to read such things as these, without adverting to the characters of those who at this particular time were so anxious to restore the celibacy of the Clergy, and pass such rigorous sentences on all who in the late reign had cast off this hateful yoke. After all the deductions to be made from what have been denounced as false charges against Gardiner and Boner; it seems impossible to acquit them of a very gross addictedness to women; so much so, that the Church and College of Winchester, besides Gardiner's having a concubine himself, lay under a great scandal for all kinds of licentiousness; while Boner had almost constantly with him two base-born children of his own. The following smart repartee of Bale is no despicable historical record of these things. On Boner's objecting to King Edward's office of Baptism, and the giving scripture names to infants, proposing that

instead of Susanna and Rachel, the names of Joan and Katherine should be substituted; "His Lordship," said Bale, "is better acquainted with Katherine and Joan out of the Bible, than with Rachel and Susanna in the Bible; and that appeareth well by his fruits abroad." Bale, indeed, relates many most extraordinary instances of uncleanness amongst the Clergy of his own times, which may decidedly be imputed to the unnatural law we are speaking of. Many unchaste priests, indeed, were brought to shame and punishment by those whom they prostituted. Pitscottie, in his History of Scotland, speaking of the martyrdom of Norman Gourlay, who suffered as a married priest, observes, "For they would thole no priest to marry, but they would punish and burn him to the dead; but if he had used then ten thousand ——— he had not been burnt." Even Weston, the famous Prolocutor, who presided at the disputations at Oxford, where Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were so rudely treated, was put out of his Deanery (of Westminster) by Cardinal Pole, in the month of December, 1557, "for his scandalous life in adultery."*

The true character of the Reformation cannot be duly appreciated or fully understood, without such comparisons, which we should otherwise certainly rather avoid; but it is almost necessary to advert here to the question of priestly celibacy, since it happens to be one which we shall see revived in the following reign, and with no small trouble to the illustrious subject of these Memoirs, to whom it is now time to return.

* In Foxe's Acts and Monuments, it is related of Weston, that at the time of passing sentence on *Latimer*, he said to the latter, "If you go to heaven in this faith, then will I never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

CHAP. LIX.

Sir William Cecil takes a part in the Debates of Parliament, as Member for the County of Lincoln, which is likely to bring him into trouble—His great object, during Mary's reign, appears to have been to meddle as little as possible with public concerns—Of use, however, to those who had taken refuge abroad—Of great importance on many accounts, that he did not, as others did, abandon the Kingdom or the Court.

It was in the year 1555, and in the midst of the persecutions carrying on against the Protestants, that Sir William Cecil took a part in the debates of Parliament which threatened to bring him into danger. He then represented the county of Lincoln; "*Invitus*," as he himself has told us; that is, not altogether against his own will, but rather in compliance with the good will of others, who paid him the compliment of making him the particular object of their choice.

The story is thus told by the author of the Memoirs of William Cecil Lord Burleigh (Burghley):—

"In the year 1555, Gardiner's vindictive spirit prevailing, a multitude of executions proclaimed his wrath against the Reformed. Prelates, venerable for their age, and beloved for the excellence of their behaviour, sealed the truths they had taught with their blood; many clergymen followed them, in the same fiery way; to these succeeded numbers of both sexes, and of all ages. Their deaths did not so much terrify as incense the people, insomuch that the most furious Papists were afraid. The Bishops sought to lift the odium from themselves and throw it upon the *Court;* but King Philip was too great a politician to be duped by priests. His Confessor Alphonso, on the 10th of February, 1555, preached

before him, and in his sermon declared that persecution was contrary to the *scheme* of Christ: that the Bishops were in the wrong to make use of sanguinary measures; in justification of which, he said, they could not produce so much as one text in the New Testament."

We have here, it may be observed, some sort of explanation of the circumstances before related, but which it is still difficult to unravel completely. For if the Bishops had blamed the Court merely to shift the odium from themselves, and Philip had sought to retaliate, by his Confessor's Sermon, in favour of toleration, and against the Bishop's measures, he betrayed himself afterwards; for, as the Memoir goes on to state, "the Bishops upon this were much more moderate, till the Queen, by a letter dated May 24, *rekindled* Boner's zeal, and *forced* him to light up the fires again." It would be difficult, upon this report, to decide which were the worst, the Bishops or the Court; in all likelihood the difference between them was very slight.* But to proceed with the Memoir.

"The Queen," it goes on to say, "at the same time caused a list of all the Church lands, at that time belonging to the Crown, to be delivered to the Pope's Legate, being resolved to restore them. Towards the latter end of the year, when King Philip had left her, when her foolish pretence of being with child had exposed her, and when the cruelty of the bigots about her had rendered the whole nation disaffected, a Parliament was called, which met at Westminster on the 21st of October. In this Parliament Sir William Cecil was Knight for the county of Lincoln. In the House of Commons little was done to the liking of the Court: the Lords passed a bill for the confiscating the estates of such as had fled for religion. In the Lower House it was rejected with great indignation; warm speeches were made on this and other occasions,

* It is a curious fact, that Philip's own historian, Lewis Cabrera, should have ascribed the Marian persecution to Philip, as matter of praise. [Watson's Philip II.] And Bentivoglio describes him as so entirely bent on the extirpation of Protestantism, that when one counselled milder measures, he answered, that he had much rather be no King at all, than have heretics for his subjects. "*Chegli voleva piu tosto restar senza regni, che possedergle con heresia.*"

particularly in relation to a money-bill; in all which Sir William Cecil delivered himself frankly against the conduct of the administration. One day, when he had spoken with more than ordinary applause, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Pollard, and several other members, invited themselves to dinner with him. Sir William said, *they should be welcome, provided they said nothing at table of Parliamentary affairs;* to which they agreed. At dinner, however, some of them talked a little too freely, for which Sir William reproved them, and charged them with breach of promise. The Privy Council had intelligence of all that passed, and sending for the knights and gentlemen, committed them all, reserving Sir William Cecil to be last examined. As soon as he came into the room, and had paid his obedience to the Council, 'he made it his humble request that they would not treat him as they had done the rest, which he owned he thought was a little severe, viz. in committing them first, that they might hear them afterward; whereas it was his suit to be heard first, and if then there should appear just cause, he was content to be committed.'—'You speak, Sir William,' said Lord Paget, 'like a man of experience: go on.' Sir William, making use of this licence, proceeded to set the affair in such a light, that, by the consent of all the Council, he was discharged."

Sir William's own short account, in his Diary, of his conduct in this Parliament, is to the following effect:

"xxi Octobris, 1555, comitia erant celebrata Westmonasterio, in quibus Ego interfui, aliquo cum periculo, nam quanquam invitus electus fueram, ut Eques consularis pro Lincolnensi* Provinciâ, tamen in illo consessu libere sententiam dixi, unde odium peperi; sed melius fuit obedire Deo quam hominibus." "On the 21st of October the Parliament met at Westminster, in which, not without some danger, I discharged my duty as a Member, for though I

* His colleague seems to have been George St. Pole, Esq.—See Browne Willis' Notitia Parliamentaria.

sought it not, yet being returned Knight for the county of Lincoln, I spoke my mind freely, whereby I incurred some displeasure; but better it is to obey God, than man."

From this we may collect, that as Sir William had declined the office of the Secretaryship, when tendered to him by the Queen, as placing him in too forward and responsible a situation under such a Government, so it seems he would have waived being in Parliament, had he not been called upon to accept the charge in a way so honourable, as to preclude his declining it; but having been so chosen, rather against his own inclination, disposing him not to meddle too far with public affairs in the then state of the Kingdom, his object being, as Strype says, "to keep himself as private and untaken-notice-of as possible;" still *(tamen)*, he was resolved to do his duty, and speak his mind freely, let the consequences be what they might; and Strype observes, therefore,* that he "spake boldly against some abuses and intrusions of the Pope, upon the ancient liberties of this Imperial Crown and Kingdom."

From the course of proceedings, indeed, in this Parliament, it is not difficult to conceive, how great a thing it must have been for those who had fled the Kingdom for religion, that Sir William stayed at home to brave the cause;† and to be one amongst those who endeavoured to preserve their property from confiscation, as appears from the above account: and though some of his friends, and Sir John Cheke in particular, as will be shewn, was in some concern about him, as in danger of being drawn too far into compliance with the Court; yet in general they appear to have placed the utmost confidence in him, as their particular friend, in their absence and exile from their native country. Even Sir John Cheke, who, as a near friend and relative, wrote a strong admo-

* Life of Cheke, 98.

† In this very Parliament the bills which the Queen wished to have introduced, for resigning up all impropriations, and recovering the tithes to the Church, appear to have been particularly committed to Sir *William Cecil*, with some others, to be examined and prepared.—*Burnet.*

nitory letter to him (but who fell afterwards himself*), rejoiced greatly, as we are told, when the fame of the speech he had delivered in Parliament, before spoken of, reached the parts abroad, in which he abode at the time.

"When he first heard," says *Strype*, "that *Cecil* was a member of that Parliament, he was glad, expecting some service to be done him there; supposing, as he told his friends, that such fruits of honesty were left in him, as would and should serve for the good of the commonwealth; and his expectation, as he said, was not deceived in him, being glad to hear tell of his well-doing, to his praise and others' profit." "He had a great eye upon this man" (Cecil), he continues, "remaining still in England, whom he seemed to foresee like to prove afterwards one by whom great things would be brought to pass, being also his brother-in-law, and sometime his pupil; who made a shift, by a wary behaviour, and some great friends (as was shewed before), to continue these hard times in the realm." Among these great friends alluded to, Strype particularly mentions Cardinal Pole; "But Cecil had the favour and connivance of Cardinal Pole, and other great friends, that he made a shift to rub out the reign, and was reserved for better times." And this seems to agree well with what we have related above of Sir Thomas Smith, to prove that Protestants could live safely, under the very protection of the *Pope*, in indulgence to *Papists*, who should choose, as it were, to take them under the shelter of their wings.† This may have been

* And as Strype properly remarks, might but too truly have said with the poet:—

"Et monitis sum minor ipse meis."

† According to Strype's account of Sir Thomas Smith (and his accuracy as far as authentic documents could carry him is never to be doubted), there was no man less entitled to Popish indulgences, in the common course of things, than Sir Thomas Smith. He was bred up in the Protestant doctrine, though born before Luther appeared, and "he never flinched from it," says Strype; all his kindred on his father's side were inclined the same way, and he himself, on many great public occasions, stood forth boldly and manfully to defend the principles and creed of the Gospellers, as they were called, in despite of fire and faggot. In the

another reason for Cecil's wishing to see Pole in England, looking to no such shelter from Gardiner, who was constantly suspicious of the friends of the Princess Elizabeth, as much as of herself.

In truth it appears to have been a matter of the greatest importance to the interests of England, and the reversionary claims of the Princess Elizabeth, that Cecil should have thus remained in England during the Marian persecution. This is well expressed in the Latin life of Archbishop Parker, to be found in Strype's Appendix, where, speaking of Elizabeth's accession, and the immediate aid she derived from the two brothers-in-law, Bacon and Cecil, the latter is thus spoken of:—

"Cùm hoc (Bacono) conjunctus CECILIUS, equestri ordine, sed ætate multo minor, qui ante Regis Edvardi Secretarius fuisset, quique in Mariæ regno *incommoda multa ob Evangelium tulisset*, multaque jam *privatus*, et a *rebus gerendis vacuus*, *animo volvisset* atque *percepisset*, ut ad Reginæ Elizabethæ curiam et consilium vocatus, alacrior, promptior, ac meditatior, divinitus accederet. Hunc quicunque dicentem intuitus sit, de quacunque reip. causâ, et ad consideratè deliberandum, et ad paratè prompteque eloquendam, à Deo formatum dicet.*

University, in the Convocation, and in the Parliament house, on various trying occasions, he publicly pleaded for the Reformists, opposing the rigorous measures adopted to crush them, and in many instances saving them from their effects.—*Life of Smith*, 26. *Strype*, in his Life of Smith, p. 44, 48, 49, (see also as to Ascham, ib. 50), speaks of *Gardiner's* being a *friend* to him under Mary, in requital of things that happened under Edward; but, though protected, he, as well as Cecil, lost his appointments; the Secretaryship, the Provostship of Eton, and Deanery of Carlisle. He had, however, £100 per annum assigned to him, but was forbidden to depart the kingdom.—*Strype's Life*, 46.

* See the Latin Life of Archbishop Parker, intituled *Matthæus*, in the Appendix to Strype's Parker, No. xc.

That Sir William's continuance in England, and the part he acted during Mary's reign, especially towards the very end of it, was not unacceptable, or ill regarded by some of the most eminent of the Reformed party, may be judged from some of the last letters appertaining to that reign, to be found in Haynes's Collection, particularly from the Earl of Bedford, a sound Protestant; and from his own father-in-law, Sir Anthony Cooke, then

This is a remarkable passage, as very plainly describing, what was the actual effect of this great Statesman's being on the spot to *observe*, when his sphere of action was so much abridged. It gives him besides credit, for suffering inconveniences on the score of religion, so that whatever might be the actual extent of his compliances with the law, we may be sure he did nothing that amounted to a recantation, or absolute abandonment of principles; besides, the testimony itself is the more remarkable, as proceeding from the pen, or overseen by the eye, of Archbishop Parker himself, who was so well known to Sir William, and lived himself in disgrace in England during the whole of Mary's reign. Had Cecil fallen as some would pretend, the Archbishop, speaking again of him and his brother-in-law, Bacon, would scarcely

dwelling at Strasburgh. There is a passage in one of the letters of the latter, that seems plainly to intimate, that he considered Sir William's stay in England, and his conduct there, to be of importance to the Protestant cause.—[Sir Nicholas Bacon, Sir Anthony's other son-in-law, is said to have been preserved, during the dangerous reign of Queen Mary by his "great moderation and consummate prudence."—See *Biog. Brit.* Art. (Nicholas) *Bacon*, i. 441].

"For your friendly care of me at this time, I take it very thankfully, and if it might so be, I would gladly so declare it presently, but what hope can I have thereof? Thither (*i. e.* to England) I cannot yet come, and it should be a *very good errand* that could draw you hither: which if God would work, as he can do, great things, yet I would not so much desire my own comfort thereby, as carefully wish a good success to you in the same. Thus thinking long to hear from you again, I commit you, my daughter, and all yours, to the favour of Almighty God. From Strasburgh, the 17th day of May, 1557.

Your loving Father-in-law,

To the Right Worshipfull Sir William Cecill, Knight. ANTHONY COOK."

With the Earl of Bedford he stood so well, as to dispose that Noble Lord to do him all the services he could with the Queen (Mary), (if Sir William "should have any occasion to use him," see *Sir Thomas Cornwallis's Letter to Sir William*, March 5, 1556.—*Haynes*, 203), and as Lord Bedford was a zealous Protestant, and a great friend to the refugees, it is extremely evident that Sir William had not sunk himself in their opinion, in the very midst of Mary's reign. Of the Earl's own behaviour under Mary, his loyalty led him, as Lloyd writes, to be "faithful to her in council, and serviceable in Spain and France. He *understood* her *right*, and *disputed* not her *religion*, regarding not so much *her opinion*, as *his own duty*; not what *she was*, but what *he should be*."

have spoken thus of them in the very next line, "Hos duos claros viros, vitâ ac religione *integros*, Pontificiis adversus," &c. &c.

It might be very difficult to ascertain exactly how Sir William contrived to keep so well with all parties, as seems undoubtedly to have been the case. The credit he obtained immediately on the accession of Elizabeth, is sufficient proof of his having espoused her interests, and yet we find him so well with the Queen, that though not admitted into office about the Court, he was one of the number who presented, and received in return, the new year's gifts so common in those days.* In the Memoirs of Lord *Burleigh*, so often referred to, we have two accounts of him, one at the beginning of Mary's reign, and the other towards the close. We shall copy both, as they seem to be founded on good authority.

"Sir William Cecil, entered very early into negotiations with this Princess [Elizabeth], of which some whispers were brought to the then reigning Queen. But she had such a confidence in Sir William's loyalty, that she refused to hear any accusations against him. There seems to have been a reason for this, which I do not find any of our historians have mentioned. The Queen was very desirous that Cardinal Pool should come over into England, as the Pope's Legate, and the Pope accordingly sent him with that character; but the Emperor having his son's match with the Queen much at heart, procured a stop to be put to his Eminency's journey, till it was finished. This delay was furthered by the practices of Gardiner and his creatures, who took much pains to represent Pool as a weak man, and unfit to manage state affairs. There were, however, among Queen Mary's Council, not a few, who desired to see more moderate measures taken than were then in use; with these Sir William associated himself, and at last they so far prevailed, that Lord Paget, Mr. Hastings, and Sir William

* This appears from his own Papers preserved in the Museum.

Cecil, were sent to bring over the Cardinal; which accordingly they did on the 23rd of November, 1554."

This transaction has been before related, and partly set in the same light; but it is well to notice it again on two accounts; first, that it gives Sir William the full credit of being, as early as he could shew himself in the reign of Mary, of the *moderate* party, and secondly, that the bringing in Cardinal Pole, was actually a plan of the Moderates, to obviate greater evils.

CHAP. LX.

Sir William watchful for the Princess Elizabeth, though careful not to interfere with the administration or general course of affairs—Extraordinary list of Books denounced as heretical—Melancholy fate of Lord Burghley's friend and relation, Sir John Cheke—History of his family—Lord Burghley, the patron and guardian of his sons.

We shall now pass to the second paragraph. After noticing Sir William's conduct in the Parliament of 1555, as before related, it says, "Throughout the remaining part of this reign, Sir William was *passive*, in respect to the administration, though active in regard to the interests of the Lady Elizabeth, whose cause he espoused, and whose councils he directed."

Sir John *Cheke*, his near relation, in his exhortatory letter, still extant, has been supposed to have felt an apprehension that he was in danger of complying too far. But this does not actually appear from his letter. Indeed, he seems rather to place a confidence in Sir William, that he would disappoint his fears. The letter is to us, we confess, an extremely obscure one, but at all events, expresses in one particular, a very clear conviction that Sir William stood on the brink of a precipice, and had a most difficult and delicate part to play.

Before we dismiss entirely the memorable year 1555, we cannot avoid noticing a very extraordinary denunciation of what were denominated, *heretical* books; and that by *royal proclamation*. They were as follow:—all the writings of *Luther*, *Œcolampadius*,

Zuinglius, Calvin, Pomeran, John A'Lasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardinus, Ochine, Erasmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, Justin Jonas, Hooper, Coverdale, Tyndal, Cranmer, William Turner, Theodore Basil, Frith, Roy; add to these, *Hall's* Chronicle, and the Communion Service of Edward VI.; and as there were then books of this character and description, in all languages, they were denounced, whether in *Latin, Dutch, English, Italian,* or *French,* or coming from *Zurick, Strasburgh, Franckford, Wezel, Embden,* or *Duisburgh.**

We have now to record the melancholy reverses that befel Lord Burghley's eminent and very learned friend and relative, of whom we have already said so much, Sir John Cheke.

Owing to the unreserved manner in which he had appeared to serve Northumberland, in advancing the Lady Jane Grey [Dudley] to the throne, he was one of those, who, together with the Duke of Suffolk, had in 1553 been committed to the Tower for treason. Going afterwards abroad, after being spoiled of his goods, but pardoned by the Queen, he fell into a snare cruelly laid for him, and was brought back into England, in company with Sir Peter Carew, who had been concerned in Wyat's rebellion, upon a pretence that he had exceeded his licence for travelling, and actually settled himself beyond the limits of the Queen's dominions. The true reason being that he had shewn himself to be too earnest a Gospeller, and too zealous a Protestant. He had been strangely misled, and hurried on to his ruin, by a fondness for astrology; a study then much cultivated, "snatched at, beloved, and even devoured by most persons of honour and worship," as a writer of those days observes, "sic rapi, sic adamari, et devorari a plerisque nobilibus."

Being committed to the Tower, on his arrival in England, he was visited by divers persons, sent by the Queen to convert him, if possible, to the Roman Catholic faith. Among these was his

* Strype's Memorials, iii. 418.

old opponent, Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's; and to the misfortune of Cheke, the latter was allowed to obtain a complete victory over him; so that we have the melancholy fact to record, that this very learned and amiable man, actually consented to sign, and ratify, and publicly declare, his entire recantation of all his former opinions, first before Cardinal Pole, and afterwards in the presence of the Queen. Nor was this enough, but upon a pretence that he had been one who had so greatly seduced the late King and his Court, he was further made to read a long and tedious recantation before the Court, penned as it is said by the Cardinal himself, in which last he was made to say, and confess things, as Strype says, "utterly against his knowledge and conscience." In two words, Archbishop Parker afterwards marked his sense of the failure of this learned man, by writing on the margin of one of his recantations, "*Homines Sumus*,"—"We are but men." To which Strype adds the following distich of old John de Hoo:

"Peccantes dampnare cave; nam labimur omnes;
Aut sumus, aut fuimus, aut possumus esse quod hic est."

"Condemn not thy poor brother, that doth before thee lay,
Since there is none but falls; I have, thou dost, all may."

After these things he sued the Queen for a return of his lands and possessions, as granted to him by the late King, but he obtained nothing, except in the way of exchange, by resigning all former grants, and receiving in return such as the Queen should please to give him. But lands and possessions were no longer of any use to him; his mind was broken; the Papists triumphed over and made a show of him openly, causing him to be present to witness the examination and condemnation of other Protestants, whom they called heretics, till in a short time he sunk under the shame of his own weakness, dying September 13, 1557, aged 43. His friends, however, being careful to commemorate his great worth and learning, by encomiastic verses, and many

monumental tributes of regard and esteem. And indeed, having been brought into his last troubles, not only by the wiles of his most bitter enemies, but probably by the most perfidious treachery on the part of some pretended friends; it is impossible to say what effect these things may have had on his mind and reason. Aristotle, as Strype has very well observed, having supposed such a case, *i. e.* of violent, excessive, and overpowering griefs, has placed it among his συγγνωμονικα, or such as admit of pardon. Certain it is, that, notwithstanding this fall, the deep sense and feeling of which brought him afterwards to a premature end, he was a man, never to be forgotten by the friends of true religion, liberal knowledge, and sound learning.*

Having traced the history of this great, but unfortunate man to his end, we should pass on to other subjects if it were not, that his near relationship to Sir William Cecil, seems to render it proper, if not necessary, that we should add something concerning his family.

Sir John left three sons; Henry, John, and Edward. Edward died young. The two others were much befriended by their uncle Sir William Cecil, out of regard and affection for their highly accomplished but unhappy father. John was taken into the family of Sir William, being a young man of great hopes, competent learning, and gentlemanly manners; but much bent upon pursuing a more active life, than was likely to be his destination, if he should remain always with his uncle. He chose, therefore, to be a soldier, and a soldier of fortune, by joining the Queen's forces in Ireland, in the year 1579 or 1580, with very small means, being compelled, in the very first instance, to beg of his uncle the gift of a horse, to carry him to the wars. In a

* What *Fuller* said of *Jewell*, when he fell, may surely apply to the case of Sir John *Cheke*. "To conceal this his fault, had been partiality; to excuse it, flattery; to insult over him, cruelty; to pity him, charity; to admire God in permitting him, true devotion; to be wary of ourselves in the like occasion, Christian discretion."

letter addressed to Lord Burghley in 1578, he tells him, "that he found at that time nature and duty strove very much within him; the one, to procure importunately that which might secure it safe; the other willing him to forbear to offend in craving, where he honoured, served, and feared. But that his Lordship had much encouraged him, because he had not acquainted him with denials. He begged, therefore, for the safety of his life, and the increase of his reputation, to bestow his dun horse upon him; a horse which he chiefly desired, because he was wedded to him, for his gentle nature, and trust in him, knowing his goodness, and would most willingly hazard his life on him; that necessity forced him, and life willingly spoke for itself. He prayed his Lordship to favour him, and to forget that duty which he owed him, which forbade him this; since nature swayed more with him than reason, though he feared more to offend his Lordship than any; but chiefly that his excuse might be, because he wanted."

He seems to have obtained his end, for he passed into Ireland soon after, according to his own desires; but was unfortunately slain in an engagement with Italians and Spaniards, whom King Philip had at that time sent to invade those parts of the Queen's dominions.

Henry, the eldest son, who was only nine years old when his father died, at the early age of fifteen wrote a Greek epistle to his uncle Cecil; setting forth the ancient friendship that was between his father and him, and that for his sake, he was a friend to those that were his father's friends; and whereby he hoped also to ingratiate himself with him; shewing him withal that his estate was but small, and that his dependence must be upon his learning; and lastly, devoting himself to his service, and avowing that he honoured him as a father, and hoped in him as the stay and pillar of his family. And accordingly Sir William Cecil took care of him also, and admonished him, that in any need he should apply himself to him for his aid, and promised that he would be ever

ready at hand, to do any thing for him that might redound to his benefit; and when he was at the University he had a special eye over him.*

This son, in all things, followed his father's steps. From the University, Sir William had continual notice given him of his great progress in learning, and of his amiable disposition. Doddington, the Greek Professor, in a letter to Sir William, described him to be a youth, *Summæ probitatis, ingenii, studii, suavissimorum morum.* Out of respect to Sir William, then Chancellor of the University, as well as to the learned father of the young man, and to express more fully the high estimation in which he himself was held, he was, in the year 1568, being then only twenty years old, adopted into the rank of their Senators,† an honour he would not accept till he had advised with, and obtained the full consent of his uncle. Nor would he engage himself in marriage without his uncle's approbation, which having obtained, he was united to a young lady, the daughter of Lady Radcliff, wife to Sir Humphry Radcliff, father of Edward Earl of Sussex. By the interest of Sir William (then Lord Treasurer), in the year 1581, he appears, after having been much in foreign parts, to have been appointed Secretary to the Council in the North, and to have received the honour of Knighthood from Queen Elizabeth. But here we must leave the history of this family, observing only, that it rose, rather than sank, afterwards in wealth and importance.

* Strype.

† The intelligence of the distinctions conferred on him, was communicated to Sir William (then Secretary of State) by Dr. Bartholomew Clerk, a celebrated scholar, much noticed by Sir William, of whom many letters remain, as may be seen in Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, vol. ii. 183, where an account is given of him; having incurred the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, instigated thereto, probably, either by the Papists or Puritans, the Archbishop had a difficulty in keeping him in the office of Dean of the Arches, which he had conferred upon him; and both the Archbishop and Clerk, appear to have been compelled to procure the interposition of Lord Burghley, by whose care, and under whose protection, he seems at last to have weathered the storm. Clerk was one of the persons employed by the Archbishop to answer Sanders's book, *de Visibili Monarchiâ.*

One thing pertaining to the subject of these Memoirs, may certainly, we think, be deduced from the severe and cruel treatment of Sir John Cheke, namely, that nothing Lord Burghley did, during the reign of Mary, afforded ground for *triumph* on the part of the Papists; had it been otherwise, we should assuredly have heard as much of it, as we have heard of the unfortunate recantations of Cranmer and Cheke. That he lived in a Romish manner, at Wimbledon, we cannot pretend to deny; he had a priest in his household, he was confessed, and received the Sacrament of the altar, as we have before observed. This is evident from his own Household Book, and the document in the State Paper Office, purporting to be the Easter-book of that parish, 1556. But as the rectory was in his possession by grant from Edward VI. it seems to be his steward's account of Easter offerings, which were possibly paid into Lord Burghley's own hands;* and it is impossible to say after what precise form the Sacrament was administered; but at all events, we know that the question of the real presence was not finally brought to an issue, till after Elizabeth's accession,† and that Lord Burghley made it almost a public principle, not to be deviated from, that the established laws should, to a certain extent, be obeyed. Nor was there any thing for which our early Reformers have received more credit, than the rule they seem to have prescribed to themselves, namely, that the Reformation of the Church was rather to be accomplished by argument than force. It is a very remarkable

* There is no sum put opposite to the names of Sir William and Lady Cecil, but to Thomas Cecil, the eldest son, an offering is assigned of 2*d.*

† It might be difficult to say exactly, how far Lord Burghley's mind was actually satisfied in respect to the Eucharist and Church Ceremonies, when Elizabeth came to the Crown. That he was a zealous *Reformist* there can be no doubt, but how far the Reform was to be carried, what was of necessity to be done away, or what might be retained without offence, were points, which seemed not yet to be so fully resolved, as to preclude farther discussion. See in proof of this his questions to Guest, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to be found in Strype's Annals, i. 120. and Guest's Answers, Appendix, No. XIV. part ii. 459.

circumstance in the history of the Reformation generally, that on the part of the Protestants, compulsion and violence appear to have been as much proscribed, as it was possible to proscribe them, consistently with their own safety; for that they were occasionally driven and provoked to severe *defensive* measures, cannot be disputed.

The very celebrated Gustavus Vasa, as we have also already remarked, was a memorable instance of moderation and severity in the conduct of the Reformation, as regarded Sweden: proscribing all violent measures, he first allowed Luther's own disciple, Olaus Petri, to publish his Swedish translation of the Scriptures, which he was careful to disperse, persuaded in his own mind, that the knowledge of the Scriptures would dispose his subjects to reject the Romish corruptions; yet to be perfectly fair, he gave permission, at the same time, to the Archbishop of Upsal, to prepare another version suited to the doctrine of the church of Rome, that by a careful comparison of both translations with the original, an easier access might be opened to the truth. He favoured the Lutherans undoubtedly, but when the Anabaptists proceeded to extremities against the Romanists, and rudely pulled down their images and church ornaments, while he himself was absent from Stockholm, he blamed the Lutherans on his return, for not endeavouring to restrain them.*

* Mosheim, Cent. xvi.

CHAP. LXI.

Lord Burghley's conformity under Mary, much more excusable than Melancthon's concessions abroad—While his intimacy with Pole exposed him to suspicions, as siding too much with the Romanists, Pole himself was accused of leaning too much towards Protestantism—Peto sent from Rome to supersede Pole—An almost unprecedented act of clemency on the part of Pole, suspected at Rome.

THERE is nothing in Lord Burghley's conformity under Mary, that seems to us to come up to the submissions of *Melancthon;* that amiable, and generally correct Reformer. In the first edition of his *Apologia Confessionis Augustanæ*, he goes the full length of admitting the doctrine of transubstantiation, though this was omitted afterwards; but it is certain, that either fear, or excessive charity, or hesitation of mind (as the commentator on *Mosheim* writes), betrayed him into concessions, much beyond any that are reported of Lord Burghley. We do not say this to exonerate Lord Burghley at Melancthon's expense, but to shew the unsettled state of things, while the Reformation was only in progress, and subject to temporary interruptions. After all, it is not a little remarkable, that at the very period when Lord Burghley, from his intimacy with Cardinal Pole, incurred the suspicion of leaning too much towards Romanism, the Cardinal himself should have been charged with a similar leaning towards Protestantism, or the favouring of *heretics;* which is but another term for the same thing. In 1557, having as Legate and Archbishop, a control over the Bishops of his province, he found fault with Boner, for having condemned some for heresy, and delivered them over to the secular power, without informing him of it, or communicating with him upon the subject;

and when he [Boner] soon afterwards was about to sentence to the flames as many as twenty-two persons at once, he took care, in order to avoid any farther blame, to inform the Cardinal of his intentions, who so effectually interposed, as to save the lives of all, exacting from them, instead of capital punishment, only an easy fine.

But this very act of clemency seems to have been both noticed and resented, a report of it being forwarded to Rome, which had the effect of exposing the Cardinal to a direct charge of being a favourer of heresy; of which the Pope was ready enough to take advantage, deputing, immediately, another Cardinal (*Peto*, or *Peyto*, a Franciscan friar, made a Cardinal for the express purpose) to supersede Pole. But Mary, properly enough, interposed in time to prevent the disgrace of her relative,* ordering the new Legate to be debarred entering her ports, and despatching at the same time a special messenger to Rome, to intercede for Pole, in which she got King Philip to join; the Council and Nobility united also in an address to the Pope, deprecating his recal. And it is not a little singular, that, in both cases, Protestants should have been employed to further this correspondence; *Ascham*, as Latin Secretary, being engaged to write the Queen's letter; and *Haddon*, that of the Council or Nobility.

It seems to have been a more than usually violent proceeding of the Pope, thus to supersede Cardinal Pole, there being no instances, under the ancient *regime*, of the legatine power being

* Burnet writes, that "the Pope was *Pole's* professed and inveterate enemy, but knew not how to vent his hatred to him, since he had done such an eminent service to the Church, as the reconciling of England. *Gardiner*, understanding this, sent secretly to Rome, to give illcharacters of *Pole*, which the Pope was ready enough to receive. Gardiner designed to be made a Cardinal, and to get *Pole* recalled and himself made Archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope was resolved, on the first occasion, to take the legatine power from Pole, and give it to Gardiner; but Pole was so much in the Queen's favour, that this required some time to bring about. This made Gardiner study to preserve Cranmer as long as he lived, for he knew as soon as he was removed, Pole would be invested in the see of Canterbury." This is certainly a curious account of Pole's disgrace at Rome. How true it may be we do not pretend to say; but it may be seen in Burnet, under the year 1555.

taken from an Archbishop of Canterbury; and upon this, the Council a good deal insisted, as an old established right, privilege, and prerogative. And these representations were made to the Pope, as well before as after the formal revocation of the Cardinal; upon the mere rumour, indeed, of such a design on the part of *Paul*, who on other accounts certainly bore no good-will towards his English legate, as the Council well knew. They even went so far as to charge the Pontiff with a breach of promise; nor did Pole himself much spare him, in a long letter addressed to him under his own hand, and in his own behalf, still preserved among the Petyt MSS. The very beginning is in a style by no means humble; "*Sanctitas Vestra sic egit nobiscum, quo modo nunquam ullus Pontifex cum ullo Cardinale:*"—"Your Holiness has dealt with us, after a manner no other Pope ever used towards any Cardinal." He dwells principally on the charge of *heresy*, as the alleged occasion of his recal, with some recollection of a similar charge brought against him before he quitted Rome.

As Pole so pointedly resented all these charges and insinuations, and professed himself to be to the last, a steady and firm Catholic, we know not what other conclusion can be drawn from this dispute and difficulty into which he had fallen, than that there was in him a disposition naturally too tolerant and moderate to accord with the views and wishes of the more rigid Catholics. It is, indeed, recorded of him, that he sometimes favoured the Pontificals (Papists), and sometimes the Evangelicals (Protestants): that he received into his house friars and monks falling from the Pope; and at Viterbo, declined proceeding against some accused of Lutheranism.*

It seems, that at the very same time, there was another Cardinal, who lay under similar suspicions, Cardinal *Morone*, who was also to be disgraced as well as Pole. Now we have in the *Dictionnaire Historique* [Caen, 1786] the following character of this other *heretical* Cardinal.

* Continuation of Hollinshed, 1586.

"Moron s'y (namely, at the Council of Trent) fit egalement aimer des Catholiques et des Protestans. La moderation, l'equité qui formoient son caractére, etoient dignes d'un philosophe Chrétien. Il tonnoit contre l'hérésie, et il traitoit avec douceur les heretiques; les ennemis lui firent un *crime* de cette *moderation*. Paul IV. le fit arrêter."

This is certainly a curious passage, since *Morone* was decidedly a very zealous Catholic, and only incurred suspicion by his *moderate* proceedings against the *persons* of heretics. Both these Cardinals were to be displaced by Paul, that, according to his own declaration, he might leave the College of Cardinals to his successor, purged of all *suspicion* of *heresy*. "*Se cogitare, Collegium ab omni suspicione hæresis purgatum successori relinquere.*"*

To spare the Protestants then, appears decidedly to have been regarded by the majority of the Romanists, as perfectly *anti-Catholic*, and the cruel proceedings against the former at this period, do but too plainly prove, the bloody designs many of their adversaries harboured in their breasts.

Pole, the friend of Cecil, for so he has been called, was evidently reckoned amongst the Moderates; and the Pope, by his imprudent and intemperate proceedings, had nearly, even under Mary, again brought into question his usurped authority. In the State Paper Office there are still extant official references to the lawyers upon the case, with their answers. But the Pope at last, wisely

* In the letter of an Italian to his friend concerning Cardinal Pole (Strype's Cranmer, Appendix, No. lxxxii), Pole and Morone are compared together, with great marks of *displeasure*, with no trifling insinuations in regard to their *sincerity*: "Ab eo (*Morone*) itaque expectandæ sunt similes *fallaciæ*, similis *hypocrisis*, atque *impietas*; ut non lac lacti magis similes it; qui unum videt alterum videt."—So difficult is it to get at the truth. This letter, however, after all, confirms the allegations against *Pole* and *Morone*, of a disposition in both, to favour the Reformists; since it is addressed to some person, who seems to have been persuaded that the time would come, when these two Cardinals, but Pole particularly, would throw off the mask, and renounce Popery. We must allow, therefore, for the disappointment of the writer, on seeing Pole acting so conspicuous a part in the restoration of the Papal authority in England; for though an Italian he appears to have been a zealous Protestant.

desisted from his purpose of removing Pole, while Peyto was not permitted even to receive his Cardinal's hat, in the *Queen's* town of *Calais;* in which parts he soon after died.

We cannot in short discover, that it was for any cause so much as a *comparative moderation* in the pursuit and punishment of heretics, that brought either Pole or Morone under the suspicion of Lutheranism, for in most other respects (though not in all),* they were certainly staunch Papists; and Pole, probably to save appearances,† in some of his long and tedious writings, may be found to have expressed himself in no very merciful terms. An instance of which may be seen in his address to the citizens of London on St. Andrew's day, 1557, if Strype has not mistaken him; who says of him, "that as for those many holy men, that now for three years had been fried to death, and burnt most barbarously to ashes, he made no more of than, as he styled them,

* Pole's sentiments on the doctrine of *Justification*, the test, as some made it at the time, of Popery or Protestantism, were decidedly consonant to those of the Reformers; but he does not seem to have wavered as to the authority and supremacy of the Pope. The letter of the Italian, referred to in the last note, does not sufficiently distinguish between these different principles, one regarding doctrine, the other discipline. Fuller says, in the point of Justification, he was an absolute Protestant, holding, "*non potest viribus humanis minimum detrahi, nec addi Divinæ gratiæ.*"

† "*Wherefore* this Cardinall Poole," says the continuator of Hollinshed, "proceeded very strictly against the Evangelicals, and not only pursued the living but also stretched his power upon the bones of the dead. The cause was this; Poole labouring under a suspicion of heresy at Rome, in consequence of his lenity to Protestants, having learned that the Pope was about to send his nephew, Cardinal Caraffa, to the Emperor, suspecting that the Cardinal would call him to strict account for the exercise of his legatine power, began immediately to *shew severity* to the *Reformed*, even to the violation of the graves of the dead, at Oxford and Cambridge, in the digging up the bodies of the wife of Peter Martyr, of Bucer, and Fagius."—This, it should be observed, is the testimony of a contemporary. The '*wherefore*,' with which it begins, is the connecting link between his *suspicious lenity* and his *pretended severity*. What he says of his enmity towards the *dead*, another author, as has been shewn, alleges in his favour; as choosing, in what he did to cover his *suspected lenity*, rather to disturb the *dead* than destroy the *living*. He was accused of shewing too much indulgence to the married clergy, for though he parted them from their wives, and deposed them from their livings, he soon afterwards preferred the very same persons to benefices of larger revenue.

'a multitude of brambles and briars cast into the fire.'"—It is true that some such expression occurs, but Pole's advice to the citizens, is, that they should strive all they could, to *convert* their dependents to the unity of the Church, as a great work of *mercy*, and failing this, not to let them give too much encouragement to those who were led to execution, as though they were about to die gloriously, by "willingly offering themselves to death for the defence of their opinion."

Now allowing the Cardinal to think that such their opinions were wrong, the encouragement of which he complains, which was that of the young people, apprentices, boys, &c. following them to the stake with praises, shouts, applauses, and exultations in their constancy, was certainly likely to increase the number of these martyrs, and hurry more to the stake than might otherwise be the case.* He seems, indeed, much to lament the burning of

* We have the evidence of Boner's Secretary to shew that the effect of this defiance was only to stimulate the Catholic party to be more severe and savage (for a milder term can scarcely be applied to their proceedings). Nothing, indeed, seems to have made Boner so angry as this comforting the condemned, as may be judged from the following passage of a letter from Bentham, minister of the *Protestant* congregation in London; *a congregation which continued through the whole of this reign.*—"There were vii men burned in Smithfeild the 28th of July, [1558] altogether; a fearful and cruel proclamation being made, that under payne of present death, no man shold either approche nigh vnto them, touche theym, nather speak unto, nor comforthe them. Yet were they so mightily spoken unto, so comfortably taken by the hands, and so godly comforted, notwithstanding that fearful proclamation, and the threatnyngs of the Sheriffs and Sergyants, that the adversaryes themselvs were astoyned. And since that tyme, the Byshop of London [Boner], either for fear or craft, carried vii more, or six, forthe of his Cole-house to Fulham, the 12th of this month, and condemning theym there the 13th, caused theym to be carryed the same time to Braneford beside Syon, where they were burned in poste-haste the same night. This fact purchaseth hym more hatred than any that he hath done, of the common multitude."—Bentham, who wrote this, was himself actually present at the burning of the seven in Smithfield; and as soon as the fire was put to them, notwithstanding the proclamation, cried aloud, "We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say, God strengthen them;" and added, "God Almighty, for Christ's sake, strengthen them;" being presently answered by the multitudes, "Amen, Amen," to the amazement of the officers.—*Strype's Memorials*, iii. 135. We may, as Protestants, sincerely lament, that such pious encouragements, could scarcely fail to increase the exasperation of the opposite party, and, as it would appear, augment the number of unhappy victims.

so many in the city under the obnoxious terms of brambles and briars. "What then shall I say, after all the benefits ye have received, that more briars and more thorns hath growen here among you than in all the realme beside? I cannot saye so nor I will not, albeit it might so seem—for a greater multitude of these *brambles* and *briars* were *cast* in the *fire* here among you, than in any place beside; but many of them being *growen* in other places, and brought in and *burned among you*, may give occasion that you have the worse name without your desert."

We think Strype has been a little severe upon the Cardinal here, in which he has been followed by others, particularly by Dr. Glocester Ridley in his Review of Phillips. The figure he uses, he borrows from St. Paul, as he says himself [Hebrews vi. 8.] and applies it no otherwise, than against such as, in *his* estimation, were exposing themselves to the curse denounced against those who had "fallen away" [ψ. 6.] from the true church; meaning of course, the Church of Rome. Which was surely no more than might be expected from a Pope's Legate, or a Catholic Archbishop; being besides in the shape of a warning or precaution, to the avoidance of punishment. With these allowances, we confess we are still disposed to regard the Cardinal as of a character very different from the rest of the Queen's Counsellors, Gardiner, Boner, Winchester, or others, to whom, what is commonly called the *Marian Persecution*, is chiefly to be attributed. We do not mean to deny that occasionally he appeared to give way almost as much as the rest, to the rigorous system; but in the eyes of many, moderation was so suspicious,* that had he

* So much did moderation border upon heresy in the estimation of Catholics, that even Francis I. was obliged to sacrifice some unhappy Protestants to allay the suspicions raised against himself of favouring the Reformers; which, though not altogether untrue, he felt it wise to dissemble.—*Millot. Hist. Mod.* tome ii. 274-5.

It is a curious expression of Fuller, "Poole at last got leave for England, and to wipe away all suspicion of heresy, became a *cruell*, that he might be believed a *cordiall* Papist."—*Church History*, Cent. xvi. He speaks of Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, as we have before shewn, much in

carried it too far, as it appeared from some undeniable instances, he would in all likelihood have occasioned his own removal, only to make room for those who would have been more severe. He is thought, indeed, to have been strongly *urged*, to grant commissions for the punishing of heretics in his own diocese of Kent, in the very last year of his life, whereby, indeed, five suffered; one of Wrotham, one of Maidstone, one of Asheton, one of Thornham, and one of Biddenden: but he appears, in these very commissions, to have been reluctant to proceed to such extremities, and not willing to deliver them up to the secular power, till every means had been tried to reclaim them, or till (which was a clause of his own introducing), the extreme heinousness of their misdoings should strictly require it; "Si *facti atrocitas* ita exposcerit."

Hollinshed, speaking of the articles issued by Pole on his coming to the See of Canterbury, says indeed, "Thus you see of what a malignant nature the Cardinall was;" but he adds, "neverthelesse of more lenitie than many other Popelings, savouring of the like lewd-leven of Antichristianisme."—And he proceeds to notice his interference with Boner before spoken of, and the suspicions entertained at Rome of his being a Lutheran. We have already noticed this charge against him, and have no hesitation in saying, that whatever grounds there were for the imputation, we still think it tells in favour of Pole; his eyes certainly seem to have been opened as to one great point, the doctrine of justification, and we verily believe that he saw, condemned, and lamented the corrupt manners of the Popish Clergy; and that so far he was a Protestant in doctrine, and a Reformist in principle; but that he was a complete Lutheran, or adverse to the authority of the Pope,

the same way, that is, as "shedding some blood as a sort of earnest of his zeal in the Popish cause; justly offending the Protestants by doing so much, yet scarcely pleasing the Papists, because he did no more." The same author justly adds, that though he was not personally so active as others, he was blameable for permitting, where he had power to stay. The spirit of the times can only excuse him upon this head.

we do not believe. "From an early piety," says his castigator, Dr. Glocester Ridley, "Pole was disposed to wish for a Reformation; but from his intimacy with *them*, (viz. *Contarini*, *Sadolet*, and *Bembo*, all suspected of leaning towards Protestantism), he sought it only under the superintendence of the Bishop of *Rome*," (p. 140.) "He was so much of a Reformer as to concur with his colleagues, in censuring the Papal tyranny and lucrative discipline of the Church of Rome." (ib.) He might have been converted, perhaps,* had things led him to it, but Mary's reign totally turned him away from all dereliction of the Papal Court and pretensions; and fixed him, for the remainder of his life, in a strict adherence to the Romish faith. As to his views of a Reformation, he was decidedly timid, and in consequence of his timidity, time-serving; he urged those who were inclined that way, and lived with him in his palace at Viterbo, to be more than moderate, to *dissemble*, to *practise concealment* and *evasion*,† or *flight (fugiendo)*, and wait for a fit season. Like Erasmus,‡ his acquaintance and friend, he shewed too great a disposition to "have Christ without his cross;" but that even under Mary and Philip, he was *comparatively* lenient we fully believe, and that in all instances, his lenity was natural to him, his severity forced. His associates at Viterbo were eminent for their learning and abilities, and the three Popish prelates who incurred, as well as himself, the imputation of heresy, were, notwithstanding what the Italian letter writer, referred to above, would insinuate against one of them, very respectable persons; we speak of *Contarini*, *Morone*, and *Frederigo Fregoso*. The Cardinal has been charged with disappointing friends, and breaking promises, by not promoting the Reformation to the utmost of his power even at Rome; but we incline to think this may all be resolved into the too sanguine expectations and conclusions of

* See Ridley, 141. † M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy, 175, 176.

‡ See also as to Celio Calcagnini in the same work, 182, 183.

those about him; Schelhorne, one of the principal authorities cited, only says, '*nonnulli sibi persuaderent*, eam veritatem aliquando coram pontifice et universâ urbe Romanâ candide professurum."* That all such persons must have been greatly disappointed, by Pole's legatine appointment under Mary, we shall readily grant, but this is a failing in his character and conduct, we must not much talk of in England, since in *his* endeavours to restore the Pope's Supremacy here, he was consistent; but what are we to think of *Gardiner*, of the *Lords* and *Commons*, of the *Magistracy* in general, and of the foresworn Clergy, who had renounced, under Henry and Edward, that authority, by express allowance or connivance of the Popish priesthood?† Pole had sufficient temptations thrown in his way on Mary's succeeding to the Crown: the opportunity of returning to his native country; of wiping off the sentence that had been recorded against him; and of assisting to maintain on the throne, his friend, cousin, and early associate; to serve whose cause, and uphold whose just rights, as he held them to be, he had allowed himself to be betrayed into acts and imprudencies bordering upon insanity. If the latter evinced a weakness of judgment, we ought not to look for such strength of mind, in the same person, as should have

* As far as regards any specific promise, Vergerius advances the strongest fact, though this might be over-rated. He reports, that being lodged at Augsburgh, in the house of a Lutheran Pastor, he professed to the latter, that he agreed to all their doctrine, and would declare no less if there were any Convocations or common Councils holden.—*See Ridley*, 141. Had Pole *long* survived Mary, who could venture to say, that under Elizabeth, and with Lord Burghley for his friend, he might not have become a Protestant Metropolitan? We do not say, it was likely at the moment of Mary's death; but, one of the very first acts of Elizabeth, and when Lord Burghley had become her chosen minister, was, as we shall have to observe, a very marked token of respect to his memory; and that, as Archbishop of Canterbury.

† Gardiner, in his book, "De Obedientia," 1534, had spoken of the King's Supremacy, as being "the whole consent of Englishmen, which all men are bound to wish, and to their utmost power see kept safe, *restored*, and defended from wrongs." Pole received the book from Gardiner, but strongly objected to its principles.—We need not therefore ask, which was the most consistent?

induced him to forego the prospects opened to him by the accession of Mary. It is probable, that with a view to a matrimonial *Crown* at least, by a union with Mary, he had slipped aside from the *Tiara*,* and he might reasonably look to England now for some compensation for such a sacrifice. Many of his old and particular friends in Italy, besides, being dead.

* Glocester Ridley's Review of Phillips, 214, &c.

CHAP. LXII.

Motives for dwelling so long on the character and conduct of Cardinal Pole—Cecil reputed to be one of his most intimate English acquaintance—Death of the Cardinal on the same day on which Queen Mary died—Suspicions of poison unfounded—Character of Mary—Loss of Calais—Lord Burghley's account of the executions for religion in this reign—Manuscript at Hatfield House by Francis Burton, on the same subject.

HAVING now nearly concluded our remarks on the Cardinal, we would wish to observe, that we have had no other object in view, in giving him the praise (if it can be so denominated), to be found in these pages, than to account for the intimacy that is said to have subsisted between his Eminence and Lord Burghley. An intimacy, which, if it might be supposed to imply *influence* on the part of the latter, would render it difficult to account for the particular sufferings of some of Lord Burghley's chief friends, especially if it were, as some still say, at the special instigation of the Cardinal. We have felt it proper, on this account to shew, what we fully believe, that neither Lord Burghley nor the Cardinal could have saved those who did suffer, though the latter should, for his own credit, undoubtedly, have done more than he did do. Mr. Butler, in his answer to Mr. Townsend, letter xiv. says, "The lenity of Cardinal Pole, her Majesty's principal adviser, seems to be *universally* admitted." The latter is certainly not the fact—but we doubt the other circumstance, of his having been Mary's *principal adviser*. If he were the *unqualified* hypocrite, *traitor*,*

* That Pole's proceedings against Henry were traitorous, cannot be denied, though we can believe Phillips, when he asserts, that he accepted the charge from the Pope, when sent as Legate to Flanders, with much more zeal to bring Henry back to the Catholic religion, than to make war upon him.—*Turner*, 646.

persecutor, and murderer, that some have represented him to be, it must undoubtedly seem strange, that Lord Burghley, taking his religion and his station also into the account, should have been upon such good terms with him, as appears to have been the case. Our own idea of the Cardinal is, that with all the polish of refinement, as far as it was advanced in those days, and the manners of a man of high birth and no contemptible share of the learning of the times;* he was, nevertheless, a weak and injudicious man, and under the power of a remarkable infatuation in regard to Henry VIII.—In referring, for instance, to one of the most recent accounts of his conduct towards that monarch, Mr. Turner's History, book i. chapters xxviii. xxx., though it tells as much against Pole as many other accounts,† and is indeed founded upon the authority of his own letters, yet three things are surely very noticeable in it. First, a most weak, superstitious, and bigoted persuasion of the indefeasible superiority and supremacy of the Pope. Secondly, that nothing short of going to the utmost extremities, or threatening to do so, could *reclaim* Henry.‡ And, thirdly, that, through a great degree of weakness, prejudice, and superstition, he had persuaded himself, that he could in no manner so much evince his *regard* and *affection*§ for Henry, as by endeavouring to *alarm* him by spiritual as well as temporal denunciations, into a compunction

* Ridley's Review of Phillips, 55.

† Mr. Turner's epithets are rather curious. He tells us the Cardinal was an accomplished, inconsistent, gentlemanly, nervous, elegant, cultivated, religious, mild, social, interesting, bitter-minded man!

‡ Pole acknowledged that he differed from those who counselled smooth speeches: "The oration of no one will benefit him, unless some calamity or adversity precedes, or something happen that will shake fear into him."

§ Dr. Ridley, we are aware, will not allow such interpretations to be put upon his conduct, in his Review of Phillips, p. 5. But we must say, we think the Cardinal was capable of making the mistake; nor was it, after all, a greater *mistake* than Erasmus committed, when he would have persuaded Luther and his associates to be more moderate, under "a Pope so disposed to *clemency* as Leo X., and an Emperor so *mild* and *placable*, as Charles V."

women, and children (which is to be noted), were such as had never, by the sacrifice of baptism, or by confirmation, professed, nor were ever taught or instructed, or ever had heard of any other kind of religion, but only of that, which by their blood and death in the fire, they did as martyrs testify."—And comparing those who suffered under Elizabeth, with those who suffered under Mary, merely for religion, he very justly adds, "and beside that, in their opinions they differ much from the martyrs of Queen Mary's time; for though they [*i. e.* Queen Mary's martyrs] continued in the profession of the religion wherein they were christened, yet they never at their death denied their lawful Queen, nor maintained any of her open and foreign enemies, nor procured any rebellion or civil war, nor did sow any sedition in secret corners, nor withdraw any subjects from their obedience, as those sworn servants of the Pope have continually done."

This is the testimony of Lord Burghley himself, as to the things he had witnessed or known in Queen Mary's days, and it was well he was in the way to witness them, that he might be able so justly and correctly to distinguish between the victims of Popish bigotry, and those who suffered by just process of law, under the next [Protestant] Sovereign for plots, treasons, and conspiracies, and in no instance for religion alone,* and even then, in that great disproportion of threescore in twenty-five years, to three or four hundred in five.

The following may be exhibited as the total, according to Strype, of those who were actually burned for religion under Mary:—

Annis	1555	71	Total 288, besides those that "dyed of famyne, &c. in sondry prisons."
	1556	89	
	1557	88	
	1558	40	

* Sir Francis Walsingham's celebrated Letter to Monsieur *Cretoy*, concerning the Queen's [Elizabeth] proceedings against both Papists and Puritans, copied by Burnet, vol. ii. should be compared with the above.

been the case, had he not written so well, the following excuse of the rigours of Mary's reign: "She practised only what the *Protestants taught;* it was rather her *misfortune* than her *fault* that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries."* After this some comparisons surely are even now necessary; was not, we would simply ask, her amiable brother, Edward VI., her contemporary, and did not he endeavour, as much as possible, to enlighten her? But to return to Lord Burghley.

In his celebrated treatise on the *Execution of Justice*, written in 1583, in vindication of Queen Elizabeth, from the slanders of some most malignant libels put forth by the Popish party, he gives the following account:

"To make the matter [against Queen Elizabeth] more horrible or lamentable, they recite the particular names of all the persons put to death, which by their own catalogue exceed not, for these *twenty-five* years or more, above the number of threescore; forgetting, or rather with their stony and senseless hearts not regarding, in what cruel sort, in the time of Queen Mary, which little exceeded the space of *five* years (the Queen's Majesty's reign being five times as many), there were by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, of men, women, maidens, and children, almost the number of four hundred, and of that number, above twenty that had been Archbishops, Bishops, and principal Prelates or Officers in the Church, lamentably destroyed;† and of women above threescore, and of children above forty; and amongst the women some great with child, out of whose bodies the child by fire was expelled alive, and yet also cruelly burnt. Examples beyond all heathen cruelty: and most of the youth of them suffered cruel death, both men,

* Lingard.

† "Of all the Marian martyrs," according to Fuller, "Mr. *Philpot* was the best born Gentleman; Bishop *Ridley* the profoundest Scholar; Mr. *Bradford* the holiest and devoutest man; Archbishop *Cranmer* of the mildest and meekest temper; Bishop *Hooper* of the sternest and austerest nature; Dr. *Taylor* had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr. *Latimer* the plainest and simplest heart."

marriage articles, which precluded her from taking part in the wars of the King, her husband. It was captured by the Duke of Guise, in revenge of the loss of the battle of St. Quentin, January 1558, at a season of the year when it was judged by the English to be quite unassailable: more than two hundred years before, Edward III. had taken eleven months to reduce it; it fell at this time in eight days, through the careless neglect of the English government.

Queen Mary, who, though quite infatuated in regard to the maintenance of the Romish religion, and extirpation of what she deemed heresy, was by no means altogether destitute of private virtues, as Camden, Godwin, and others, have very freely admitted—left her kingdom not only depressed by the loss abovementioned, but greatly impoverished, as will appear under the next reign. "She that wrote herself, by her marriage," says a grave writer, "Queen of so many kingdoms, Duchess of so many dukedoms, and Marchioness of so many marquisates, left less riches in her coffers, and wealth in the realm, than any of her progenitors did." The nation, indeed, is said to have suffered dreadfully from these two great evils,—the Spanish match, subjecting the country, notwithstanding all the wise precautions in the marriage articles, to Spansish counsels and Spanish politics; and the manifold executions of the Queen's persecuted subjects.

Of the latter, different accounts are known to be extant; and as a matter of comparison between two systems of religion, equally accused of intolerance and a spirit of persecution, it may not be amiss to introduce in this part of our Memoirs, a very extraordinary Report of Lord *Burghley*, which has been cited by a writer of great eminence and accuracy, as the testimony of "an observing and honest man, thoroughly acquainted with the matters of those times, and who lived in the middle of them." It is of the more importance to the readers of modern history, even at this very time, than we could ourselves have suspected, till we read in the pages of an author often cited, and oftener than would have

the suspicion of his having been poisoned; a suspicion, however, little entertained in England, though listened to abroad; but, perhaps, never seriously entertained any where, and only brought forward to give disturbance to Elizabeth's reign; for it appeared principally in a work, written with a manifest ill-will towards England, by Osorius, a Portuguese bishop. He was, however, ably and satisfactorily answered by Haddon; who not only stood forward to vouch for the fact of their having both died of an infectious fever, but appealed to the whole English nation, as well as to all foreigners in England at the time, to resent and condemn so shameless an insinuation. Fuller records his death, as follows:—"Thus died Cardinall Poole, neither of Italian physick, wilfully taken by himself, as an Englishman insinuates, nor of poison given to him by the Protestants as a Spanish (probably Portuguese) writer suggests, but of a quartan fever then epidemical in England, and malignant above the ordinary nature of that disease." In short there was no pretence for the poisoning, and nothing to be gained by it. Philip had more designs upon the Crown than even Pole could have; and that, not to the setting aside of the Princess Elizabeth, but to the uniting himself to her after Mary's death, to keep his footing in England. If he were poisoned then, Philip might be suspected; but, for our own parts, we thoroughly acquit him of all idea of the kind.

The Queen is generally thought to have died as much of vexation, as of any other describable malady, chiefly owing to the loss of the town of Calais, and the personal neglect of the King her husband.* She is credibly reported to have remarked to her attendants in her last hours, that her case had been mistaken by her physicians; but "Let them open my heart, when I am gone," said she, "and they will find Calais sticking there." If this were true, it does the Queen credit. It was a loss particularly sore to England, and a matter of great triumph to France; and, what she must have felt the more severely, directly owing to a breach of her

* "As Queen Mary was not over fair," says *Fuller*, "King Philip was not over fond."

to add the knowledge of men and things to his academical studies, and not dream that the government of states could be carried on by the impracticable declamations of the schools, and offered to lend him a book, if he would read it, that should lead his mind from speculation to practice." In fact, he was so notorious for a weakness of judgment in political matters, that the Italians constantly branded him with it, under a term of their own, *Dapocaggine;* that fluctuating irresolution, which subjects a man to the craft and impositions of those who wish to make a tool of him. He confesses, indeed, as much himself, in some of his writings, and there can be no doubt, but that in his embassies he was often duped. His best friends in their remonstrances, did not scruple to charge him with extreme rashness, simplicity, &c.; and Starky uses the terms "frantick judgment," when blaming him for his letter to the King. Mr. Turner, one of the latest writers upon the subject, says of his letter (or *book*), addressed to the King, "If this be not *aberration of mind*, I can only say, it is an incomprehensible mystification." Such we think, were the chief features in the character of the Cardinal, and we still quite agree with Dr. G. Ridley, that his passionate desire of securing the Crown for Mary, and eventually, perhaps, for himself by marriage, encouraged thereto by Mary's own injured mother, is the key which unlocks his character, though we confess we are disposed to make many more allowances for him than is the case with the learned Reviewer.

It is pretty generally known, that the Cardinal died on the same day, and within a few hours of the Queen's Majesty, Nov. 17, 1558. There had been some talk among the Papists, when the Queen's health began to decline, of setting aside the Princess Elizabeth, for the advancement of the Cardinal, as nearly related by his mother to the Crown; and in the eyes of the Romanists much more legitimately so than the Princess. It might be the disappointment of these hopes and projects, that gave countenance to

of mind suitable to his purposes and wishes; which were undoubtedly (and certainly not unnaturally), directed to the honour and security of his relative, the Princess Mary; to whom, there can be very little doubt, he had at one time indulged the idea of being united in marriage. In his too memorable letter to Henry, he does not conceal his devotion to Mary's cause; "Nam quid ego nunc ago princeps, quid aliud, nisi legitimæ tuæ filiæ successionem defendo?" and if he meant ill to Henry, he certainly put his own ingratitude upon record, by openly, in his book De Unitate Ecclesiæ, acknowledging his great obligations to him.* But in his foul abuse of Henry, of the Boleyn family, and Cranmer, and in endeavouring to stir up war against his native country, we deem him to have been little less than insane, though, had his designs been absolutely against his country, he must have been compromising Mary's interests at the same time, whom he certainly hoped to see on the throne, at a future period. The Commission he had from the Pope to go over from Flanders to England, if it should be judged advisable, specified two objects, viz. to restore the Pope to his former jurisdiction, and to take off the Princess Mary's incapacity to succeed to the Crown. These, no doubt, were both in his view, though he acted unadvisedly.

In all this, we think his reason and judgment failed him; and at the best, whatever his accomplishments might be, he was certainly not a wise man nor a better politician than *Gardiner* and other competent judges esteemed him to be.† Cromwell, in particular, who actually, by the Cardinal's own account, had, in a conference with him at Padua, "obligingly recommended to him

* P. 120, and Turner, p. 605.

† Hume's account of him is very applicable to the statement above. "Cardinal Pole himself, though more beloved [than *Gardiner*] on account of his virtue and candour, and though superior in birth and station, had not equal weight in public deliberations. And while his learning, piety, and humanity, were extremely respected, he was represented more as a good man, than a great minister." We cannot, however, agree, in the unqualified praises afterwards bestowed on the Cardinal, by this eminent historian.

The particulars of the above are all set down in the place referred to, viz. Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, under Mary, vol. iii. part ii. catalogue No. lxxxv. But this is by far the lowest calculation according to *Burnet*, (vol. ii. part i. 658, 659.) who in another part cites Lord Burghley's estimate of near 400 sufferers, by imprisonment, torment, famine, and fire, adding, "On this, says Strype, we may depend."

There is a curious manuscript at Hatfield House, which appears to have been presented to the first Earl of Salisbury, very fairly written by Francis Burton, stationer, and exceedingly circumstantial as to the names and condition of the sufferers, places of execution, &c. whence the following comparison is drawn.

Those who died "only for religion and a good conscience," in the less than six years of Queen Mary, amount to 278. The seminary Priests and Jesuits who suffered for "treason," in the full forty-four years and upwards of Queen Elizabeth's reign, 56. Those executed for treason in the first six years of James, 6. Total in fifty years, 62. There follows an account by J. W., in which, though Burton had detected many errors, the beedroll of those who suffered under Elizabeth and James is swelled to 143. But even this, deducted from 278, leaves a difference of 135 fewer in fifty than in six years. The sad circumstance to which Lord Burghley alludes, and which is, we apprehend, past all doubt, of the new-born infant being thrown back into the fire, appears under the following entry.

"Katherine Caweches, Guilian Gilbert, Peroline Massey, and the said Massey's infant breaking violently out of the mother's wombe, into the fire, was taken out thereof, and presently thrown in againe and burnt, July 18, in the Isle of Guernsey."*

* In Mr. Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church, published in 1825, the author, referring to Dr. Lingard's History of Mary's reign, an authority he constantly cites, as *corrective* of other histories, and particularly such as seem at all to lean towards Protestantism, boldly says in his text, p. 208, "He" (*i. e.* Dr. Lingard) also shews, that there is *no truth* in the tale

In the very same column, Feb. 16, is the following entry:—"Mertine Bucer and Paules Phageus bones digged up, and with their bookes burnt. Also Peter Martyrs wives bones removed and in a dunghil burnt."

Of Lord Burghley's disgust at the execution of so many persons in the last two or three years of Mary's reign, we have some proofs, in the style he uses, in marking the facts in his Journal: "1556, June. Three persons burnt at Stratford at one fire, and in the compass of the yere were burnt above 80 persons, whereof many were maydens. 1557. In this yere were burnt about London above 64, whereof 20 were women. 1558. In June now burning in Smythfeild seven at one fire. Ann° 6 Mariæ, July, at Braynford six at one fire."

The Reformation having undergone a five years' interruption by the accession of Mary, it is not to be wondered that the Romanists, should, in excuse of the troubles of this short reign, have indulged in comparisons, between the Popish and Protestant severities, and should have often insisted in their books and writings, that the early Reformers manifested, upon occasion, as much intolerance, and as severe a spirit of religious persecution, as is to be laid to the charge of their own party. It cannot be out of place then, to investigate this matter a little farther, as immediately applying to the persons most in power, under Edward and Elizabeth. We have already seen that it is a subject, that of necessity called afterwards for the interference of Lord Burghley, but at present we shall confine ourselves principally to the two very short reigns of Edward and Mary, and examine the differences between them; for it is only in the way of distinctions and differences,

of the three women of Guernsey." But Dr. Lingard's *no truth* amounts only to this, that *he* is persuaded that the three women were *hanged* as *thieves*, and afterwards *burnt* as *heretics*; that no one knew of the pregnancy of one of them, a woman of loose character, and that the child was found dead in the flames, after the body of the mother had fallen from the gibbet.—*See his History*, note E. Dr. Lingard cites Harding and Persons. Against these we have *Foxe*, *Lord Burghley*, and *Burton*.

that we can arrive at the truth. Let us grant that both sides exhibited at times, the strongest symptoms of religious bigotry; yet the question remains open, and always must do so, as to the more or fewer of such cases, as well as to the motives and occasions, &c.

Dr. Robertson, in his History of Charles V. under the year 1555, after observing that the very term *Toleration*, was not known or understood in those days, adds, without any qualifying circumstances, "The Protestants, no less confident than the Catholics that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal ardour, the Princes of their party (that is, the secular power) to check such as presumed to impugn it. Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the Reformed Church, in their respective countries, as far as they had power and opportunity, inflicted the same punishments upon such as called in question any articles in their creeds, which were denounced against their own disciples, by the Church of Rome;" and he adds, "to their followers, and perhaps to their opponents, it would have appeared a symptom of diffidence in the goodness of their cause, or an acknowledgment that it was not well founded, if they had not employed in their defence, all those means which it was supposed *truth* had a *right* to employ." What we have cited from the pen of Lord Burghley, may serve to shew, that the above is a very unguarded statement, especially in a Protestant writer; and that from the first beginning of the Reformation, especially in our own country, there were very material differences, which should always be taken into the account, as we shall now proceed to shew.

CHAP. LXIII.

Comparative view of the charges alleged against Protestants as well as Papists, of Intolerance and Persecution on the score of Religion—Proceedings against the Married Clergy, who had availed themselves of the Laws passed in Edward's reign.

And first, Archbishop Cranmer's character, we shall conclude, will never be cleared from the imputation of great cruelty and intolerance, in the executions of the celebrated Maid of Kent, Joan Bocher, and the Dutchman Van Paris; and especially for over-ruling the more tender emotions of his youthful Sovereign. But nothing can be more obvious, than that if this be made a question, between Romanism and Protestantism, the latter ought to have the whole credit of *Edward's* behaviour. He is credibly stated to have refused to sign the warrant for the execution of the former, observing, that it was no less a cruelty in Protestants than in Papists, to burn any one for conscience-sake. We may surely be allowed to ask, did Papistry, with the full benefit of this *amiable* example, ever whisper such a scruple to *Mary* his sister, and *female* successor? Did Cranmer's intolerance or bigotry in the two alleged cases, by its *bad* example, deter Gardiner and Boner, in a much greater number of cases, from disgracing Papistry by similar cruelties? or did it not rather move them to retaliate, on the low and cowardly principle of revenge? We may add, that it is upon record also, that the King was *confirmed* in the opinion he had formed, of the cruelty of burning persons for conscience-sake, by a *long discourse* he had with *Sir John Cheke;* whom the Protestants have a most just right to claim for their own, at that period.

We would not allow ourselves to be unnecessarily hurried into

this question, but some inquiries seem absolutely requisite to meet the charges of the Romanists, during the four successive reigns, in which the subject of these Memoirs lived. It ought at least to be ascertained, if not on which side there was most cruelty practised, on which side there was most forbearance shewn, and most liberality. Nor should it be forgotten, that the *Anabaptist's* case is a distinct one; and should not be advanced against Protestantism, since *they* professed and taught most dangerous political principles, subversive of the peace of all civil societies; had it not been so, as not being Romanists, we might have expected them to have been spared under Edward, instead of which they appear to have been the chief sufferers; but this was not for conscience-sake, so much as for their disorganising principles, mixed up with religious opinions, and which threatened to impeach and overthrow the whole order of magistracy.

Gardiner and Boner under King Edward, were tried and committed, for their opposition to the Court, in a way that we may well call arbitrary and irregular, if brought to the pure and perfect standard of the Constitution—but did they make better laws, or introduce a more mitigated jurisdiction under Mary? Did they conduct themselves with better temper, or condemn men to death by forms less arbitrary, than such as were used under Edward? If the Protestants occasionally disgraced themselves under the latter, as the Papists allege, and always have alleged, in excuse of themselves, why did not *they* stand corrected, and act differently, when *subsequently* cases of a like nature were brought before them? If, by their own account, the first truly Protestant Sovereign had set an example, if not of absolute mercy, of so great a reluctance to severity, as to draw tears from his eyes, when called upon to sign a warrant for the execution of a heretic, why did not this give some tincture of Protestant feeling to Mary and her Court, when Edward's Court and Council were much nearer to the times of pure Popery, and might have been better excused

for some leaning towards the rigour of the laws of Rome? for every one knows the force of early habits and prepossessions; whereas, the utmost alleged by the Romanists of this day, as to the proceedings under Mary, is, that Edward's Reformers were not clear from cruelty; which might be some excuse for the latter, considering the system which had *preceded* Edward's time, but could be none for the former, who had had Edward's example before their eyes.

If Cranmer were a Protestant in 1549 when he consented to the deaths of Joan Bocher and Van Paris, he was much more of a Papist in 1533,* when he presided at the trial of Frith, the unfortunate friend of Tyndale; and who was then consigned to the flames for not thinking it "necessary to be believed as an article of faith, that there is the very Corporal Presence within the Oste, and Sacrament of the Altar, and holding herein the opinion of Œcolampadius,"—which are Cranmer's own words, in a letter still preserved in the Lansdowne MSS.—and which example, Boner, so far from shunning as an instance of Protestant cruelty, imitated, and even exceeded, in the case of Thomas Hopkins, a weaver burned in Smithfield, for the very same delinquency, namely, that of denying the bodily presence of Christ in the Sacrament, anno 1555. To save Frith, who was not executed by his order, Cranmer did all he could to turn him aside from his erroneous opinions (as he then thought them); "and surely," says he, "I myself sent for him three or four times to persuade him to leave that his imagination." But Boner, besides appearing to have taken no such pains with Hopkins, to reclaim him, insulted

* Ridley, in his Review of Phillips, speaking of this slip of Cranmer, says, "But he learned this mistake in the school of Popery, which was one of the errors he had not yet been taught to correct: and though this writer (Phillips), to load Cranmer, blames him in the affair of the *Maid of Kent*, as if she was more a Bedlamite than a heretic, yet I find not that she was so accounted, and a Popish writer, who lived at that time, and, therefore, knew her better than Mr. Phillips could, affirms that she was *worthily burned* at Smithfield." The Popish writer referred to is *Miles Huggard*, author of the tract, entitled, "The Displaying of the Protestants."

over him in his sufferings, actually, in his wrath, as it is very credibly related, plucking off some of the poor man's beard, and burning his hand in the flame of a candle till the blood flew out in the face of a by-stander.

Granting, that Gardiner, Boner, and others, were, under Edward, sent to prison in a summary and arbitrary manner, yet it was not before they had been urged to comply with the King's injunctions, and upon refusal, it must have been strange to have permitted them to impede and resist their operations, in two such important dioceses as London and Winchester; and they appear to have been sent to prison rather for contumacy and insults offered to the King's Commissioners, than for matters of conscience. But, whatever was really faulty, according to the pure principles of our admirable Constitution, even in these proceedings, it was certainly not corrected or amended under Mary; on the contrary, Mary's Commissioners, did all they could to inveigle the unhappy persons who were brought before them, into a crimination of themselves, and sent them in shoals to the stake, on the strength of their own improvident, unguarded, or honest answers.

We are not seeking to excuse or palliate anything that was plainly wrong in the management and conduct of the Reformation, though Popery ought certainly to be made responsible for all such faults as were imputable to the system *then subject to reformation;* we are only endeavouring to shew, that if the complaints and charges on either side are to be brought forward, in the shape of a comparison between the two religions, then it is necessary to clear away all misrepresentations, and balance as fairly as possible the cases brought into comparison. We have mentioned one extraordinary instance of malicious bigotry (for so it is generally esteemed, notwithstanding the excuse that has been made for *Pole's* concern in it), which is beyond contradiction; we mean the disinterring of the dead bodies of those eminent scholars and worthy men, Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge; and at Oxford,

because the Reformer himself, Peter Martyr, had escaped, the body of his unoffending wife, and casting it on a dunghill in the premises of the Dean of Christ Church. These were men, well known to, and who had been conversant with, many then living, and of whose eminence on the score of learning, and of whose blameless lives, no question was made, from one end of Europe to the other. Wickliff, it should be observed, had previously been treated in the same way, by the Romanists, and by a public decree of the Council of Constance.

Let us now see what the Papists thought of such measures, when they could be laid to the charge of Protestantism. Henry VIII., having been brought to some sense of the abuses of pilgrimages, Popish offerings, &c. &c. had determined, in order to interrupt the superstitious resort of persons to Becket's tomb at Canterbury (who had been dead some hundreds of years), to seize upon his costly shrine, and remove the very bones, of which the priests were found to have made such *crafty* and *deceitful* advantage, for it was discovered that they had actually exposed a false skull, as the object of devotion to the pilgrims, from the very time of Becket's death; his own head being found attached to his own body, upon Henry's removal of the shrine.

Who would think, that after what has been related to have passed in regard to the bodies of Bucer, Fagius, and Peter Martyr's wife, Pope Paul III. should have stigmatized Henry VIII.'s violation of Becket's tomb, as a reproach to the *Reformation?* Yet so it is, as still to be found in his famous Bull issued against that offending Sovereign; in which it is spoken of as a crime exceeding in cruelty and flagitiousness, the utmost barbarity of hostile armies. "Omnem plane cunctorum gentium crudelitatem superans, cum ne in bello quidem hostes victores sævire in *mortuorum cadavera* soliti sunt." If it be supposed that the violation of the graves of Bucer, &c. were designed as a matter of *retaliation* against Henry VIII. still the case of Wickliff remains as a direct

charge against the church of Rome, long prior to what has been emphatically called the *Reformation*, or Protestantism.*

A very sensible Catholic writer, to whom we have often had occasion to refer, has noticed a circumstance very illustrative, among other things, of the different spirit of the two Religions. He observes, that while the Reformation was in progress throughout Europe, the Protestants were generally obliged to emigrate from the Catholic countries, where they were liable to persecution, while the Catholics, who were tranquil and quiet,† and tolerated under the dominion of the Protestants, never thought of quitting, and thereby impoverishing their countries.‡

To appreciate the spirit of the Marian persecution, we need but reflect on the fact of its being made the price of an indulgence, to carry a faggot to the burning of a heretic; to which we may add, the formal thanks given by the Court, to such of the Nobility and Magistracy, as were active in bringing heretics to the stake, and present in person at their execution.§ The keepers of prisons, moreover, particularly Sir Henry Bedingfield, Lieutenant of the Tower, had often special orders given to them, to put heretics to the torture, and "pain them at their discretion."‖

There is another subject of comparison, in which it is very possible to fall into mistakes, unless some precautionary notices be given. It is in the accusations and charges brought against the Bishops and Clergy dispossessed of their preferment, on the accession of Mary. We shall find many distinctly charged with the heinous crime of *Adultery*, and even sent to prison on that particular charge. It should therefore be duly noted, that those who

* The bones of the author of the famous poem entitled *Zodiacus Vitæ*, supposed to be written by P. Angelo Manzolli, Physician to Hercules II. Duke of Ferrara, and which exposed, in bold and strong terms, the corrupt manners of the clergy, were taken out of their grave and burnt to ashes, as the bones of an impious heretic.—*M'Crie's Reformation in Italy*, 168.

† Under Edward, in fact, they conformed without scruple. If a few emigrated under Elizabeth, it was only to practise against her more freely abroad.

‡ Villars on the Reformation, 192. § Burnet, iii. 419. ‖ Ib. 440.

had regularly and lawfully, under Edward, contracted Marriage, with women of the most irreproachable characters and respectable connexions, were, in so many terms, stated to have been *adulterously* connected, with such their former consorts. A few instances of these foul charges, from the returns of the diocese of Lincoln, already referred to, may be worthy notice. "Conquestum est nobis, quod Dñs Oswaldus Butler, nuper Rector de Wodhul in Com. Bedford adhuc tenet mulierem suam in amplexibus *adulterinis*."

"Dñs Thom^{s} Nix de Caisho in Com. Bedf. presbyter quondam uxorat: et ante biennium per nos divorciatus, convictus fuit post dīvortium prēdem consuetudinem *stupri* cum uxore sua pretensa h'buisse."

We have already cited the case of the Vicar of Spaldwick, presented for carrying in his arms, a child born to him in lawful wedlock, but which was nevertheless called in the presentment "prolem ex *adulterino* conjugio."

Holgate, Archbishop of York, was deprived and thrown into prison on a formal charge of having lived in *adultery*, though the accusation really meant no more, than that he had taken a wife, contrary to his vow at his admission into a religious order. It seems, however, from the remarks of Mr. Lodge in his curious Illustrations of British History, that the general tradition, that this Prelate was a man of dissolute manners, arose entirely out of this stroke of party malice and misrepresentation.

Among those who were (as it was alleged), *canonically deprived*,* for having married during the reign of Edward, Matthew Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, the friend of Lord Burghley from the period of their being at college together, was one; but though he was made to relinquish all his preferment, he would not quit his wife, a lady of most virtuous character, "Fœmina integerrina, morigeraque, et suum virum reverens." He went into

* In his own Diary, the term is *Spoliatus*.

retirement with her and his two children, as has been before intimated, serving God, in his privacy, as he tells us himself, with a pure conscience and placid contentment, "nec pudefactus, nec abjectus," during the whole of the *Marian* persecution; being, however, occasionally exposed to no small danger.

CHAP. LXIV.

State of Scotland, and progress of the Reformation there during the Reign of Mary of England—The Helvetian doctrines principally taught and encouraged in Scotland—The Regent of Scotland, Mary of Guise, so unable, from her French connexions, to unite with Mary of England and Philip, in the extirpation of heresy, as to be, on the contrary, obliged to afford an asylum to the persecuted Reformists; a circumstance of the highest importance, at that period, to the cause of the Reformation generally—Affairs of the Continent during the reign of Mary—Treaty of Passau confirmed, 1555 *—Death of Pope Julius III.—After Marcellus, John Peter Caraffa succeeds, the celebrated Paul IV.—His intemperate proceedings—Extraordinary resignation, retirement, and death of Charles V.—The Romish Index Expurgatorius—And corruption of Books.*

We have only touched upon England in the foregoing observations, for in Scotland, we must confess, principles *seem* to have prevailed, imported from the school of Geneva, intolerant in a high degree, and tinctured too much with the rude spirit of democracy. But as this belongs rather to the subsequent reign, we shall forbear to go farther into it at present, than to remark, that even these principles were not much reduced to practice, from the interference of Protestants themselves. The Reformed Clergy appearing to be more intolerant, or more hasty, than the Reformed among the Nobility.* One thing, however,

* See Edinburgh Review, No. liii. Art. 8. a reference we cite from Mr. *Butler's* Letters to Mr. *Townsend*, 1826, "in Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church." The reference has something very curious in it. On turning to it, as a disquisition on the "*Toleration of the Reformers*," for so Mr. Butler cites it, we found, indeed, that that was the

must not be passed over to complete the history of this reign; a circumstance, indeed, a good deal overlooked in the history of the Reformation, as it regards the Island at large.

Had the Queen Regent of Scotland, Mary of Lorrain, been altogether at liberty, during the reign of Mary of England, to co-operate with the latter, in the extirpation of heresy (as it was called), the cause of the Reformation in *Britain*, had probably sunk under such a powerful combination. But very providentially, two things entirely prevented such an union: the Queen Regent of Scotland had, just at this period, been led to connect herself with the Reformed party in Scotland, in order to maintain herself against the house of Hamilton, so that her kingdom actually became one of the asylums to which the persecuted Protestants of England fled, or the Scotch refugees were able to return. Willock, Knox's co-adjutor, a native of Ayrshire, and once a Franciscan friar, but who had fled to England on embracing the Reformed opinions, returned at this time to his native country, and with the actual connivance, if not permission of the Regent, and what was more extraordinary, without any jealousy on the part of the Clergy, preached there in private, contributing greatly to keep up the spirits, and animate the zeal of the leading Protestants. While the extreme jealousy with which Philip of Spain regarded the close connexion subsisting between France and Scotland, prevented any advances on the part of Mary of England, towards a friendly intercourse; rather, indeed,

title of the Review, though the work reviewed, of which not a syllable occurs in the title at the head of the page, is Dr. *Cook's* History of the Church of *Scotland*. It is in truth a violent philippic against the Scotch "root-and-branch Reformer John KNOX," for his merciless denunciations of Popish idolatry.—To get at the truth, we should ourselves recommend a careful perusal of another article in the *same* Journal, viz. Art. 1. No. xxxix. purporting to be a Review of the Life of John *Knox*, by Thomas *M'Crie*, in which we think it will be seen, that even in the estimation of the Reviewer, the *root-and-branch Reformer* Knox, to say nothing of his associates, was *not* so merciless, brutal, rude, and savage a Reformer as he appears to be in Art. 8. No. liii.

hurried her into a state of hostility and warfare: for nothing could perhaps be worse than the continual provocations that occurred on the borders, during the reign of Mary, while she was straining every nerve to support Philip in Flanders against the French. After the famous battle of St. Quentin, indeed, in 1557, Henry II. of France, in his panic, among other attempts to prevent any further successes on the part of Philip, sent a special messenger to Scotland, to procure an attack to be made on England, to prevent Mary's sending any reinforcements to her consort abroad. But the plan was not successful, owing to the jealousy of the Scots Nobles, who refused to pass the borders, or quit their own country, under the command of a foreigner; a foreigner, indeed, M. Oysel, who had rendered himself particularly obnoxious. At one time, as some historians assert, both Queens so far from being friendly or cordial, had thoughts of taking the field in person against each other.*

These things, so irritating to both nations, were very providentially a main cause of hindering that union between the northern and southern parts of the Island, which in the then state of religion, would most probably have ruined for ever the hopes of the Reformed party; instead of which, Willock's success prepared the way even for the return of Knox himself, who, in the year 1555, was prevailed on to visit Edinburgh, where he met with such encouragement, as enabled him to form a distinct Protestant Church or congregation at a most momentous period. For this is the time actually fixed upon, as the most properly organised commencement of the Scotch Reformation: since among the auditors and attendants of Knox, on this occasion, were the three following Noblemen, who afterwards distinguished themselves so much in their opposition to the Romanists and French party in Scotland; Archibald Lord Lorn, the son of the venerable Earl of Argyle, a promoter of the Reformation; John Lord Erskine, afterwards

* Lodge's Illustrations, vol. i. 250. 256.

Earl of Mar, and Regent of Scotland; and Lord James Stuart, the illegitimate son of James V., then only twenty-one years of age, who had been bred up for the church, and in his youth made Prior of St. Andrews; but afterwards not liking the clerical profession, and being inclined to embrace the Reformed opinions, became the great leader and head of the Protestants, as will hereafter be shewn.

The opening made for the efforts of Knox in his own country, in 1555, had certainly something very extraordinary in it, when compared with the state of England at the same time. And though in the next year (1556) he returned to Geneva, on a call thither to preside over the English congregation, he was found to have sown the seeds of the Reformation in his own country, during his short visit, so effectually, and in such good ground, that they were never after to be kept under, or eradicated. He was, indeed, much importuned to stay in Scotland, but in vain; and he was no sooner departed, than the Popish Clergy, who had shewn themselves backward to proceed to extremities, while he stayed, passed sentence against him, for disobedience to their summons, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation; and the former (for want of the reality, which was by this time beyond their reach) was actually burned in *effigy* at the High Cross of Edinburgh. Against this sentence the Scotch Reformer drew up an appeal, or appellation as he called it, directed to the nobility and commonalty of Scotland, in which he entered into an explanation of the doctrine taught by him during his late visit to Scotland, which the Popish Clergy had denounced as quite execrable, and deserving of the most horrible punishment.

The progress of the Reformation in Scotland, at this time, being of importance, as illustrative of the comparative state of the two kingdoms, on the accession of Elizabeth, and Lord Burghley's entrance on his long and memorable administration of *forty* years, it may not be amiss to set down what Knox actually preached at

this period, according to his confession and declaration. A more unexceptionable statement of his opinions, or one more conformable to the *doctrines* of the Reformed Church of the Sister Kingdom, being, we believe, nowhere to be found; and as he was a confirmed disciple and friend of Calvin, it may be the more properly cited, to shew how clear it seems to be of those peculiar tenets, which have since been regarded as the chief articles of his creed: we allude to the absolute decrees.

He taught, it appears, that there was no other name by which men could be saved, but that of Jesus, and that all reliance on the merits of any other was vain and delusive; that the Saviour, having by his one sacrifice, sanctified and reconciled to God those who should inherit the promised kingdom, all other sacrifices which men pretended to offer for sin, were blasphemous; that all men ought to hate sin, which was so odious before God, that no sacrifice but the death of his Son could satisfy for it; that they ought to magnify their heavenly Father, who did not spare him who is the substance of his glory, but gave him up to suffer the ignominious and cruel death of the cross for us; and that those who were washed from their former sins, were bound to lead a new life, fighting against the lusts of the flesh, and studying to glorify God by good works: appealing to the Scriptures in proof of all he taught; and strenuously exhorting his hearers to depart from all superstitious and idolatrous forms of worship. When he retired, he supplied his followers with many wholesome directions, in a letter still preserved, and which is certainly very valuable, as tending to shew what was the state of the Protestant Church in Scotland previous to the full establishment of the Reformation; being, as we have observed, providentially advancing, while the English Church was nearly sinking under bitter persecution. We shall hereafter shew the reason for our dwelling so much on these things in this part of our history. At present it may be sufficient to observe, that the Scots themselves were the authors of their own divisions on the

score of religion; and that without any interference on the part of English Sovereigns, and before the accession of Elizabeth, enough had occurred to throw that nation into a state of confusion, and keep it in a ferment, till one of the two religions should be brought effectually to prevail over the other. That Elizabeth and her great Minister, though compelled, in defence of all that was valuable at home, to support one Scots party against the other, ought not to be charged, as they have been, with a systematic design to excite and foment divisions, which would otherwise not have occurred. Though indeed, such differences or divisions having taken place, there might be great danger to England, from any sudden, imperfect, insincere, or unstable reconciliations between the two parties opposed to each other. Before Mary's death, Scotland was in a considerable state of excitement, and many very respectable Nobles of the Reformed party, knew the situation in which they stood, and the struggle they had to undergo, without any hints or encouragement from England.

The case of the Earl of Argyle, in particular, is very remarkable and striking. In the month of December, 1557, the Nobles and Barons attached to the cause of the Reformation, held a special meeting at Edinburgh, and passed two resolutions for regulating their conduct under the trials to which they were about to be exposed, from the animosity of the Popish Clergy. One of these resolutions purported, that the Reformed preachers should teach in private houses only, till the government should allow of their preaching in public. In pursuance of this second resolution, the Earl of Argyle undertook the protection of John Douglas, a Carmelite Friar, who had embraced the opinions of the *Reformed* party. Presuming upon the easy temper of the aged Earl, and upon the friendship which had long subsisted between his family and the Hamiltons, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who belonged to the latter, wrote a very insinuating letter to the Earl, and at

the same time sent a relative of his own, Sir David Hamilton, with instructions to represent to him, as earnestly as he could, the great danger to which he exposed his Noble house, by harbouring and countenancing Douglas; and to entreat him, by all means, to withdraw his protection from the pestilent heretic. The old Earl's reply was temperate and respectful, but firm and spirited; he not only vindicated the doctrine taught by his chaplain, and refused to dismiss him, but made many shrewd and most pertinent remarks, which the Archbishop (who was far from immaculate) could not fail to apply to himself.

The Archbishop having written, that he felt himself bound in "honour and conscience," to inquire into the *heresies* of which Douglas was accused, the Earl replies, "He prieches against *idolatrie;* I remitt to your Lordschip's *conscience* gif it be heresie or not? he prieches against *adulterie* and *fornicatioun*, I refer that to your Lordschip's *conscience;* he prieches against *hypocrisie*, I referre that to your Lordschip's *conscience;* he prieches against all maner of abuses and corruptioun of Christ's sincere religioun, I referre that to your Lordschip's *conscience.* My Lord, I exhorte you, in Christis name, to wey *all* these affairis in your *conscience*, and considder, if it be your dewtie also not only to thole [endure] this, but in lyke maner to do the same. This is all, my Lord, that I varie in my age, and no uther thing but that I knew befoir these offences to be abhominable to God, and now, knawing his will, by manifestatioun of his word, abhorres tham."

This may serve to shew the wisdom and discernment, with which many embraced the Reformation, as a purer and more reasonable religion, and how able they were to defend themselves when pressed by the Papists. In fact, at the demise of Mary of England, Protestantism appears to have stood upon a most respectable footing in Scotland, however oppressed in the former country, and therefore to have very justly deserved the immediate protection of her Protestant successor.

Unfortunately Knox, by a work he had written against the government of women, moved thereto probably by the reports he received abroad of the Marian persecution, had rendered himself obnoxious to Elizabeth as well as Mary, and much of course was to be done before he could recover his credit at the English Court. On his last journey to Scotland from Geneva, he had obtained some information which materially concerned both countries; the Scottish Queen having in April, 1558, been actually married to the Dauphin; but it was with no small difficulty, he could convey the intelligence he had obtained, to the English authorities. Being, however, personally known to Sir William *Cecil*, he ventured to address him upon the subject, and to send his letter through Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English Ambassador to the Court of France. Of the nature of this intelligence we shall have occasion to speak under the ensuing reign.

As to the state of Europe from the death of Edward VI. to that of his successor, we have already noticed what occurred during the former part of the year 1553, when Mary came to the throne. After the failure of the Imperial army before Metz, hostilities were carried on in the Low Countries with considerable vigour and animation; the Emperor being anxious to wipe away the discredit of the repulse and discomfiture he had sustained in Germany. By the death of Edward, a new scene of ambition appeared to be opening to him; by the succession of Mary to the throne of England, a *seventh* fortunate marriage seemed to be awaiting the House of Hapsburg, and Charles scarcely knew, whether he should secure it by an offer of his own person, or that of his son; Mary being older than the latter, and not very attractive, either in person or manners. We have seen already, the result of these negotiations; the preference of the son, and consummation of a marriage replete with evil to England, but which by proper care was itself preserved from becoming any

addition to the extensive dominions either of Charles or Philip, as they no doubt at one time contemplated.*

Nothing very important occurred from this time, till the year 1555, when the celebrated treaty of Passau was confirmed at Augsburgh. In the month of March of which year Pope Julius III. died, and was succeeded first by Marcellus II. who reigned but twenty-three days, and next by *John Peter Caraffa*, known by the name of Paul IV., who ascended the Papal throne so late in life as the 79th year of his age; but yet with no very pacific views or feelings. For being of a very irritable nature, and much adverse to the proceedings in Germany, he thought it his best policy to court the friendship of France, in his negotiations with which Court and Government, he hesitated not to adopt any measures, however improper, or inconsistent with the feelings and principles of a man of honour.—To embroil the two Courts of Germany and France, he undertook, as has been before shewn, to absolve Henry of France from the obligation of an oath, by which he was bound to maintain peace with the Emperor; so little had age subdued the passions, or cooled the ambition of this restless man. In the mean while, and as if it were in direct contrast to the ambitious projects of this very aged head of the Church, the most extraordinary example of an opposite character, and more sobered feelings, was exhibited to the view of the world, not only by a much younger person, but by that particular individual, who but a short time before, seemed to have had the whole civilized world at his feet.

We allude to the very memorable abdication of the Spanish Crown and Throne, by Charles V. in the year 1555. It began, indeed, with the surrender of the Netherlands into the hands of

* Had Mary's supposed pregnancy proved to be real, and had she actually borne an heir, it would possibly, as Foxe in the next century writes, "have opened such a windowe to the Spaniards to have entered and replenished this land, that peradventure Englishmen should have enjoyed no great quiet in their own country."

his son Philip, whom he had called out of England, to receive, with particular and marked formalities, his investiture into the rule and government of the Low Countries; thereby not only giving up for ever his own power and authority, but removing his sister, the Queen of Hungary, from the Regency, which she had enjoyed for the term of rather more than twenty-five years. In a few weeks after this solemn and very extraordinary ceremony, he transferred in like manner to Philip all his Spanish dominions and their dependencies; and after he had ascertained, to his no small mortification, that all attempts to render the Empire hereditary were vain, he finally abandoned to his brother Ferdinand his Imperial Crown also; and thus, at the comparatively early age of fifty-four, relinquished all the honours and glories of this world, to spend his days in retirement; almost, indeed, in perfect seclusion. While Paul IV., from the gloom of a cloister, in which he had previously passed many years of a long life, emerged on a sudden, into the utmost activity of public life, though far beyond the computed age of man; nor did the retired Warrior outlive the bustling Monk. Charles ended his days before he had attained the age of fifty-nine, enfeebled both in body and mind, and neglected even by his ungrateful son, who is said to have set on foot the measure of his father's retirement, in order to obtain a more substantial Crown than the nominal one he possessed in right of his wife, of whom he was grown weary; but who died in the short space of two months after Charles's resignation. The aged Paul still survived, to insult her illustrious successor, by declaring Elizabeth to be a bastard, unworthy to take upon her the rule of a kingdom, which he claimed as a *fief* of the *Roman See;* in the meanwhile receiving from the superstitious Philip, and his haughty general, the Duke of Alva, homage and submission the most abject and extraordinary. Paul refused even to acknowledge Ferdinand as Emperor, insisting that Charles had no right to transfer to him the Imperial Crown, even though it were sanc-

tion by the German Diet, without having first submitted to *him* the instrument of abdication, as the vicegerent of Christ, and, as such, supreme in things temporal as well as spiritual. Ferdinand's concessions to the Protestants, having almost totally disqualified him for the Empire, in the eye of the haughty and assuming Pontiff.

Such was the arrogance, and such the uncorrected insolence, of this Roman Prelate, who seems, as a French author has observed, to have acted with as much confidence and assurance in these times of Reformation, as Innocent III. in the days of King John. But Paul's glory was at length brought to an end. No sooner was his death announced, than in contempt of his unjust government, his statue was broken to pieces and cast into the Tyber, the prisoners set free who were smarting under the rod of the Inquisition, and the prison in which they had been confined razed to the ground.

This Pope, it may be observed, was the first author of the Roman *Index Expurgatorius*, or catalogue of prohibited books; a remarkable circumstance, as coincident in point of time with the spread of knowledge elsewhere, and sufficiently declaratory of the apprehensions entertained at Rome, from the freedom with which men were beginning to read, and to think for themselves.*

* Heretical books had been previously denounced, but so generally as to be rather a snare than a warning; for not being specifically named, they might be read by, or found in the possession of persons, unaware at first of their purport. The *Index Expurgatorius*, therefore, was so far a security against surprise, but it enlarged the proscription, since besides books of a decidedly heretical character, every work that contained the smallest insinuation against the Supremacy of the Popes, which defended the superiority of general Councils, or maintained the rights of temporal Princes, was sure to find a place in the *Index;* and to narrow as much as possible the field of information, the Inquisitors, at one time, absolutely pronounced an anathema on all who should read any work on any subject, printed by *sixty-two* printers whom they named, and against all books which should be printed by those who had published what was judged in the eye of the Romish Church to be heretical. But the most disgraceful thing, perhaps, that occurred, was the deception practised, with regard to those who could not resist the common propensity to read, which was now spreading rapidly; the Church of Rome, to meet

At the same time, it should be observed, that the good effects of the Reformation, certainly extended, in some degree, even in these times, to Rome itself, by awakening the Pontiffs to some sense of their danger; for they now began to found Schools and Colleges for the encouragement of learning, though under such directions, and subject to such limitations and restraints, as should render them useful only to the preservation of the rights of the Church against the attacks of its adversaries. Thus the art and practice of disputing, were among the chief studies and exercises of these new endowed schools; while, to a certain degree, many branches of knowledge were brought into a regular course of cultivation, and encouraged by rewards and distinctions, still, however, always subject to the *Index Expurgatorius*, in which the writings of Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, &c. soon found a place, as well as all editions of the Old or New Testaments, published by such *heretics*,† or their disciples.

The Reformation had not yet proceeded very far in Ireland; what had been done by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. through the zealous exertions of Archbishop Browne, was, as in other instances, again undone by Mary, who is said further to have meditated a severe persecution of the Protestants there in her last moments, had it not been prevented by a strange and even ludicrous adventure, which, though quite true, has been so often repeated, as to need no further mention here.

such difficulties, is known to have put forth splendid editions of the works of the ancient ecclesiastical writers, but mangled and interpolated; all passages adverse to her power and authority being suppressed, and others of a contrary tendency as carefully inserted.—*See Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent.*

† See a long and excellent note upon this, in Cook's History of the Reformation in Scotland, vol. i. 117.—And a very curious letter from Dr. James of Oxford to Archbishop Usher, January, 1623, in the Christian Remembrancer, July, 1823—wherein he calls the *misprinting* of the works of the Fathers, without noticing the *castigation*, *purgation*, and *additions*, to which they had been subjected, a *secret* Index Expurgatorius.—He professes to have detected himself, five hundred bastard treatises, and about one thousand places in the true authors which were corrupted in the *Roman* print.

Such was the posture of affairs at home, abroad, in Scotland, and in Ireland, when, by the demise of Queen MARY without issue, the way was at length opened for the accession of her sister, the Princess ELIZABETH, to a Throne, for which she seemed to have been almost miraculously preserved; which she lived to cover with glory and honour, but on which it is not, perhaps, too much to say, she could not have sat so long, notwithstanding her own extraordinary talents for government, had it not been for the wisdom, firmness, perpetual vigilance, and unwearied application of her great Minister, Lord BURGHLEY, her chief Counsellor and most confidential Adviser, for the long space of *Forty years!*

END OF VOL. I.

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